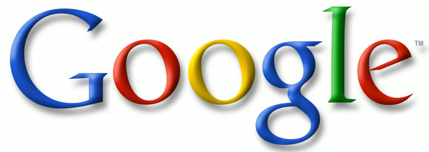

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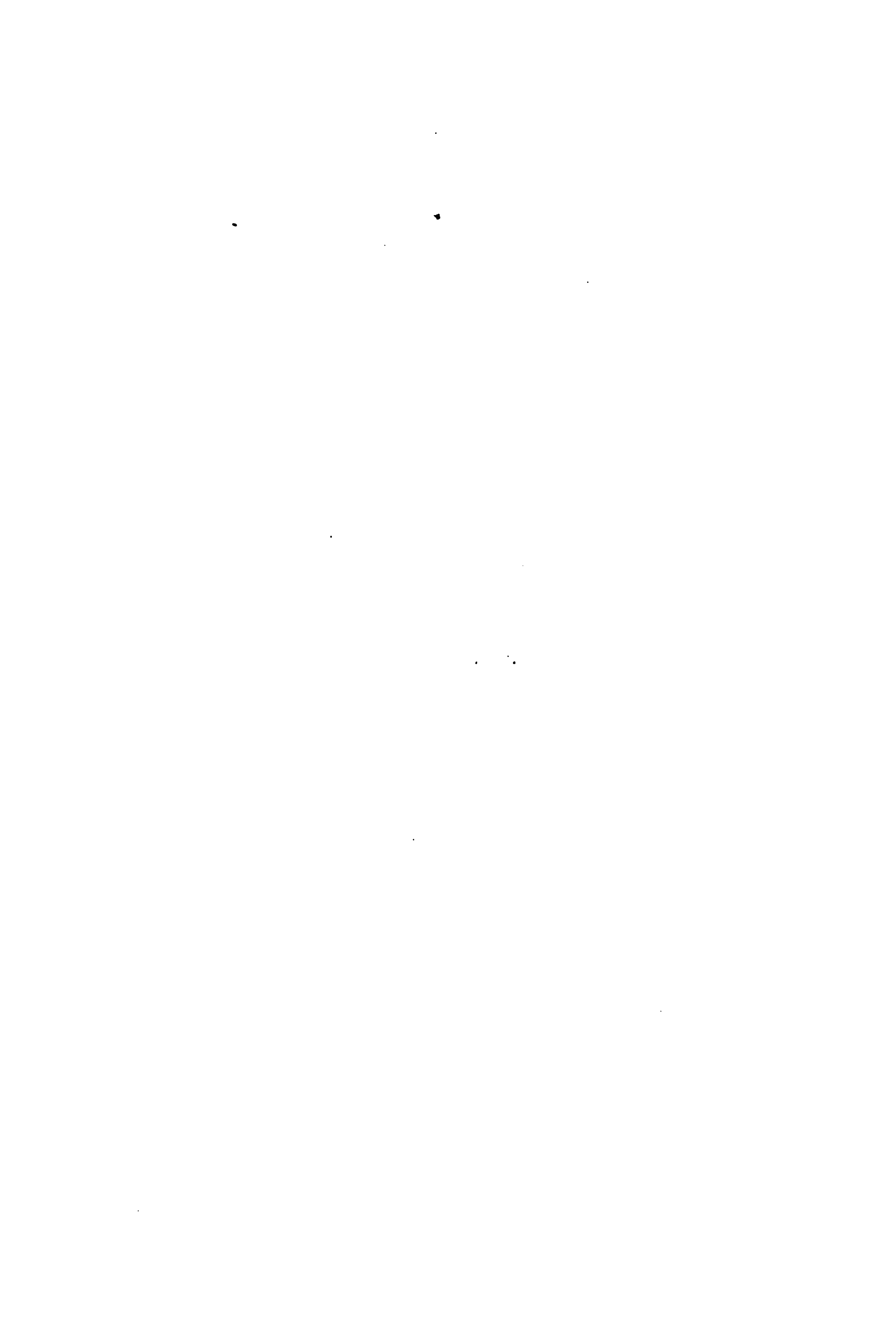

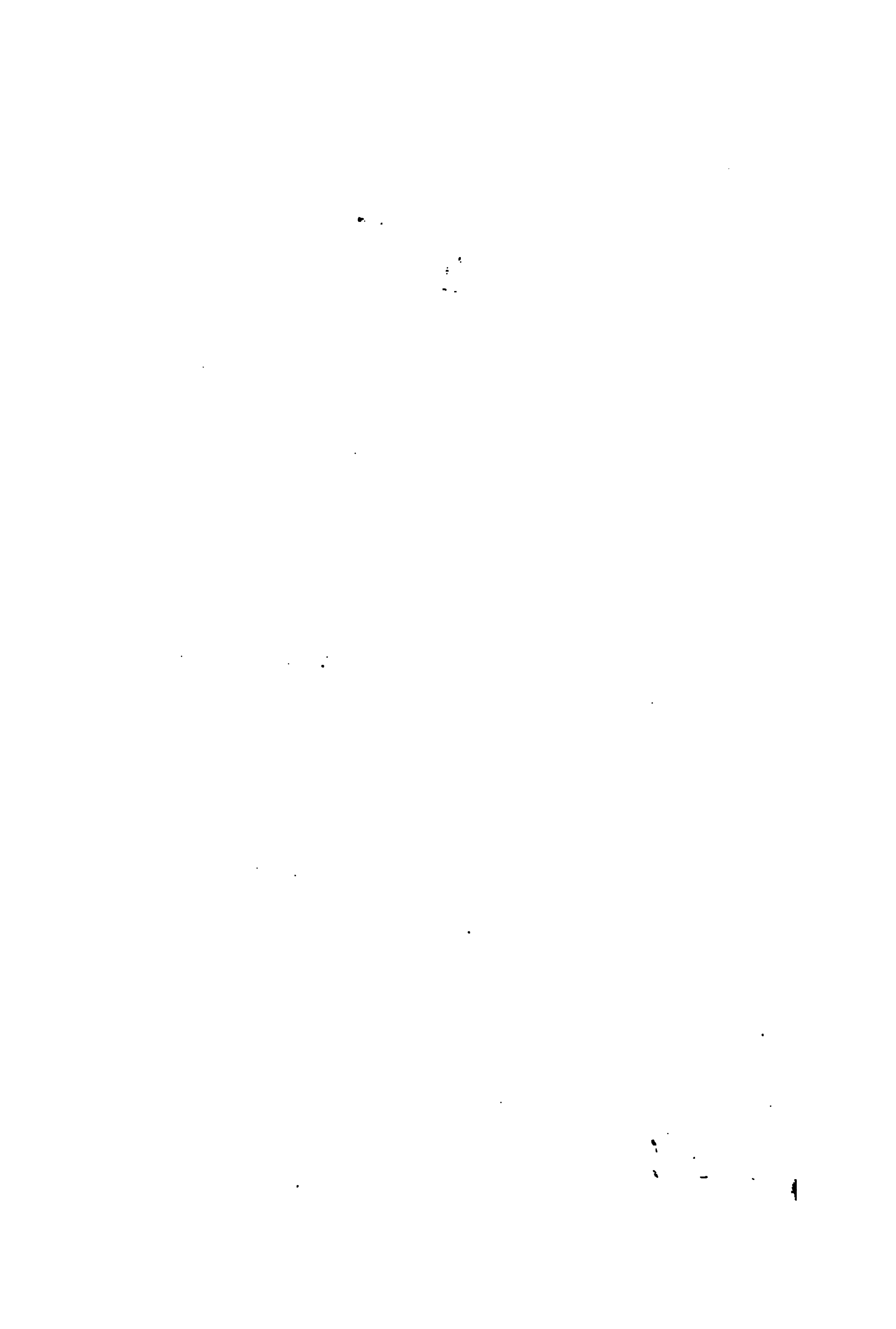

PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

A COLLECTION OF ADDRESSES AND EDITORIALS

BY

FABIAN FRANKLIN

Editor of The Baltimore News, 1895-1908;
Sometime Professor of Mathematics in the Johns Hopkins University.

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
1908

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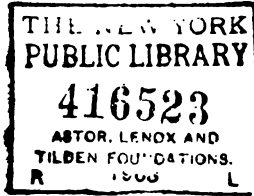

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NEWSPAPERS AND EXACT THINKING*

When President Gilman did me the honor to ask me to address you on this occasion, I felt some reluctance in undertaking the rôle of a Johns Hopkins Commencement orator. But upon considering that this is not only the first, but in all probability the last occasion on which I am to appear before the students and friends of the Johns Hopkins University, I felt that I could not let it go by.

As most of you probably know, I am about to make a change in my occupation—in one aspect perhaps the most extreme change that it is possible for a man to make in his mental atmosphere. Mathematics is the domain of the most exact and rigorous thinking of which the human mind is capable; I fear you will agree only too readily with me in pronouncing journalism to be the field in which loose and inexact thinking is most at home. This is in a great measure unavoidable from the nature of the case; and yet the contrast I have just mentioned seems to give appropriateness to the subject to which I shall venture to ask your attention for a few minutes—the need of exact thinking in the discussions of actual life.

Mathematics has been from the most ancient times the best exemplar of exact reasoning that the human race has possessed; physics and chemistry and the

* Address delivered at the Commencement of the Johns Hopkins University, June 13, 1895.

other natural sciences have in modern times approached as nearly to the perfection of mathematics as the nature of their subject matter permits; scientific philology and archæology have demonstrated how much can be accomplished by rigorous methods in domains more nearly related to man's daily interests; but in the discussions which bear directly upon human affairs, which determine the action of legislatures and the votes of citizens, it can hardly be said that the requirements of sound thinking are as a general rule fulfilled in a greater measure in our time than in the days before science had won its splendid modern conquests.

And indeed any near approach to the exactness of scientific methods can not be expected. Time is an essential element in the development of scientific knowledge. Scientific truth can afford to wait indefinitely for its discovery and its proclamation. A space of twenty years intervened between the writing of Darwin's first unpublished notes on evolution and the publication of his Origin of Species; and he was neglecting no duty to the world by occupying that period in perfecting and enlarging his knowledge of the facts bearing on the doctrine of natural selection. Every one knows how long Newton allowed his discovery of the principle of gravitation to remain unpublished on account of an apparent discrepancy in his data. In politics all this is totally different. Ten years from now Mr. Cleveland's opinions on the silver question will possess very slight interest; today they constitute perhaps the most potent single force now at work in determining the material welfare of this country.

To veto or not to veto is a question that has to be decided not in ten years but in ten days; and if the question turns upon profound economic considerations, some kind of pronouncement has to be made upon them, however profound they may be, within that specified time. Nor can the journalist shirk the duty of taking sides in the matter; if he is convinced that the welfare of the country demands a certain course of action he must advocate that course by such arguments as he can command, and can not afford to wait for more perfect knowledge.

But while considerations of this kind excuse some things they do not excuse everything. There is no excuse for making use of arguments when human interests are concerned which, employed in any other domain of intellectual activity, would stamp a man as an utter incompetent or charlatan. We may not be able to command demonstration; but we should know what demonstration is. We may not be able to test our conclusions by following them out to their remotest consequences; but we should at least be warned that there is something wrong in them, if they lead at once and obviously to absurd results. We may not be able to obtain and to compare statistical data in sufficient completeness to settle a question definitely; but it is a reproach to our own intelligence and a disparagement of that of our readers if we do not refrain from drawing wide-reaching conclusions from manifestly insufficient data.

We have not to go far to find illustrations of all these faults, committed too not merely by common scribblers but by men of intellect and force, men

who, in reasoning upon anything else than the great questions which affect human interests and passions, would be quite incapable of such shallowness. Take as an example the course of an able advocate of the gold standard on the silver question. When many years ago it was proposed to coin from two to four million silver dollars a month, this authority warned the country that if this legislation was passed we might very speedily find gold going to a premium and our whole financial system disturbed. A number of years passed by; we kept on coining from two to four million silver dollars a month, and our financial system showed no sign of injury. Then, strange to say, this same authority actually ridiculed the advocates of silver for attempting to bring us down to a silver standard by such means, and said they might as well give up the attempt, since experience had shown that the purchase and coinage of a few million silver dollars a month would never disturb the gold basis of our currency. The observance of the simplest requirements of exact thinking would have prevented this blunder; there had never been any means of estimating how soon the effect of the restricted coinage of silver dollars would be felt as a disturbing factor in our system; and the experience of the first ten or twelve years showed absolutely nothing. In point of fact, at the end of fifteen years the effect came with great suddenness, and all opponents of the silver standard insisted on the imperative necessity of an immediate stoppage of silver purchases. All that at any time could have been justly asserted was that this coinage had a *tendency* to bring us down to a silver basis, and that

if continued long enough it would have this effect. That it had not done so and had not shown any perceptible sign of doing so at a given time was no more proof of the falseness of this position than the fact of a seed not sprouting in a week is proof that it will always remain unfruitful.

Another instance of precisely the same kind may be given in connection with the same question. The provision of law for the purchase of silver was repealed under pressure of the panic and with a view to restoring prosperity. Prosperity did not return immediately, and indeed we are all agreed that it has been very slow in returning. Does that show that no good was accomplished by the repeal? Is there any telling how much worse our situation might have been had the repeal not been effected? Obviously when the arrangements of industry and commerce have become so profoundly disturbed as they were during the crisis of 1893, a considerable time must go by before things can be restored to their normal condition. And yet not only the humble wielders of the pen, but Senators of the United States and other exalted persons, were not ashamed of going about with the puerile claim that experience had demonstrated that the repeal had been useless. In any branch of science anyone who had no better idea than this implies of the nature of proof and of what is meant by the terms force, tendency, cause, would be laughed down, not replied to.

It is the signal merit of the founders of the classical English political economy, which it has recently been so much the fashion to belittle and deride, that they kept constantly before their minds

the play of economic forces as distinguished from the actual historical outcome of the confused intermingling of these forces. It is their example which has naturalized exact thinking in the domain of social phenomena. The Ricardian doctrine of rent, the Malthusian doctrine of population, the theory of value, the law of the flow of metallic money from country to country—not only are these things solid landmarks in the midst of a tangled maze, confused and apparently without a plan, but the student who has attained to a thorough understanding of the economic discussion of these subjects is sure to feel a consciousness of the nature of sound thinking on the play of social forces which will be the strongest possible safeguard against the crude errors that so easily befog undisciplined minds.

But no amount of discipline seems to be sufficient warrant against crude thinking when human interests or preferences or prejudices are concerned. The history of the discussion by scientific men of the question of the mental equality of the sexes furnishes many singular examples of a ludicrous disregard of the rules of scientific inquiry. It seems hardly credible that for a long time high authorities were in the habit of regarding the whole question settled by the amazingly crude test of the absolute weight of the brain. Later the relative weights of the brain as compared with the height or the weight of the body were looked upon as fairer tests; it happened fortunately that one of these comparisons gives the advantage to men and the other to women, so that not much could be made of this comparison. But perhaps the most amusing incident in this little

history pertains to the distribution of the brain matter between the front and the sides of the brain. The frontal regions had always been regarded as the seat of the loftiest functions of the intellect; and investigators found, as was very natural, that men's brains were decidedly more developed in these regions than women's. Now, more accurate investigations in recent years have shown the reverse of this to be true; but, to quote Mr. Havelock Ellis, "while it has recently become clear that women have some frontal superiority over men, it has at the same time been for the first time clearly recognized that there is no real ground for assigning any specially exalted functions to the frontal lobes." Doesn't this sound remarkably like politics? The fact is, when it comes to our desires and prejudices it goes against the grain to say we don't know; and if we are unwilling to say that, we are not in the attitude of the scientific man, and we are not likely to do exact thinking.

But of all forms of bad thinking the worst is that which makes a parade of the language of science and undertakes to settle difficult problems relating to mankind by the use of phrases which are supposed to have a magical efficacy in untying all kinds of knots and exorcising all kinds of troublesome spirits. There are people who think that instead of solving a problem by the patient and honest exercise of common sense they can dispose of it in a moment by appealing to some grand generalization of science. The doctrine of evolution and the theorem of the conservation of energy are the two main feeders of this kind of pseudo-scientific discussion. A writer

in the last number of the *Popular Science Monthly* gravely informs us that women have lagged behind men in the process of evolution, they being still at that low stage in which dress is worn for ornament and not exclusively for utility. It does not occur to this writer, apparently, to consider that only a hundred years ago gentlemen wore embroidered waistcoats, silk stockings and silver buckles, and that it can hardly be the slow process of evolution which has transformed them in this short time into the highly unpicturesque beings they now are, whose aspirations after the beautiful find their extreme limit in a swallow-tail coat. A distinguished professor of political economy in a recent work has apparently fancied that he was adding something to his argument when he said that his opponents were "denying the most obvious application of the conservation of energy to economic forces," whereas in reality any one who understands the doctrine of the conservation of energy knows that it is absurd to apply it outside of the domain in which it has a definite meaning and bears in a precise manner upon masses and velocities. And in another passage we find this author actually making the ridiculous assertion that elections "are not a source of energy, and therefore can not cause anything at all." I once had the pleasure of reviewing a book entitled *Statique des Civilisations,* by a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique. The author had succeeded in solving the problem of the progress of civilization from region to region and from age to age. One would think this problem was a very complex one indeed, but our friend had succeeded in getting its solution into

a single delightfully compact mathematical formula; the state of civilization at any time and place was proportional to the square of the cosine of the latitude multiplied by a certain power of the sine of the latitude! He had apparently never heard the story of the visitors to whom Mr. Babbage had exhibited and explained his wonderful calculating machine. "This is all extremely interesting," said one of the party when Mr. Babbage had finished, "but there is one thing I am not quite sure I understand. If you put the question in wrong, will the answer come out right?"

But it is time that this talk should be brought to a conclusion. After all there is little to be said in general terms, except that we should not be content to argue on politics or economics or social questions in a manner in which a business man would be ashamed to argue on his own business, a lawyer on law, a physician on medicine, or a chemist on chemistry. And among the intellectual benefits of a general nature which a young man should carry with him from a university, none ought to be more surely found, and none is more important, than his elevation above the reach of puerile arguments on the great questions of the day. His college discipline has helped him little if it has not taught him to discriminate between honest thinking and wordy generalities however brilliant. I trust that all the young men who go out today with the degree of this University will help to raise the level of thought on public matters, not by insisting on impossible standards of accuracy, for after all we must remember that the struggle of life is too rough and too rapid

to admit of the perfect work of science; still less by attaching value to the form, as distinguished from the spirit, of scientific inquiry; but by expecting from others and showing themselves such responsible, coherent and essentially exact thinking as is to be looked for from men in whom intellectual training has come to the aid of native good sense and honesty.

JAMES JOSEPH SYLVESTER *

We have come together to do honor to the memory of the great man whose work in initiating and for seven years conducting the mathematical department of this institution will always remain one of the proudest traditions of the Johns Hopkins University. To me, as one who was long his pupil, and who owes so much to his inspiration, has been assigned the task of saying something about the work and the genius of Sylvester, and especially about the influence which he exerted, while in Baltimore, upon the study of mathematics here and upon the advancement of mathematical research in America.

Since his death there has appeared in the English journal *Nature,* and has been reprinted in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars,* a review of his life and work by Major MacMahon; and in 1889, when that work was well-nigh ended, Sylvester's great compeer and friend, Professor Cayley, contributed to the columns of the same journal a sketch of Sylvester's labors. One of his Baltimore pupils, too, Professor Halsted, of the University of Texas, has given in the columns of *Science* an account of his life and achievements. It is therefore the less necessary to undertake here to give anything in the nature of an enumeration of even his most signal contributions to mathematics.

His influence upon the development of mathe-

* Memorial address delivered at the Johns Hopkins University, May 2, 1897.

matical science rests chiefly, of course, upon his work in the Theory of Invariants. Apart from Sir William Rowan Hamilton's invention and development of Quaternions, this theory is the one great contribution made by British thought to the progress of pure mathematics in the present century, or indeed since the days of the contemporaries of Newton. From about the middle of the eighteenth century until near the middle of the nineteenth, English mathematics was in a condition of something like torpor. The second half of the eighteenth century was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of mathematics; but the magnificent achievements of Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, awakened no response on the other side of the narrow seas. It seems almost incredible that the complacent conservatism of Cambridge went so far that even the notation of mathematical analysis as used on the Continent was untaught there until about 1820. Babbage tells us, in his "Passages from the Life of a Philosopher," how he, together with Herschel, Peacock, and a few others, founded in 1812 the "Analytical Society" for promoting (as Babbage humorously expressed it) "the principles of D-ism in opposition to the Dot-age of the University." It is from the translation by these three men (in 1816) of Lacroix's Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus, together with the publication by them four years later of two volumes of illustrative examples, that the first impulse toward a revival of mathematics in England is usually dated. Nothing could show more thoroughly the insular and retrograde condition of English mathe-

matics in the early part of this century. The sticking to Newton's fluxions and dots, and the barring out of Leibnitz's differentials and d's, may be set down as a consequence of the great Newton-Leibnitz controversy; but, whatever the cause, so complete a separation from the great current of European thought implies stagnation deep-seated and not easily to be removed. And accordingly it proved to be the case that in the magnificent extension of the bounds of mathematics which was effected by the Continental mathematicians during the first four decades of the present century, England had no share. It is almost literally correct to say that the history of mathematics for about a hundred years might be written without serious defect with English mathematics left entirely out of account.

That the like statement cannot be made in regard to the past fifty years is due pre-eminently to the genius and labors of three men: Hamilton, Cayley, and Sylvester. Hamilton was a high and solitary genius, who constructed and developed unaided a great mathematical method. Great as was this work, it lay so entirely apart from the general line of research that it did not, in his own time at least, awaken widespread activity on the part of others either at home or abroad. On the other hand, the Theory of Invariants had a history of what may be called the normal type. Its origin is to be found in Boole's discoveries of isolated instances of invariance; these led Cayley to institute a systematic investigation of this remarkable and significant phenomenon; and Cayley's researches awakened the ardent interest of Sylvester. Under the hands of

these two great masters, a new and important province was rapidly added to the domain of algebra. Not only did other English mathematicians join in the work, but Hermite in France, Aronhold and Clebsch in Germany, Brioschi in Italy, and other Continental mathematicians seized upon the new ideas, and the theory of invariants was for three decades one of the leading objects of mathematical research throughout Europe. It is impossible to apportion between Cayley and Sylvester the honor of the series of brilliant discoveries which marked the early years of the theory of invariants. Their names are linked together as the creators of a new and beautiful development of algebra, the ideas of which have profoundly influenced the progress also of geometry and of analysis generally. "The theory of invariants," says MacMahon, "sprang into existence under the strong hand of Cayley, but that it emerged finally a complete work of art, for the admiration of future generations of mathematicians, was largely owing to the flashes of inspiration with which Sylvester's intellect illuminated it." It is pleasant to know that the triumphs of neither were marred by any dispute as to personal claims or by anything even approaching jealousy. On the contrary, these two men of genius, antipodes of each other in temperament and habits of work, were alike in the constancy of their mutual friendship, regard, and admiration.

I have dwelt thus long on Sylvester's connection with the creation of the Theory of Invariants, because it is by that chiefly that he left his trace upon the history of mathematics in its large outlines. But

his genius is quite as strikingly shown in researches of a more isolated character. Ten years before the date of his work in invariants, he wrote in quick succession several remarkable memoirs on algebraic subjects, especially on Sturm's functions and on elimination. His researches in the Theory of Partitions of Numbers are among the most original and remarkable of his works. In the Theory of Numbers he was especially interested in Ternary Cubic Forms. The question of the distribution of prime numbers had a great fascination for him; and he succeeded while in Baltimore in making an impression upon this recondite problem in that he contracted the limits found by Tchebycheff for the number of primes contained within a given range. His work seldom touched on geometry, but his "theory of residuation" in connection with cubic curves is a beautiful structure, to which he made some remarkable additions while in Baltimore. I am not, however, attempting to give a survey of his work; suffice it to add that, in adidtion to the subjects named, he made contributions to astronomy, to dynamics, and to the theory of link-motion, besides other special subjects.

One of the most striking of Sylvester's achievements was his demonstration and extension of Newton's unproved rule concerning the number of the imaginary roots of an algebraic equation. Newton had left no trace of the process of thought by which he had arrived at his rule, nor had he given any indication of the basis on which it rests. All attempts of later mathematicians to establish it had proved futile. It was characteristic of Sylvester to set himself the task of filling up this lacuna in mathematics. The

things that attracted and fascinated him were of two kinds, which may be called opposite to each other. On the one hand, he revelled in any new and prolific method; the feeling of creation, of abounding productiveness, was to him as the breath of his nostrils. It was largely this that made the Theory of Invariants so congenial to him. To see a whole new world, full of unexpected and harmonious relations, expanding before him, was to fill him with an absorbing and exuberant enthusiasm. In the case of invariants, it may be said that his joy in this sense of creation was not even confined to the discovery of theorems; the algebraic forms themselves were to him as living beings, and the processes, invented largely by himself, for causing these creatures of the mathematical intellect to generate their kind, were to him a source of genuine delight.

Alongside of this love of prolific creation, another intellectual bent, on the surface at least of quite the opposite character, was equally strongly marked in Sylvester. Any crucial problem, especially one that was associated with the name of one of the great masters, if once it attracted Sylvester's attention, fastened itself upon his mind with a grip that seemed never to slacken its tenacity. It kept coming up again and again for years, and as long as it remained unsolved seemed to become periodically a source of unrest and discomfort to his mind. He had not the serenity which belonged to many other great mathematicians, and notably to Cayley, and which in a great measure permitted them to choose among the possible subjects of thought such as they deemed most profitable to pursue. With Sylvester

such tranquil and deliberate choice was entirely out of the question. His temperament was essentially poetic, and it would have been as impossible for him to concentrate the powers of his mind on one subject when the current of his thought was setting toward another, as it would have been for Burns to decide in cold blood to write a poem like Highland Mary or The Daisy when the inspiration of Tam O'-Shanter was upon him.

It was the mention of Sylvester's demonstration of Newton's rule that suggested these reflections. We who knew him well in later years can find no difficulty in understanding the hold this problem had upon him. It was the good fortune of his early hearers in this University to be present when he came into the lecture-room flushed with the achievement of a somewhat similar task. A certain fundamental theorem in the Theory of Invariants which had formed the basis of an important section of Cayley's work had never been completely demonstrated. The lack of this demonstration had always been to Sylvester's mind a most serious blemish in the structure. He had however, he told us, years ago given up the attempt to find the proof as hopeless. But upon coming fresh to the subject in connection with his Baltimore lectures, he again grappled with the problem and by a fortunate inspiration succeeding in solving it. It was with a thrill of sympathetic pleasure that his young hearers thus found themselves in some measure associated with an intellectual feat by which had been overcome a difficulty that had successfully resisted assault for a quarter of a century. Nor was this the only

instance in which we had an opportunity of observing the tenacious hold upon his intellect of any problem that had come to assume in his mind the aspect of a challenge to the powers of mathematicians.

I have said that Sylvester's powers were set in motion by two opposite kinds of stimulus; that of abundantly rewarding results, and that of the stubborn resistance of concentrated difficulty. In both these kinds of endeavor he achieved many and signal triumphs. That intermediate kind of effort which slowly and patiently builds up and improves and perfects one's own work, and which gives minute and prolonged study to the work of others, he did not command in any notable degree. He seemed incapable of reading mathematics in a purely receptive way. Apparently a subject either fired in his brain a train of active and restless thought, or it could not retain his attention at all. To a man of such a temperament, it would have been peculiarly helpful to live in an atmosphere in which his human associations would have supplied the stimulus which he could not find in mere reading. The great modern work in the Theory of Functions and in allied disciplines he never became acquainted with. No one who witnessed the flaming up of his energies when at the age of 62 in Baltimore he felt himself for the first time among a band of enthusiastic young workers pursuing pure mathematics for its own sake can doubt what the effect would have been if in the prime of his powers he had been surrounded by the influences which prevail in Berlin or in Göttingen. It may be confidently taken for granted that he would have done splendid work in those domains

of analysis which have furnished the laurels of the great mathematicians of Germany and France in the second half of the present century.

Cambridge, his natural intellectual home, would have been far less helpful, since it was examinations and not research that gave tone to the mathematical life there. But Cambridge would of course have been immeasurably better than the situations in which he actually found himself for forty years after his winning of the Second Wranglership. From a career at Cambridge, to the great loss of that University, of himself, and of mathematics, he was debarred by the religious tests then obtaining in the old English Universities. Professor Halsted in his account of Sylvester's work already referred to points out how the vicissitudes of his career were reflected in the richness or the meagreness of his mathematical production from period to period.

The life and work of Sylvester illustrate in a striking way the futility of the dispute as to the relative importance of native qualities and of external circumstances in determining the achievements of great men. If any man was ever an original genius, with consuming ardor for one intellectual pursuit, with love and devotion to it burning in youth and undiminished in age, Sylvester was such a man. If any province of thought is open to every worker in it, to work in as he pleases, uninfluenced by the doings of those who happen to be in his neighborhood, in his university, in his country, one would say that mathematics is that province. Yet no one could know Sylvester without feeling that, great and original as was his genius, environ-

ment must in his case exercise an extraordinary influence on its activity. He was sensitive, passionate, fiery; the glowing language in which he habitually indulged in the midst of his mathematical memoirs was but a reflection of his ardent and excitable temper. Such a man must needs be keenly subject to depression and exaltation, to fits of apathy and ardor, according to the nature of his surroundings and experiences. Those who knew him cannot fail to be convinced that eminent as were his actual achievements they do not afford a true measure of his mathematical powers, in comparison with those of his great contemporaries. For he was at once less advantageously circumstanced then they, and in an exceptional degree subject to the influence of his surroundings.

Of his work as a teacher I can speak only upon the basis of his activity in this University. The one thing which constantly marked his lectures was enthusiastic love of the thing he was doing. He had in the fullest possible degree, to use the French phrase, the defect of this quality; for as he almost always spoke with enthusiastic ardor, so it was almost never possible for him to speak on matters incapable of evoking this ardor. In other words, the substance of his lectures had to consist largely of his own work, and, as a rule, of work hot from the forge. The consequence was that a continuous and systematic presentation of any extensive body of doctrine already completed was not to be expected from him. Any unsolved difficulty, any suggested extension, such as would have been passed by with a mention by other lecturers, became with him

inevitably the occasion of a digression which was sure to consume many weeks, if indeed it did not take him away from the original object permanently. Nearly all of the important memoirs which he published while in Baltimore arose in this way. We who attended his lectures may be said to have seen these memoirs in the making. He would give us on the Friday the outcome of his grapplings with the enemy since the Tuesday lecture. Rarely can it have fallen to the lot of any class to follow so completely the workings of the mind of the master.

Not only were we thus privileged to see " the very pulse of the machine," to learn the spring and motive of the successive steps that led to his results, but we were set aglow by the delight and admiration which, with perfect naïveté and with that luxuriance of language peculiar to him, Sylvester lavished upon these results. That in this enthusiastic admiration he sometimes lacked the sense of proportion cannot be denied. A result announced at one lecture, and hailed with loud acclaim as a marvel of beauty, was by no means sure of not being found before the next lecture to have been erroneous; but the Esther that supplanted this Vashti was quite certain to be found still more supremely beautiful. The fundamental thing, however, was not this occasional extravagance, but the deep and abiding feeling for truth and beauty which underlay it. No young man of generous mind could stand before that superb gray head and hear those expositions of high and dear-bought truths, testifying to a passionate devotion undimmed by years or by arduous labor, without carrying away that which ever after must give to the

pursuit of truth a new and deeper significance in his mind.

As is well known, Sylvester had an extraordinary faculty for the coinage of words, which, indeed, was merely a part of his remarkably keen sense for language in general. In this matter of the coinage of words, he doubtless went to extremes, as he did in other things; but there can be no question of the great service he rendered to the new science of invariants by the creation of a whole vocabulary which rendered possible the crystallization of thought in what would otherwise have been a comparatively amorphous mass. There are doubtless other departments of mathematics which would be made more manageable by the skilful application of just such a name-creating faculty. Any mathematical conception with which Sylvester had much to do had to be equipped with a name. He justly felt that the absence of it impeded thought, and he could not be comfortable in this state of things. His hearers will not forget how, after getting along for some time with the notation $\phi(n)$, by which mathematicians had been content, from the time of Legendre, to designate the number of numbers less than a given number and prime to it, he came into the lecture-room one afternoon and began in his most emphatic manner thus: "Gentlemen, I am about to introduce to you a name that has been struggling for birth for a century!" I may mention here an instance of his delicate sense for words—and indeed for things—which occurred during a walk I was taking with him. We were speaking of Mitchell, then a fellow in mathematics here, and I said that he impressed

me as having a resemblance to Abraham Lincoln. He seemed struck with the idea, and after a moment's silence said, "Yes, there is a certain not inelegant stiffness about him which reminds one of Lincoln." Where Sylvester got his impression of Lincoln I do not know; but surely it would have been difficult to hit off the outward effect of the man in words more accurately chosen.

Another direction which his talent for expression and his love of the niceties of language took was that of versification. He made some excellent translations from Horace and from German poets, besides writing a number of pieces of original verse. The *tours de force* in the way of rhyming which he performed while in Baltimore were designed to illustrate the theories of versification of which he gives indications in his little book called "The Laws of Verse." The reading of the Rosalind poem at the Peabody Institute was the occasion of an amusing exhibition of absence of mind. The poem consisted of no less than 400 lines, all rhyming with the name Rosalind (the long and the short sound of i both being allowed). The audience quite filled the hall, and expected to find much interest or amusement in listening to this unique experiment in verse. But Professor Sylvester had found it necessary to write a large number of explanatory footnotes, and he announced that in order not to interrupt the poem he would read the footnotes in a body first. Nearly every footnote suggested some additional extempore remark, and the reader was so interested in each one that he was not in the least aware of the flight of time, or of the amusement of the audi-

ence. When he had dispatched the last of the notes, he looked up at the clock, and was horrified to find that he had kept the audience an hour and a half before beginning to read the poem they had come to hear. The astonishment on his face was answered by a burst of good-humored laughter from the audience; and then, after begging all his hearers to feel at perfect liberty to leave if they had engagements, he read the Rosalind poem.

Sylvester was quick-tempered and impatient, but generous, charitable, and tender-hearted. He was always extremely appreciative of the work of others, and gave the warmest recognition to any talent or ability displayed by his pupils. He was capable of flying into a passion on slight provocation, but did not harbor resentment, and was always glad to forget the cause of quarrel at the earliest opportunity. I have it on extremely good authority that, in his intercourse with Professor Cayley, toward whom he maintained a lifelong and devoted friendship, and his admiration of whom might be said to amount to reverence, little episodes of this kind were not absent. Some fancied injury would lead Sylvester to write Cayley an angry letter; Cayley, who was as serene and tranquil as Sylvester was passionate and excitable, would quietly leave the letter unanswered. In a few days another letter was sure to come from Sylvester, written as though nothing whatever had happened. The mention of Cayley leads me to recall an incident of the farewell reception given to Cayley in Hopkins Hall at the close of his residence here, which affords another illustration of Sylvester's felicity of expression. The platform

was abundantly decorated with flowers, and Cayley, who was extremely shy and retiring, looked very uncomfortable in his conspicuous position upon it while Sylvester was speaking. Referring to Cayley's modesty, Sylvester suddenly turned toward him and said, "There he sits, like a victim decked with flowers!"

Sylvester did not, I believe, like to speak about religion. He was born a Jew, and was buried in the Jewish cemetery at Dalston. I am sure that he would not have subscribed to any formulated creed; but he was a man of truly reverent mind, and a sincere theist. It was notable that, in speaking of designs for the future, he quite habitually used the phrase "please God," with an accent that showed it was not a mere form of words. Once, when I asked him what was his estimate of Clifford, he said, with great earnestness: "Clifford is a very great genius; I only wish he would stick to mathematics instead of talking atheism."

Of Sylvester's influence upon this University, not only through his teaching, through the foundation of the American Journal of Mathematics, and through the constant stimulation of mathematical interest here by his incessant productiveness, but also through the infection of his enthusiasm which was felt in every department of the University, it would be impossible to speak too strongly. His aggressive and singular personality seemed to act the part of a ferment which spread itself through the entire body of the University. In its prosperity and progress and fame he took the deepest interest, and his attachment to it was not weakened when he returned to

his native land at the call of the University of Oxford.

Professor Sylvester's residence at the Johns Hopkins University constitutes an episode quite unique in the history of mathematics and of education. Up to the time when he came to America, the study of the higher pure mathematics may be said with almost literal truth to have been non-existent in our country. He came, a man who had almost filled out what is usually spoken of as the allotted span of life, and at once inspired zeal and activity in a field which had been left almost uncultivated among us. The earliest outward effect of his ardor was the foundation of the American Journal of Mathematics, the first mathematical journal of any importance ever published in America, and almost the first journal devoted to any scientific specialty. It may truly be looked upon as the father of that army of scientific journals which have since overspread the country and testified to the growth of the higher learning among us. The prestige of his name and the fertility of his work could not do otherwise than excite emulation in other American centers of learning. While there doubtless would, in any case, have been progress in this direction, it must be set down as preëminently the result of Sylvester's presence in Baltimore that mathematical science in America has received the remarkable impetus which the last twenty years have shown. American names are no longer absent from the record of mathematical progress. We have not yet produced one of the heroes of mathematics; but there are now among us a dozen universities in each of which something, be it much

or little, is being added to that splendid monument of human thought which bears the record of conquests made by so many of the intellectual giants of the race.

Among these giants Sylvester has without question the right to be reckoned. In the history of mathematics, his place will not be with the very greatest; but his work, brilliant and memorable as it was, affords no true measure of his intellectual greatness. Those who came within the sphere of his personality could not but feel that, through the force of circumstances combined with the peculiarities of his poetic temperament, his performance, splendid as it was, had not adequately reflected his magnificent powers. Those of us who were connected with him cherish his memory as that of a sympathetic friend and a generous critic. And in this University, as long as it shall exist, he will be remembered as the man whose genius illuminated its early years, and whose devotion and ardor furnished the most inspiring of all the elements which went to make those years so memorable and so fruitful.

THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF WOMAN *

The North American Review for September contains a spirited discussion by Mrs. G. G. Buckler of several aspects of the woman question. Of these it is the object of the present paper to consider one only: that which Mrs. Buckler presents in the form of the inquiry, Has woman ever produced, or is she likely to produce, anything first-rate in the higher branches of literature, science, or art?

After a rapid survey of the field Mrs. Buckler answers the first half of this question with a decided negative; on the second half, in the only formal statement she makes concerning it, she holds to a position of judicial doubt. "Women have never yet attained," she says, "the highest rank in science, literature, or art. Whether they ever will do so is, of course, a mere matter of opinion and here it is well carefully to discriminate facts from theories." And she proceeds to reject with something approaching contempt the *a priori* arguments which have been advanced to show that women are of necessity precluded from high intellectual achievements.

Did this passage represent the whole drift of the article, the present writer would have no quarrel with it. It is true that woman has never yet attained the highest rank in science, literature, or art. It is also true that the question whether she ever will or not is a mere matter of opinion—or rather of

* From the North American Review for January, 1898.

purely speculative conjecture. But the formal disclaimer thus made of any decision as to the possibilities of the future is not in agreement with the judgments expressed with emphasis at various points in the article. No reader can lay it down without the feeling that the author holds the facts of history to be conclusive as to the limitations of woman's intellectual powers. Thus, after speaking of women mathematicians, Mrs. Buckler says: "Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." So far as literature is concerned she is even more explicit when she says: "Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric and especially the hymn, letter-writing and domestic novels." But what is more to the purpose is the general drift of the whole article, which is clearly and emphatically to the effect that, in literature at least, women have had ample opportunity to show their powers, and that the result of the test has been a demonstration of hopeless inferiority; and that a similar test, not quite so conclusive, yet practically sufficient, has established the same result in the other two great departments of intellectual activity.

That the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman, it is the object of the present paper to show. Strange as the assertion may at first blush appear, it is nevertheless true that the presumption that women are incapable of

the highest intellectual achievement may far more reasonably be based upon mere ordinary impressions than upon anything which historical experience has thus far been able to furnish. If a man feels it in his bones that no woman could possibly write a poem as great as "Paradise Lost" or evolve a body of mathematical doctrine like that of the "*Disquisitiones Arithmeticæ,*" his state of mind is the result of a vast array of experiences, for the most part absorbed unconsciously, but not the less valuable on that account. A conviction arrived at in this way it is difficult to dislodge or weaken. But when the position is taken, as it has been taken by so many previous writers, as well as by Mrs. Buckler, that women have historically demonstrated their incapacity for such triumphs by not yet having achieved them, it is not difficult to show that the argument is thoroughly unsound.

The first and most vital defect in all these discussions is their total neglect of the question of numbers. "No woman has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art"—granted. But in all the ages of the world there have been but a handful of men who have attained this rank; and only an utterly insignificant fraction of the female sex can be regarded as having been in any sense in the running for these high honors. Among the writers who hold Mrs. Buckler's view, one never finds the slightest attempt to take into account the relation of these numbers. With all but an insignificant fraction of the sex ruled out, would not women have contributed more than their quota if they had furnished even *one* name to the list of immortals?

The force of this inquiry will become much more apparent if we turn aside for a moment from the woman question. Take our own great country, and ask whether any American has attained the *highest* rank in science, literature, or art. We have had no Newton, no Darwin, no Gauss; there has not only been no American Shakespeare or Dante, but no American Goethe or Burns; and neither Beethoven nor Michael Angelo has even a distant relative on the roll of American glory. Does it enter any one's mind to infer, hence, that Americans are intrinsically incapable of the greatest triumphs in science, in literature, or in art? And yet the number of American men who have in the past hundred years been placed in circumstances conducive to the accomplishment of great work is incomparably larger than that of all the women who have ever been so placed.

Other examples will point the moral quite as strikingly. Take the history of German literature. Between the romances and songs of chivalry which were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the revival of German literature in the eighteenth century, there lies a dreary interval of five hundred years during which Germany produced not a single literary figure of importance, to say nothing of "the highest rank." And all this time her universities were keeping up the love of learning; she had ancient capitals and historic courts; she went through the stimulating experience of the Protestant Reformation, and it was within her bounds and during this period that the art of printing was invented. Or, again, take Scotland. An Englishman writing in the year 1750 could far more

justly have said of Scotchmen than any one can to-day say of women, that historical experience had proved that we could not expect from them writings capable of attracting the attention or influencing the thought of the world. Yet the next half-century found Scotland furnishing to philosophy the pre-eminent name of Hume, to political economy the illustrious Adam Smith, to poetry Burns, and to prose Walter Scott.

One is tempted here to introduce examples in which the course of history has been the reverse of this—cases where a period of glory has been followed by ages of utter insignificance. Of these, incomparably the most striking is that of Greece, or, let us say, of Athens. But the phenomenon presented by the magnificent flowering of Greek genius in a single century, followed by two millenia of obscurity, illustrates much more than this lesson of numbers, and may well serve to introduce the second great defect of the historical argument against the capabilities of women. For not only has almost the entire mass of womankind, in all historic ages up to the last two or three decades, been practically placed completely out of the running, but the extremely small minority from whom high achievement might possibly be expected have been wholly cut off from those influences which have, in the case of men, so great a share in the stimulation of ambition and the development of genius. Men who have had the spark of genius or even of talent in them have been spurred to effort by all their surroundings, by the traditions of the race, by rivalry with their comrades, by the admiration which the

opposite sex accords to brilliant achievements, by the dread of disappointing the high expectations of relatives and friends, by the thousand nameless forces which impel and animate to exertion. What of all this has there been for women? How many have been so placed as to even think of an intellectual career as a possibility? Of these few, how many have been otherwise than solitary in their youthful aspirations and efforts? None has had the goad of the humiliation of failure to urge her on, for from none was anything great expected or looked for. And the very absorption in a high intellectual interest, which in the case of a boy would be hailed with delight even by the humblest parents as an earnest of future greatness, was, in the case of girls, up to the last two or three decades, universally condemned and repressed and thwarted even in the most cultivated families.

There is, of course, a very easy answer to all this. Genius, it will be said, rises superior to all obstacles, and will manifest itself in spite of all disadvantages. The widespread acceptance of this comfortable doctrine is an interesting example of the way in which opinions which, when examined, are seen to be mutually contradictory may jog along together in the same mind without inconvenience. The same persons who hold this view of the infinite resources of genius will accept without hesitation the current explanation of the brilliant periods in the intellectual history of the world, or of a particular nation. But if the greatness of English literature in the time of Elizabeth is to be explained by reference to the glories of her reign in arms and adventure and

statesmanship; if it is not to be considered an accident that Italy's pre-eminence in art and literature was coincident with the period when her rival states were at their highest point of wealth and political importance and civic pride; if Augustus had something to do with the Augustan age, and we find it quite natural that Virgil and Horace wrote then, and not in the reign of Augustulus; if we find a line of succession like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, or like Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and recognize in it something most impressive, indeed, but nothing abnormal or miraculous; if we see nothing strange in the failure of the Greek race to produce a single world-name in two thousand years, after having, within the compass of a century and a half, furnished a considerable fraction of all the names on the brief list of the world's greatest men—if all these things are so, what becomes of the notion that inborn genius will triumph over all adversity of circumstance? In one breath we recognize that intellectual glory can be looked for only when the spirit of the time and the conditions of the national life are favorable to it; shall we say, the next moment, that genius is sure to assert itself under all circumstances? Evidently the two positions are incompatible.

So much for the inconsistency of the notion that "genius will out" with the all but universally accepted view that great things are, as a rule, done only in times somehow favorable to greatness. That it is the first, and not the second, of these doctrines which is at fault may easily be shown almost to demonstration; one has only to run over any list of

the world's intellectual heroes, and strike out those who belonged to some great period. Leave only the solitary giants who arose unheralded and alone, who wrote noble verse in an ignoble time, or made immortal works of art for a down-trodden or mean-spirited people, or extended the bounds of human knowledge at a time when learning was held in contempt. Is it necessary actually to go through the task? Is it not plain at once that, if it were performed, the splendid roll of immortals would shrink almost to nothing? And yet, if this be so, it is clear that, far from being sure to triumph over all the obstacles of circumstance, native genius depends almost invariably for its fruitful development upon influences to which it, along with meaner endowments, is subjected. By this is not to be understood any approval of the evolutionary cant which at one time was so prevalent and which asserted that works of genius were a mere "product" of the environment. The environment cannot make a genius, and cannot "evolve" his work. On the other hand, however, genius is not endowed with omnipotence, but, as common sense would indicate, and as historic experience amply demonstrates, it may be powerfully helped or fatally hindered by the atmosphere which it finds itself compelled to breathe.

But the ordinary differences of atmosphere between one age and another, which we thus readily recognize to have an influence so powerful upon literature and art, are insignificant in comparison with the difference between the atmosphere which has surrounded women and the atmosphere which has surrounded men in all times. To suppose that

absolute *exclusion* from the opportunities of culture is the only important factor that has to be taken into account would be to overlook in this question what all acknowledge as of predominant importance when we are considering the history of civilization at large. Most vital of all the adverse influences, except such absolute exclusion, has been the prevalent sentiment as to what is fitting and commendable, as well as the prevalent estimate of what is possible, for women. The effect of such influences has been well expressed by Colonel Higginson: "Systematically discourage any individual, from birth to death, and they learn, in nine cases out of ten, to acquiesce in their degradation, if not to claim it as a crown of glory. If the Abbé Choisy praised the Duchesse de Fontanges for being 'beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose,' it was natural that all the young ladies of the court should resolve to make up in folly what they wanted in charms."

Only those of us who are very young have any need of historical research to assure ourselves that up to an extremely recent date there was not one person in a hundred, of either sex, who did not look upon a really learned woman as a monstrosity. And yet it is instructive to take an occasional glance farther back and find, for instance, that when, in the sixteenth century, Francoise de Saintanges wished to establish girls' schools in France, she was hooted at in the streets and her father called together four doctors learned in the law to decide whether she was not possessed by the devil to think of educating women ("*pour s'assurer qu'instruire des femmes n'était pas un œuvre du démon*"); or that Fénelon

held virgin delicacy to be almost as incompatible with learning as with vice; or that Dr. Gregory, in his book *A Legacy to His Daughters,* which seems to have been regarded as a standard work on female propriety at the end of the eighteenth century, utters such warnings as this: "Be cautious even in displaying your good sense; it will be thought you assume a superiority over the rest of the company. But if you have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding." Every one knows that the two women who in our century have won most distinction by their mathematical work had to acquire the elements of the science surreptitiously and in the face of unyielding parental opposition, though both belonged to families of culture and high social standing. No one fails to see that this was getting knowledge under difficulties; but few realize the more important lesson that it teaches. For who shall say how many girls may have had mathematical powers greater than Mrs. Somerville's or Madame Kovalewski's, without possessing those other qualities which braced these two to fly in the face of what they had been steadily taught from infancy to regard as right and becoming in a woman?

One might go on almost indefinitely, pointing out the vast differences between the motives and ideals of the two sexes. But these considerations will easily occur to every one. The youthful dreams and aspirations of a gifted boy cluster around high achievement and resounding fame, because all that

he hears and reads tends to arouse in him such ambitions; from earliest childhood, a girl learns to look forward to quite other things as her ideal. Beginning with the fairy tale and going on through poetry and romance and the talk of real life, the only thing which is held up to her as praiseworthy is the tender ministering to the needs of those around her; and it is the conquest of men by beauty and charm which is presented to her imagination as the one triumph that a woman prizes. The very girls who are most capable of great work, those possessing an abounding vitality, high spirits, the pride of life, are sure to go in for the great prize of happiness, and they cannot unite the winning of that prize with intellectual work so long as intellectual work is regarded as unfeminine.

But it is not my purpose to make an exhaustive list of the hindrances to woman's intellectual achievements. I have wished merely to fasten attention upon them, and to show their bearing upon that matter of numbers, which, while it is the vital element of the whole question, is so strangely ignored by the supporters of the view maintained in the article under discussion. Let us quote one or two passages from it. "Taking literature as our first topic, we find women from the earliest days expressing their thoughts in verse and prose. Yet as real poets we can only mention the half mythical Sappho, and possibly, in our own day, Mrs. Browning and Christina Rossetti." "Women from the earliest days"; yes, but how many, and under what circumstances? "In physics and mathematics we find feminine enthusiasts at quite an early date. . . .

Yet, taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men." In such a dictum the fact is entirely lost sight of that the whole number of women who acquired the elements of the infinitesimal calculus, in the two centuries from its creation by Newton and Leibnitz to the opening of Vassar College in 1865, was probably less than the number of mathematical honor men the single University of Cambridge turns out in a single year. Yet of the ten thousand men or so whom the University of Cambridge has, within the past hundred years, stamped with her certificate of honor, after a course of training upon which that stronghold of English mathematics concentrates all her powers, only two, or at most three, have achieved high rank as discoverers in pure mathematics.

In drawing conclusions like those just cited, writers continually forget that great distinction is, *ex vi termini*, an extremely rare thing. The truth is, that they are impelled to their conclusion not so much by the facts which they cite in support of it as by a predisposition to believe it. Of this predisposition they may themselves be entirely unconscious; but that it exists is shown by their failure to draw like inferences from similar and indeed much stronger premises, where there is no foregone conclusion to point the way. Almost every word, for instance, that is said of the failure of women to achieve the very highest distinction in science, literature, and art, may be said with equal truth of Americans, and with vastly greater emphasis of the

inhabitants of almost any of our great States, say Pennsylvania; yet no one thinks of inferring from this that Americans or Pennsylvanians are utterly barred by inherent defect from ever attaining the highest intellectual glory. It will be a long time before women may be truthfully said to have had a test in comparison with men anything like as fair as that which Americans have had, or perhaps even that which Pennsylvanians have had, in comparison with the world at large; but because America has produced no Dante, no Newton, no Beethoven, it does not enter any one's mind to conclude that the middle heights of fame must be the limit of an American's ambition.

But this is not the only way in which the predisposition to a foregone conclusion manifests itself. I have freely granted the literal correctness of the assertion that women have not in any department achieved the very highest distinction; but when it comes to drawing a much lower line than this, and asserting that women have never come up to it, the case is very different. Writers adopting the view which Mrs. Buckler holds are very apt to betray the kind of bias that shows itself in the famous *jeu d'esprit* about German scholarship written before the days of Germany's pre-eminence in philology:

> The Germans in Greek
> Are sadly to seek;
> All save only Hermann—
> And Hermann's a German.

Work which, if done by a man, would be regarded as falling little short of the highest, takes on in the minds of these writers a feminine littleness or limi-

tation, for no discoverable reason except that the author of it was a woman. Why, for instance, does Mrs. Buckler repeatedly speak of the "domestic" novel as marking the limits of woman's possibilities in the art of fiction? Could anything be more gratuitous? Is *Romola* a domestic novel? I take *Brockhaus' Encyclopædia,* which happens to be at my side, and find that this German authority describes it as "a picture of the Italian Renaissance of the last half of the fifteenth century, drawn with a master hand." We all know that it is this and much more; and evidently the writer omitted to mention specifically, in so condensed an account, its other high qualities only because he had just given the following characterization of the earlier novel, *Adam Bede:* "Its excellences are a development of character as profound as it is brilliant, true epic force and richness, a style of extraordinary individuality and purity, and a highly original representation of English provincial life." Does one speak in this way of a mere "domestic novel"? In what derogatory sense can any of George Eliot's novels be so designated? And yet the belittlement implied in the words is heightened by the context; for we find hymn-making, letter-writing, and the composing of domestic novels put together as constituting that "humbler species" in literature which "woman's kind" not only has always been, but "probably will always be found to be."

This underestimation of woman's achievement in a direction in which many women have been distinguished and a few have been truly great is so remarkable, and is so instructive as showing how large

a part unconscious bias may play in these judgments, that I shall dwell upon it a moment longer, and forego all criticism of estimates of feminine performance in other fields, which, though not open to so strong an objection, are yet vitiated in the same manner. In a passage other than that just quoted we again find " letter-writing and novels of domestic life " coupled together on an apparently equal footing; and here we find women's excellence in these departments ascribed to " their special demand for the feminine qualities of quick emotions and ready observation." Let me place alongside of this unfavorable etimate some words about George Sand written by the greatest of English critics:

> Whether or not the number of George Sand's works—always fresh, always attractive, but poured out too lavishly and rapidly—is likely to prove a hindrance to her fame, I do not care to consider. Posterity, alarmed at the way in which its literary baggage grows upon it, always seeks to leave behind it as much as it can, as much as it dares—everything but masterpieces. But the immense vibration of George Sand's voice upon the ear of Europe will not soon die away. Her passions and her errors have been abundantly talked of. She left them behind her, and men's memory of her will leave them behind also. There will remain of her to mankind the sense of benefit and stimulus from the passage upon earth of that large and frank nature, of that large and pure utterance—the large utterance of the early gods.*

The object of this article was stated at the outset to be a negative one. Its purpose was to show that " the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intel-

* Matthew Arnold: *Mixed Essays.*

lectual powers of woman." The positive proposition that women are capable of doing such work as has been done by a few score only of all the thousands of millions of men in the world's history, I have made no attempt to establish. But that the absence, up to the present time, of supreme pre-eminence on the part of any woman cannot be allowed any logical weight in support of the conclusion that the sex is incapable of such distinction, I think the foregoing considerations sufficiently show. I have pointed out, in the first place, that those who draw such an inference entirely fail to pay regard to the all-important question of numbers; they forget for the time being how very rare the kind of achievement is upon the absence of which they base their conclusion. Great nations have gone on for hundreds of years without producing a single important literary figure; and it must be plain to any fair-minded person that the whole number of women in all nations and all times who may be said to have been so placed as justly to be considered in the comparison is far less than that of the men so placed in any great nation in a single century. It is only within the last few decades that any considerable number of girls have grown up with any other notion than that serious intellectual work in their sex is a monstrosity; and only in England and America has a different view of the matter been widely entertained even in our time, the "woman movement" having attained an important character in Germany only within the past five or ten years.

In the second place, I have endeavored to emphasize the fact that even this numerical exclusion of

all but an extremely small fraction of the sex does not begin to measure the disadvantage of women in the comparison. Every one must recognize that the minute fraction which may properly be considered at all has not been surrounded by the atmosphere, affected by the agencies, impelled by the stimuli, which exercise so incalculable an influence upon human achievement; but there is a not unnatural tendency to think that after all there ought to have been *some* women who had risen superior to all these things. It is for this reason that I have dwelt on the utter absence of intellectual greatness in periods of national decadence, and on the universally acknowledged influence of general conditions upon the flourishing of literature, art, and science. But surely the ordinary differences in these conditions which have been uniformly found sufficient wholly to prevent the emergence of genius among men are insignificant in comparison with the unfavorable difference which has always existed in the conditions surrounding women, in every direction of intellectual effort.

A final word as to the importance or unimportance of the whole discussion. There would be no harm in leaving the question entirely open; what is to be deplored is an erroneous belief that it has been settled. In a matter of keen human interest—however unsubstantial or speculative that interest may be—any error is to be deplored, simply as error. But in this case there is another and more special reason for regret. It is that the conclusion which I have been engaged in controverting is sure to be understood by the generality of people as meaning

vastly more than in its exact terms it professes to convey. Even those who are not "the generality" slide imperceptibly into this exaggeration of its purport. The most that could be claimed as shown by history, even were the considerations adduced in the present article wholly ignored, would be that women cannot reach the highest heights; yet we see the very able and gifted writer of the article to which this is a reply belittling achievements of members of her own sex which are of undeniable greatness, a thing which can hardly be ascribed to anything else than the bias due to a preconceived theory. Whether or not any woman can be as great as the greatest men, it is quite certain that some women càn be as great as very great men; for some women have been.

The capacity for doing excellent work in the most difficult departments of university study, positive experience has now shown to be no more abnormal among women than among men. Yet we see surviving to our own day—and probably, if the truth were known, still very widely entertained—the notion that, leaving out a possible *lusus naturæ* here and there, women are incapable of doing high university work. In a recent number of a prominent Review, I find a Lecturer on History in the University of Cambridge making the utterly ridiculous statement that he had "never seen a woman's papers equal to a man's"; which, if understood literally, would mean that the ablest of the women whose papers have ever come under his eye was not equal to the most stupid of the men. This doubtless is not what he meant to say, but the

expression shows the persistence in his mind of an utterly baseless belief in woman's essential inferiority. Any one whose memory extends back twenty-five years will remember the time when the belief was practically universal that women were incapable of mastering the higher mathematics. Go back a little farther, and we find a schoolmaster in one of the principal towns of Massachusetts set down as a visionary because he proposed to undertake to teach girls fractions. A century ago no less a man than Kant declared the unfitness of women for the study of geometry. "It is generally believed in Germany," writes Professor Klein,* one of the greatest of living mathematicians, "that mathematical studies are beyond the capacity of women"; but he assures us that the women who have attended the mathematical courses at Göttingen "have constantly shown themselves from every point of view as able as their male competitors." And it may be remarked that the mathematical work here referred to is as far beyond anything that was taught in America before the opening of the Johns Hopkins University as the work in our best colleges in those days was beyond that of a country school.

It is because the view combated in this article not only is lacking in foundation, but tends to strengthen the hold of beliefs which still cling to the majority of persons, though they have been amply proved to be erroneous, that I feel it to be important that it should be opposed. It is impossible to determine the relative powers of men and

* "*Les Femmes dans la Science.*" By A. Rebière. Paris, 1897. (Page 318.)

women; it will be long before experience can show, even with a moderate degree of probability, what limits there may be to the possibilities of woman in the realm of intellect. Let us not, in the meanwhile, belittle the actual work of women, in pursuance of a baseless dogma of essential inferiority. Let us refrain, for instance, from saying, with Mr. Gosse, that women cannot write poetry requiring art "because they lack the artistic impulse," when we know not only that they have written such poetry, but that paintings like those of Miss Mary Cassatt or Mme. Demont-Breton, not to speak of older names, show the possession of an extremely high artistic impulse. Let Americans, at least, not talk glibly of women's power in scientific discovery being essentially inferior to men's, until such time as some American mathematician receives as high recognition as that bestowed by the French Academy on the work of Sonia Kovalewski, the judgment being pronounced without knowledge of the writer's sex. Let us not regard the results of women's attempts in poetry and music as utterly fatal to aspirations however high, when we remember that our country has thus far produced neither a great composer nor, in the high sense of the word, a great poet. Let us not lay too great stress on the fact that "in dramatic literature no woman has ever gained for herself any lasting fame," when it is remembered that America has never produced a drama of even moderate excellence; while, on the other hand, I find Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard, saying in The Nation a few weeks ago, of a drama recently written by a German woman,

Gisela von Arnim, the wife of Hermann Grimm, that its chief scene is "one of the most affecting in dramatic literature," that the personages of the play are "characters of genuine grandeur," and that in it the longings and aspirations of the author have "found a supreme poetic expression." In a word, as to what woman may do in the future, let us frankly acknowledge that the future alone can decide, the experience of the past being far too slight to furnish the materials for a forecast; and as to what women have done in the past, or are doing in the present, let us recognize it as what it is, and not as what, in accordance with an unproved generalization, we imagine it must of necessity be.

A DEFECT OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN AMERICA *

When I received from the president of this association of Johns Hopkins comrades a letter of invitation so cordial and expressive of so much affection and regard that I could not think of declining it, I found that invitation coupled with a request which I am sure was meant to be the easiest one possible to grant. He said that all that would be expected of me was that I should simply say a word to you on whatever might be uppermost in my mind at the moment. But there is only one subject that is uppermost in the minds of all Americans at the present time; and it happens that upon that subject it is more difficult for me than for probably most of my fellow citizens to say the word that would be at once true to my thoughts and feelings and fitting for this occasion. I cannot truthfully say that I share either the gloomy forebodings of the ardent opponents of expansion or the buoyant optimism of its aggressive supporters. To define a political position of this kind with accuracy is surely not an appropriate aim in an after-dinner speech at a reunion of University friends; and I shall not attempt it. Neither shall I on the other hand evade the question altogether; though the subject I have chosen for the few remarks that I am going to make is " A Defect of Public Discussion in America."

* Address delivered before the Northwestern Association of the Johns Hopkins Alumni, at Chicago, February 22, 1899.

The defect to which I have reference is to my mind very marked and very important, though I feel strongly that in its exhibition by the best of our journals and public men it is an instance of what the French would call the *défauts de leurs qualités.* The history of party struggles and of reform activities in our country has been a history of movements on large lines, of battles in which at least one of the opposing sides has been constantly animated by the feeling that it was fighting either for a great moral principle, or for the defence of fundamental constitutional rights, or for the preservation of the integrity of the country. The grand struggle over state rights and over slavery came to its final close in a gigantic civil war, and not many years after that the problems incidental to reconstruction fell into the background. Since then, and leaving out the past twelvemonth, the subjects that have most engaged the efforts of the best leaders of opinion in America have been civil-service reform, the currency, and the tariff. The civil-service reform movement has had all the marks of a genuine moral propaganda; the sound-money fight has been, in its essence, a fight against dishonesty, or what was regarded by its leaders as dishonesty; and even the tariff fight has been carried on chiefly as an attack upon protection as being in the first place a spoliation of the many for the benefit of the few, and secondly a breeder of corruption in legislation and politics. There was, indeed, one most memorable presidential campaign that was fought upon entirely different lines; but the peculiar issue then at stake was even more distinctly a moral one than

was the case in any other election; and it is to the honor of the American people that there were found so many noble and high-minded men who were willing to sacrifice tranquillity and friendship and old political associations in order to make their protest against any lowering of the standard of personal fitness for the chief magistracy of the nation.

Now, I am so far from being an opportunist that the conviction which I feel more profoundly than any other in regard to the needs of a democracy is that unflinching courage on the part of its leaders is the one quality that is most to be prized and the presence or absence of which is most likely to be decisive of its salvation or its downfall at some time of vital trouble. To put the matter in a nutshell, it is the Cleveland type, not the McKinley type, that I admire and cherish. But I cannot help feeling that the spirit of the Crusader and the Covenanter is not adequate to the grappling with all the problems of government and of national policy. The habits of thought and expression bred in a lifelong championship of principles the recognition of which one holds to be essential to political salvation, and the opponents of which one sets down as mere children of darkness, are fine and noble habits, but they have their evil side. And it is largely to this source, I take it, that the weakness in American political controversy to which I have had reference is to be traced. Not every question can be effectively disposed of by an appeal to one or two simple and abstract principles; nor is the acceptance of those principles themselves likely to be best furthered by

that sort of advocacy which rides roughshod over all difficulties, which refuses to recognize any possibility of even incidental or subsidiary merit in the opposite camp, which ignores instead of overcoming adverse arguments, and which fails to acknowledge any distinctions of degree, massing together all things that it condemns in one hopeless category of irreclaimable blackness, holding each as big as any other with infinite disaster.

Let me illustrate what I mean by a few examples. We had for a number of years an excess of revenue over expenditure in the Federal Treasury. This was an abnormal and improper condition of affairs, the consequences of which were injurious in more ways than one. But it was a conditon which gave no occasion for intense apprehension, or for white-hot exhortations on the follies and vices of the time. Yet it was customary in the quarters most representative of tariff-reform sentiment to speak of the treasury surplus as a tremendous national problem, and to point to it as the just punishment of Heaven for the stubborn wickedness of the protectionists. So far did this feeling go that the Republican party was pictured, and I believe honestly pictured by many, as placed in the terrible position of being compelled, in case it returned to power in 1889, to swallow the ugly dose of tariff reduction in order to save the country from being ruined by hypertrophy of the treasury. Well, the Republicans did return to power in 1889, and the surplus did not bother them a particle; they simply spent most of it on pensions, and cut off the rest not by lowering duties but by raising them. I am far from saying that this was

right; but no one can deny that it was exceedingly easy. And the free-traders would have known that it was easy, and would have acknowledged that it was easy, and would have fought their fight on the ground that it was very bad though it was easy, had they not been so filled with the conviction that the way of the transgressor is hard, and that there never were on earth wickeder transgressors than the protectionists.

There was not much of an interval between the disappearance of the surplus and the arrival of the deficit. That a deficit is a bad thing requires no setting forth at all; and it was disastrously bad at the particular time when it came, because it was continually depleting the gold reserve, and thus undermining the security of the currency. It was justly made the occasion of emphasizing the need of economy, the folly as well as wrongfulness of reckless expenditure. But these exhortations on economy, both as matter of duty and as matter of expediency, would have made, I feel sure, a stronger impression, not a weaker one, had the exhorters been less violent, less alarmist. A member of Mr. Cleveland's cabinet wrote an article in one of the Reviews, entitled "Retrenchment—or Ruin." Now, I have not a word to say against the motive of such an article, nor a word to say against its object; on the contrary, I have the highest respect for the first and the greatest desire for the attainment of the second. But we all know that nothing is more injurious to a cause than an attempt to prove what is palpably and obtrusively too much. Would it not be better, in dealing with hard-headed people like the Ameri-

cans, to tell them that they are being taxed beyond what is necessary and right—which is a truth— than to tell them that the nation is in danger of being taxed into bankruptcy—which is a mere bugaboo? It is the want of measure, the recklessness of such talk that is what troubles me, when I think how much of the like we are so constantly treated to from the best quarters. How reckless in this particular instance may perhaps best be realized when it is noted that France spends nearly two hundred million dollars a year for interest on her debt and nearly two hundred million dollars for her war establishment; so that her annual expense before she spends a cent for civil purposes is considerably larger than was the entire expenditure of the United States government at the time Mr. Sterling Morton warned us of impending ruin. When it is remembered that the population of France is only about half that of the United States and that the scale of individual incomes in that country is again only about half the scale prevalent here, it is plain how easy an answer might have been made to any argument designed to prove that there was no alternative for this country but retrenchment or ruin. Since then we have had occasion to show how unheroic are the remedies which suffice to cover increased expenditures in this country when the necessity arises for them. We may dislike to stick two-cent stamps on bank-checks, and we may harbor unpleasant suspicions as to the amount of foam that is given us in our glass of beer; but neither of these distresses is of a tragic character, and they must surely be regarded as an extremely welcome substitute for national bankruptcy.

I am not sure that I am making my point perfectly clear, and I am afraid my next illustration will be no better, unless I point its moral in advance. What I have in mind is not a thing than can easily be formulated in definite terms; but perhaps it can be expressed with some approach to accuracy by saying that the dispositon I am trying to illustrate is that of importing into every question that simplicity which marks any great question of right and wrong, that sharpness of contrast, that inspiriting confidence that one's own side is in every respect good and that the opposing side has not a redeeming feature which, to the champion of righteousness and the fighter against iniquity, is the very breath of his life. The two instances I have already cited indicate the temptations and pitfalls of this *reductio ad simplicem*. In the great contest on the silver question the same thing was illustrated in very glaring ways. It was as though the gold-standard champions had deliberately adopted as part of their creed the dogma that every thing which was maintained by the silver men must of necessity be false. Accordingly, it was declared with a thunder of many voices that silver was not demonetized by the act of 1873, though it was a mere quibble to say that it was not; that the demonetization of silver by Germany and other nations did not lower its value because the value of silver depends on "demand and supply," though clearly the cutting off of its use as money was a diminution of demand; and furthermore that there is nothing in the "quantity theory" of money, though the great majority of the persons so declaring had never doubted that there was a great deal

in the quantity theory of money until it happened that that theory became a handy thing for the silver men to use. All this being laid down to begin with, of course it was exceedingly easy to handle the silverites, for they had not a leg to stand on; but then it is not a very glorious wrestling match in which a man, instead of grappling with his opponent, chops off his legs with an axe.

Now the intellectual habit which I have endeavored to indicate, and in some slight measure to illustrate, does not stop with methods of discussion; it is natural that it should manifest itself in methods of action likewise. There are fights that must be fought with reference only to the single question, what is right? But there are contests in which we must also ask the question, what can be done? It is possible to be as highminded and as heroic while striving for what is right with constant reference to what can be done, as in insisting upon what is right and refusing to consider what can be done. A great struggle on the part of an oppressed nation, which half a century ago deeply engaged the attention of Americans, furnished two men who represent, each upon a magnificent scale, these two types of action. Louis Kossuth would accept for Hungary nothing short of absolute independence. Francis Deák was the statesman who guided his country to the attainment of constitutional liberty as a coequal member of the dual empire of Austria-Hungary. But no one would think of placing Deák on a lower plane than Kossuth morally or in any other respect. He won the title of the Hungarian Aristides; and his austere patriotism and stern integrity seem rather

to belong to the grand traditions of antiquity than to the doings of our own day. In America we have not yet learned to look for or to esteem statesmen of the Deák type. This is due in part, no doubt, to the happy conditions in which we have thus far lived, conditions in which no complicated dangers have pressed upon us; and in part to the intellectual habits of which I have been speaking. But be the cause what it may, there is, at the present time, an almost total lack of public men who, when the nation is confronted with a new and difficult problem, feel that it is their business to contrive means for dealing with it. Their language is yea, yea or nay, nay; but there are situations in which the vocabulary of the statesman has need to be more extensive than that.

Such a situation arose at the close of the war with Spain. Before Congress assembled, it had become practically certain that the commissioners sent to Paris by Mr. McKinley would negotiate a treaty under the terms of which the Philippine Islands would fall into the hands of the United States. This being the case it would seem that the very first question to enter the mind of any person who regarded the permanent annexation of those islands to this country as a national calamity would be the question, what can be done about this grave matter? Here was the Administration proposing annexation; here was a Senate with probably more than one-third of its members opposed to expansion, but it was to be followed in a very few months by a Senate with so large a Republican majority that the Administration was practically sure to command in it a two-thirds vote for the ratification of the treaty.

As for public sentiment, it was certainly in a plastic state, but the experience of several months had shown that no effective popular response could be had to appeals of a purely negative character. There might be, and my own opinion is that there has been all along, an enormous mass of public opinion which looks with profound misgiving and dislike upon the whole expansion scheme; but the utter failure of this great body of opinion to manifest itself in anything like adequate fashion has been the most striking of all the phenomena of the past six months. Before Congress met, it was as plain as anything could be that no aid in solving the treaty problem could possibly be had from any pressure of public sentiment based on general opposition alone. Unless something more specific than mere negation were found for a rallying cry, the game was up.

The Senate assembled. There were two or three Republican Senators who were heart and soul against the expansion program in every feature, who dreaded it as the beginning of the end of our great republican institutions. There were several other Republican Senators who, while not taking quite so serious a view, were heartily opposed to expansion, and would have welcomed any practicable plan for preventing it. The Democratic Senators were, almost all of them, ardent anti-imperialists. All were agreed that the question before them was one of the most momentous, perhaps altogether the most momentous, with which the country had ever been confronted. It was plain that if anything was to be accomplished there must be concert of action among these men, and action upon a definite line.

It was evident that if anything was to be extorted from the Administration, there must be insistence from the start upon something which the Administration men could possibly grant. But was there ever so much as a conference among the conservative Senators to agree upon a plan of campaign? I have never heard of one. Was there even so much as a general understanding that some one of the half-score or so of anti-expansion resolutions offered in the Senate represented the specific demand of the opposition? No one can say that there was. To fight against the treaty with mere denunciatory and hortatory speeches, made by individual Senators, each fighting on his own line, was like fighting Krag-Jorgensen rifles with bows and arrows.

I honor the Senators who protested against the annexation of the Philippines because in their judgment it is unconstitutional, and those who protested against it because it contravenes the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Whatever else they might have done, or might have suffered to be done, it was their duty to protest and to protest with all their might. But it is to me almost incomprehensible that they should have regarded the duty of protesting as the whole of their duty as statesmen. The more they held it an iniquity, the more they held it a calamity, for the nation to enter upon this new course, the less should they have felt absolved from the task of measuring all the resources that were within their reach for preventing or obstructing it, the task of contriving what could be contrived, for the purpose of compassing what could be compassed. Of effort of this kind, there was not,

to my knowledge, the faintest trace. I do not pretend to be able to say what might have been an effective program; I do say that an adequate conception of the problems of statesmanship would have led to a serious attempt on the part of the opposition Senators to construct such a program. And some idea of what might have been accomplished is furnished by what actually took place. Had the opposition concentrated at an early day in the session upon a resolution like Senator Bacon's, declaring that our occupation of the Philippines was to be temporary, and that when a native government could be established we were to withdraw upon just and reasonable terms; had they made it perfectly plain that unless a joint resolution of this character were passed by both houses and signed by the President the treaty would be defeated, but that if it were passed the treaty would be ratified, I think it can be asserted with great confidence that the opposition would not only have had its way in the matter, but that it would have been able, through this proposition, to bring out a most powerful public sentiment which has utterly failed to come out in response to the most passionate appeals and the most indignant denunciations. To conclude from the failure of the constitutional arguments to make much impression on the country that the constitution has fallen into contempt, would, I feel convinced, be an error. Had there been thirty years before us instead of thirty days to fight out the constitutional controversy, as there was in the state-rights struggle, there would have been attention enough given to it. As it was, everybody felt

that insistence upon a particular inference from the Constitution was utterly unfitted to play a decisive part in the immediate decision of a pressing problem. And the like explanation holds, I believe, for the inefficacy of the speeches, however earnest and ardent, made upon other lines. The speakers, however exalted their principles, were intent not so much upon achieving something as upon freeing their own minds and recording their individual protest. There was no action behind their words; and it was said long ago that the very essence of oratory is "action, action, action."

I should regret it deeply if anything I have said should leave upon your minds the impression that I either admire or approve the spirit which leads a politician to follow the line of least resistance; to watch for the signs of what is coming, and make his peace with it; to talk glibly about great principles but dismiss them as useless lumber when their application comes to involve difficulty or sacrifice. Contentment with such a spirit in a democracy would be a fatal vice; what I have been speaking about is only a failing. Better, a thousand times, to run the risk of mistakes and failures from too simple a devotion to great causes than to have the certainty of civic degeneracy from the lack of such devotion. If I have dwelt upon what is to my mind a defect in our political habits and standards, it is because, in addressing a body of men of high intellectual training, I have no fear that the part will be taken for the whole, or that what is recommended as a supplement to high endeavor will be understood as a

substitute for it. No one feels more deeply than myself the conviction that courage and firmness are the attributes which, in our public officers and our public teachers, we must prize above all others; all the more am I concerned, for that very reason, that the exhibition of these high qualities shall not fail of its due respect through being associated in the public mind with a want of such discrimination as circumstances from time to time imperatively demand. There are times when everything must be staked for the naked assertion of a principle; and there are principles in defence of whose sanctity everything must be staked at all times. I have never felt prouder of the brotherhood of university men than I have in following the course of that noble fight in France for justice and liberty which has owed its vitality in so large a measure to the devotion and the sacrifices of French men of learning and men of science. What so many noble-hearted men have done in that distracted country, giving up the loved seclusion and peace of the closet and the laboratory to lay their sacrifices on the altar of justice and civil liberty and freedom of opinion, that I trust our American scholars will be found ready to do if our country should ever have the misfortune of being threatened with such madness as a year ago held possession of the populace of France. The motto of our university is "Veritas vos liberabit"; but, while the avowed object of universities is the discovery and the preservation of the truth, a still prouder tradition of the men who have represented that aim has been the fearless utterance of the

truth. Of all the verses in that precious little by-product of university life, the German Kommersbuch, there are none that move me like the lines,

> Wer die Wahrheit kennet und saget sie nicht,
> Der ist fürwahr ein erbärmlicher Wicht.

I trust that university men will always respond instinctively to that sentiment: and that none will be found more steadfast in any time that may in the future try men's souls than the alumni of that university which we all cherish so dearly, and whose impress has been so deeply felt in every university in the land.

SEVERN TEACKLE WALLIS

(April 11, 1894)

In the death of Mr. Wallis, Maryland has lost her foremost citizen. His title to this eminence did not rest so much upon his distinction in any one direction as upon the significance of his whole life, of his manifold activity, of his lofty personality, to all that is best and highest in the community. Great as was his eminence at the bar, important and distinguished as were his services to the cause of pure politics in this city and State, brilliant as were his achievements as an orator—all these taken together are inadequate to account for the reverence with which he was regarded by all of those in the younger generations of Baltimoreans who cherish high ideals and who hope for the attainment of a higher and a purer public life. He has constantly furnished to such men faith and strength, in the face of the discouragement and doubt which every-day experience spread about them, not only by his steadfast aid to every high and worthy cause, but by the inspiration of his presence, of his high and chivalrous bearing, of his unwavering devotion to noble ideals.

That we should have had in our community a man so exceptionally fitted by moral no less than by intellectual endowments to adorn the highest stations in our country's councils, and did not avail ourselves of the rare privilege of engaging such a man in the public service, is food for melancholy

reflection. The Senate of the United States was so distinctly the proper field of his activity that in any sound condition of political life, and of general opinion on civic matters, his selection for the Senatorship would have been a matter of course, and the only obstacle to be feared would have been his own possible unwillingness to give up his professional activity for a Senatorial career. His constant and intense interest in politics, not only from the point of view of the local reformer, but also from that of national statesmanship, gave, however, sufficient evidence of his willingness to accept the honor of the Senatorship if it had been offered to him, as it should have been, by the free choice of the people of Maryland. Not only would his presence in the Senate have reflected lustre on his native State, but it would have gone far to stem the current of degeneration which has so rapidly deprived that once most honored body of nearly all the dignity and authority with which, in its better days, it was clothed. The deprivation of the State and nation of the splendid service which Mr. Wallis might have rendered is not the least of the sins for which the ignoble crew of political manipulators who have so long kept their grip on our public affairs are responsible; and many will feel more disposed to forgive their grosser offenses than the more subtle one of preventing this high and strong nature from asserting itself in the important and influential station to which, by every natural right, it belonged.

Yet nothing could be more mistaken than the idea that his public exertions have been unfruitful.

Not only did they bear fruit during his life in stemming the aggressions of unscrupulous politicians and giving heart to those reform movements which, however imperfectly successful, have at least forced upon the politicians some degree of improvement in our electoral methods; but the enthusiasm and the devotion to good and pure government which he instilled into his younger contemporaries are forces whose beneficent effect will be felt long after his departure from the scene of his labors. There is not one who has been familiar with his life, who has been his follower in the forlorn hopes which he has led, who has derived inspiration from the high character stamped upon every lineament of his face as well as upon every utterance of his lips, but will be a better and a braver man to the end of his days for having known Severn Teackle Wallis.

Nor is it only as an actor in our public life that the community has reason to mourn the death of Mr. Wallis. He was an example of a type that has been rare at all times, and which, we fear, is becoming rarer than ever in our day of hurry and bustle and rapid material progress. The very ideal of the "gentleman and scholar," he was not less prized as a speaker upon occasions of literary or educational interest than as a pleader at the bar or an orator on the hustings. Whether delivering a memorial oration on George Peabody, or addressing the Johns Hopkins University on its anniversary day, or presiding at a public dinner, he was always the embodiment of the qualities which characterize the highest culture. It is most sad to

think that we have no longer among us his courteous and dignified figure; that we shall never again have the privilege of listening to him whose keen wit and comprehensive knowledge and perfect diction it is so rarely possible to match. The presence of such a man among us was an ennobling and elevating influence to thousands who had not the privilege of his acquaintance; and it is some consolation at this time to reflect that that influence will, at least in some degree, be continued as long as the memory of his life and character endures.

A MEMORABLE CAMPAIGN

(November 2, 1895)

The campaign which has now all but come to a close will long be memorable in the history of Maryland politics. It has differed from previous campaigns in which the power of the Democratic ring has been fiercely attacked, in the universal interest which that attack has excited. Baltimore has been fortunate in having had, throughout the long reign of the vulgar despotism which seems now about to be overthrown, a body of determined and ardent upholders of true Democracy who have risen up again and again, undiscouraged by defeat, and fought battle after battle for honesty and freedom against corruption and boss rule. More than once, the battle has been won at the polls but has been turned into apparent defeat by frauds upon the ballot-box. This time it seems evident that, in the first place, the people have shown so determined a front that the election thieves will be largely held in check by fear, and secondly that the honest majority against the ring will be so great that even wholesale fraud cannot wipe it out.

The reasons for the difference between this and former campaigns are not far to seek. In the first place, the ground was ready for the seed which has been sown during this agitation. By victories in our own and in other cities over the powers of misrule, the masses of the people had become familiar with the idea that submission to the autocratic govern-

ment of ward tricksters was not a fatal necessity, but could be thrown off at will. The success of New York City in throwing off the yoke of Tammany last year was a stimulus and encouragement to the progressive movement all over the country. Nearer home, the defeat, by a decisive majority, of an unfit candidate for a judgeship, though no campaign of personal detraction was waged against him, showed the strength of the independent sentiment in our own city. Again, the wholesome effect of the investigation of the City Commissioner's Office—an investigation which never would have taken place had not the "regular" Democratic control of the City Council been broken—taught the people that agitation of reforms, even when very imperfectly carried on, may be extremely fruitful. The steady progress of civil service reform, both in the National Government and in such striking local instances as that of Chicago, has been an object lesson which has been worth a thousand sermons in teaching the truth that it is worth while to fight for good government, however strong the forces arrayed against it may seem.

In addition to these general and rather indefinite influences affecting the public temper, there was another of a more specific kind, and productive of more intense emotion—moreover one which had been entirely absent upon former occasions. This was furnished by Gorman's impudent and unprincipled conduct in the tariff fight. The deep disgust and indignation with which the people of Maryland overflowed when they were compelled to look on helpless while their accredited representative in the

United States Senate was playing the part of a traitor to the party to which he professed devotion had not disappeared in the short space of a year. The best Democrats in the State were the men who resented Gorman's conduct most intensely and most enduringly. Such was the state of mind of the Democratic party, such was their impatience at the idea of having their affairs managed by a man who had thus brazenly shown his want of principle, and by that other man who had never, by his best friends, been suspected of knowing what political principle is, that the mouthpieces of the ring were assiduous, for months before the nominations were to be made, in spreading through the community assurances that this year Gorman and Rasin would keep their hands off, and let the people nominate. They themselves felt that it was necessary, for the nonce, to reckon with honest public sentiment, and they undertook to "pander to the moral sense of the community" to the extent of promising the people that they would forego, this time, their prescriptive right to dictate the names of the candidates for whom the people would be allowed to vote.

How was that promise kept? It would be idle to go over the history of what has been, for the last three months, in everybody's mouth. The nominations were dictated with more audacity and assurance than ever before, by the two men whose insolent domination the people were determined to tolerate no longer. On July 31 the issue was made, which no clap-trap talk of negro domination, no wicked revival of war-time memories and animosities, no silly noise of any kind has been able to drive out of

the field. The fight has been a fight to put down Gorman and Rasin, and it has been nothing else. The rejection of Hurst will not be a defeat of that gentleman, but of the two men who appointed him their nominee. The election of Lowndes will not be a victory for the Republican party, but a victory for free government, for reform and progress. It is not any difference between the character of Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Hurst, or even of the Republican and Democratic politicians in this State, that is the essential thing. It is the forces behind them which make the significance of this contest. The people know that the election of Hurst would mean the rehabilitation of the power of the discredited pair of political manipulators whom we have so long suffered to rule over us. They know that the election of Lowndes would mean a staggering blow to this disgraceful domination, and an earnest effort, which has been promised by Lowndes, and which will be imperiously insisted on by his Democratic supporters, to inaugurate a better condition of things in our State.

The events of the campaign have been in keeping with the nature of the contest. The desperate situation which the ring saw confronting it led to frauds in the registration on a scale unexampled even in our history. The high-handed treatment of the watchers in the registration offices, the exposure of the methods of the Board of Supervisors of Elections, Governor Brown's impotent course in dealing with them, all served to intensify the public determination to destroy the organization responsible for this state of things. The defenders and apologists of the organi-

zation, instead of recognizing the appalling character of the registration frauds which have been demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt, and joining in the effort to frustrate these frauds, have attempted to throw dust into people's eyes by talking about Reconstruction days and force bills and mixed schools, and other things about which the people are not at all in the humor of being entertained just now. Not a word have they said which indicated a consciousness that these great frauds had been absolutely shown to exist, or a sincere desire not to profit by them. Apart from these silly cries, which have constituted the chief feature of the campaign, there has been carried on, by Senator Gorman himself, a campaign for the restoration of his own reputation as a Democrat, the failure of which has been almost pathetic. He began by making great claims for himself, apparently expecting that he would be able to get eminent and sound Democrats to back them up. These expectations have had for net result the extraction of one extremely lukewarm sentence, in the midst of a long speech, from Senator Gray. And in the latter part of the campaign, Mr. Gorman himself has subsided from the Glenelg and Snow Hill level to that of his Cross-Street Market and Broadway Hall speeches.

The whole campaign on the part of the "regular" Democrats has been a sorry exhibition of utter failure to present any claim whatever to public confidence. Blind partisanship, sectional animosity, race prejudice, are the only sentiments to which they have been able to appeal. Fortunately all these have had their day, and are now potent only with the very

ignorant and the very narrow-minded. Especially have the young men of the country got far beyond the range of appeals which are so little addressed to their reason and conscience. The great body of our people know that the time has come to take a forward step in the government of our cities and States. They know that if they fail to do their utmost on Tuesday to break the degrading and corrupt combination which has ruled Baltimore and Maryland for twenty years, they will fail in their foremost duty as citizens. And realizing this, they will throw all minor considerations, all personal predilections, all party prejudices, to the winds, and make the coming fifth of November a day of deliverance for our city and State, and a day of rejoicing for the friends of good government all over the Union.

THE VENEZUELA ISSUE

(December 18, 1895)

The stand taken by the President in his message to Congress submitting the correspondence between our own and the British Government on the Venezuela boundary question, if backed up by Congress, as it now seems certain to be, makes war apparently the only alternative to a humiliating retreat on the part of one or the other of the two countries. The President proposes that the boundary be determined by a Commission appointed by the United States, and that the boundary so determined be insisted on by us as the limit of British rule. The notion that this proceeding would be a way to "make sure we are right before we go ahead" is entirely without warrant, so far as we can see. The question to be determined is not one of engineering, like the running of a parallel of latitude by Mason and Dixon. It is a question whose settlement depends largely on historical evidence, documentary and other. Of course, if Great Britain continues to decline arbitration, she will all the more surely refuse to submit her side of the case to our Commission, and the judgment of that body would have to be based entirely on a one-sided presentation of evidence. If, in this state of things, our Commission should come to a conclusion favoring Venezuela's claim, the justice of that claim would be but little more clearly ascertained than it is at the present moment.

The plan of the President, therefore, while it may be an excellent means of gaining time, and may thus serve the purpose of letting down one or the other side easily, is not a logical way out of the difficulty. The merits of the question remain what they were before. We must confess that those merits do not seem to us so clear on either side as they evidently are to most of our contemporaries. That the Monroe doctrine does not on its face apply to the pending dispute seems perfectly plain. No such question was contemplated when President Monroe made his famous declaration, as anyone can see by referring to its language, which will be found in another column of this page. However high-handed it may be thought by us for Great Britain to insist on her own view of her rights, instead of allowing the boundary to be determined by international arbitration, no one can say that the act constitutes on its face any such extension of the European system as was contemplated by President Monroe, or as has been resisted in former assertions of the Monroe doctrine. This view is strengthened rather than weakened by the instances cited by Secretary Olney, each of which involved the actual government of an American State, and not a mere question of disputed boundary. On the other hand, that the doctrine itself, not unduly stretched or made a mere pretext for the indulgence of bellicose propensities, is founded in sound reason and the highest expediency, we believe. But that the position of Great Britain really involves an infraction of that doctrine, either as enunciated by Monroe, or as hitherto understood by sound American statesmen, or as interpreted in

the light of the needs of the present and future, we confess seems to us to admit of most serious doubt.

But on one point we have no doubt whatever. That it would be not only wicked, viewed morally, but most calamitous and deplorable from the standpoint of politics and history, for us to engage without unmistakable necessity in a war with the great mother of free government in the modern world, the country from which we derive our laws, our language, our literature, our most precious traditions—of this we feel no manner of doubt. We have no fault to find with those who take the stand that, if the preservation of our just position on this continent requires us to go to war, we must not shirk the duty or count the cost. But is this the spirit in which we are going about the matter? Is it not plain, rather, that the great majority of those who are applauding the President's stand are simply glad of the chance to show our strength, and to whip the Britishers? Is it likely that people who go about saying that "nothing would give them more happiness than to lead a division into Canada" have carefully weighed the merits of the case, and are favoring war simply as a last resource in a just cause? To our minds, the readiness to go to war for the sake of war, and especially the ignorant and narrow hatred of England which has seemed to grow so rapidly in the last ten or twenty years, is one of the most deplorable features of our recent political history. It has been sedulously stimulated by selfish and flashy politicians, especially in the Republican party, and in the interest of protectionism. It is sad to think that for the base and paltry objects of

politicians so large a number among us have been led to cherish feelings of bitterness and hostility toward that nation which is not only most akin to our own in all its greatest interests, but which for eight hundred years has held up in Europe the standard of rational self-government, and which is even today—though France is a republic while she is not—the surest reliance of those who love liberty but hate anarchy. If we have to fight England, let it be because we must, not because we are glad of the chance. Before we can say we are right in our position, we must at least be sure that we are right in our spirit and purpose. The long period of time which the operations of the proposed Commission is sure to consume cannot be better employed than in the cultivation of a spirit of justice and in the contemplation of the frightful calamity which a war between the two great branches of the English-speaking race would constitute, for the whole civilized world.

"IMPERIAL FREE TRADE"

(April 8, 1896)

The doctrine of free trade, which has been so firmly entrenched in British law and policy for half a century, has not been free from attacks more or less formidable during that period. There were superficial signs of considerable vitality in the so-called Fair Trade movement, which came into general notice some six or eight years ago, made quite a little stir in the way of speeches and magazine articles, and then died a natural death. Its name is heard no longer, and its apostles are doubtless finding a new sting in the old question "what's in a name?" A more taking name than Fair Trade could certainly not have been devised as an antithesis to Free Trade. But the Fair Trade cry was based essentially on a crude fallacy, and the economic education of the English people—or at least of the leaders of opinion among them—had advanced beyond the point at which such a fallacy could pass muster. They knew the fundamental facts of commerce too well to be caught by the plausible notion that countries which levied import duties on British products did not deserve to have their products admitted duty-free into Great Britain; they knew that these products were admitted free for the benefit of the British buyer, and that it would be folly for Great Britain to throw away half the advantage of free trade with a given country because she couldn't get the other half. In justice

to the Fair Traders, it must be acknowledged that they often admitted this, but advocated their policy on the plea that it would exert a pressure upon the other countries to compel the abolition or reduction of duties on British products in order to secure the like favor from Great Britain in return. But this did not commend itself as a practical policy any more than the Fair Trade notion in the abstract did as a theoretical truth. What life there was in the movement was due doubtless chiefly to the mere superficial attractiveness of the tit-for-tat idea indicated by the name. That idea, as we have said, could not stand examination, and was easily shown to mean nothing else than cutting off your nose to spite your face. The Fair Trade propaganda seems accordingly to have practically expired some time ago.

A very different notion, and one much better calculated to appeal to British sentiment, was brought forward by Mr. Chamberlain in his recent speech at the dinner of the Canada Club. The project advanced by him looks to the union of all the British colonies with the mother country on a free-trade basis—that is, on a basis of free trade within the Empire. In return for the abolition of all protective duties now levied by the colonies upon imports from the United Kingdom, there is only one thing which the mother country can do for them. It can impose protective duties on some of the products in which the colonies are interested, these duties to be levied on these products when coming from countries outside the Empire, but not when imported from the colonies. Most of the colonies

being on a pretty strongly protectionist basis, they are in a position to discriminate in favor of imports from the United Kingdom; the United Kingdom, on the other hand, can only put itself into a position to discriminate by first introducing protective duties, and thus abandoning its long-settled principle of free trade.

In its strictly economic aspect, this programme presents little or no greater attraction than has any former assault upon the free-trade policy. Its special attractiveness lies altogether on its political side. The London Times is inclined to foster the idea on grounds of broad and far-seeing statesmanship. While not distinctly committing itself to the scheme —indeed, fighting shy of discussing it in detail— the Times distinctly manifests a yearning for the aid which it supposes that such a plan as that indicated by Mr. Chamberlain would lend to the cohesion of the various parts of the Empire. Its leading article upon Mr. Chamberlain's speech opened thus:

> Mr. Chamberlain's stirring speech at the dinner of the Canada Club last night departed, upon a point of vital importance, from the traditional commonplaces of Imperial officialism. The Secretary for the Colonies struck boldly the keynote of "free trade within the Empire." The bonds of patriotic sentiment which link the colonies with the mother country are strong and real, but practical men cannot avoid asking themselves whether it is safe to leave the vast interests involved in the maintenance of the Imperial system dependent upon a sentiment, however vigorous and healthy.

But the Times, and Englishmen generally, might well pause before calling to the aid of a sentiment which is "vigorous and healthy" the forces of a

spirit which, however vigorous, is known all over the world to be anything but healthy. There is no denying that the bonds between a country and her colonies are made stronger by the growth of trade relations, other things being equal. But how if this growth is secured artificially, by legislative higgling? The Englishman, free for fifty or sixty years from the protectionist squabbles which have been the bane of other governments, may well pause in affright as he conjures up visions of Australian log-rollers and Canadian pipe-layers introducing the din of tariff controversy into the proceedings of Parliament. Is it not as certain as anything in the future can be that the tariff question, the moment it was introduced, would be a constant source of friction and dissension? If the policy of sublime indifference to which the English have so resolutely adhered has omitted the forging of commercial chains with which the colonies might have been bound more firmly to her for a time, so, too, has it failed to breed the jealousies and quarrels and pettinesses which any attempt at protectionist conciliation will be sure to generate. A natural sentiment, "vigorous and healthy," will surely stand the test of time better than an artificial arrangement which, standing from the first on the level of a commercial bargain, would be sure to develop weak points of a thousand kinds, and would probably complicate, far more than it would strengthen, the relations now connecting the mother country with her colonies. When to this are added the enormous economic objections to a departure from the free-trade policy which England has so successfully pursued for fifty

years, it is not rash to predict that Mr. Chamberlain will have great difficulty in keeping his "Imperial Free Trade" idea out of the limbo to which "Fair Trade" has so recently been consigned.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP IN FINANCE

(April 14, 1896)

The little controversy upon the money question which sprang up yesterday in connection with the Democratic pilgrimage to Monticello should serve to emphasize the absurdity of the shibboleths and rallying-cries which have done so much to confuse the actual issues with the unthinking. In point of fact, any sober-minded person must see at once that it is a matter of extremely little consequence what Jefferson or anybody else thought about the double standard a hundred years ago. The course of history since that time has entirely altered the question in a hundred ways. At the time of the formation of the Republic, the relative values of gold and silver had never been subject to such violent fluctuations as have prevailed in our time. If Jefferson did say, in a letter to Hamilton, "I concur with you that the unit should stand on both metals," it by no means follows that he would still be in favor of attempting to make it so stand when it was demonstrable that that was a quite impossible undertaking, and that the unit would not stand, but would tumble. Again, a hundred years ago we had few banks, the clearing-house was of course an institution of the distant future, and in general those instrumentalities which the refined machinery of modern credit provides for making one dollar do the work of many were as nothing in comparison with what they are now. To quote Jefferson, as Mr. Daniel did yesterday, by way

of settling a modern financial question, is about as pertinent as it would be to quote him as to the relative importance of land and water transportation. We might as well appeal to "the fathers" to guide us in determining whether we should undertake the building of a canal from the Great Lakes to the seaboard, ignoring the existence of railroads, as quote their dicta on the currency question as furnishing conclusive guidance for our present action.

But the most curious thing that is done in the way of substituting a superstitious ancestor-worship for the operation of reason, common sense, and the rules of honorable dealing, is the appeal that is made for silver on the ground of gold and silver being the "money of the Constitution." Listening to a true-blue silverite on this subject, one would imagine that the injunction to use both gold and silver as money was one of the most explicit and most solemn of all the directions contained in the Constitution of the United States. Senator Daniel yesterday referred in a most pathetic manner to his reading "the plighted words 'gold and silver' in the Constitution of the land which he has sworn to support," and in listening to him one might have felt that the abandonment of silver was little short of treason. One might have felt so, that is, in the absence of any knowledge of the Constitution. The fact is that in defining the functions and powers of the Federal Government, neither the word gold nor the word silver is used at all. What is said about the powers or duties of the Federal Government in connection with money is contained in the single clause which provides that Congress "shall have power to coin

money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures." The words gold and silver occur in the Constitution in one place only; namely, in the enumeration of a series of things that the separate States are forbidden to do the provision occurs that "no State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." This is, to begin with, no injunction at all upon the Federal Government; secondly, it is not a command upon the States to make any legal tender laws at all, but only a prohibition against their making any other than a certain kind of such laws; and thirdly, it does not say anything whatever about using both silver and gold, but only excludes anything else than silver and gold. If the States had been forbidden to use any form of capital punishment but hanging and beheading, it would hardly be argued that every man that was sentenced to death would have to be both hanged and beheaded, or even given his choice between the two. Such a provision, if it existed, would have been designed to exclude burning or breaking on the wheel, and not to insist upon both hanging and beheading. And so it is obvious that the prohibition relating to everything but gold and silver coin was meant, not to insist on both of them, but to shut out paper or base metal tokens.

The money question now confronting us is a great, living, practical question. The thing we have to decide is whether existing debts shall be paid in the money in which they were contracted, or shall be scaled 40 or 50 per cent, as the 16 to 1 people demand, or shall be kept in doubt and uncertainty, as

the compromisers would have us do. Again, taking another side of the question, we have to consider whether we shall maintain our currency on the basis which is now established in all the great commercial nations of the world, or shall adopt as our basis the metal that has been discarded by them all; for to keep both metals as standards is evidently absolutely impossible without international combination. None of these questions were before "the fathers" when they were doing the great work of building up this nation. If they had been, the fathers would have acted the part of men of sense, and grappled with the realities of the situation confronting them, just as they did with those problems which really did constitute the difficulties of their time. It must be remembered that these men were not "fathers" when they lived and moved and did their work. They have only come to take on that unreal and melodramatic character since cheap politicians have found it convenient to cover up their own want of solid thought by appealing to their shadowy authority. No one would have looked with greater scorn than Jefferson or Hamilton or Madison upon men who should attempt to settle great and living questions of practical affairs—not questions of broad or general political principle—by galvanizing the passing utterances of men who belonged to a remote and very different period into a life which is no longer in them. The men who, by their profound sagacity, laid the foundations of our Government were as remote as possible from the character which these pretending ancestor-worshipers are not ashamed to as-

sume. Those men would have considered such a performance as the clinging to silver on the ground that the phrase " gold and silver " occurs somewhere in the Constitution as on precisely the same intellectual level as the performances of those fanatical bibliolaters who decided their action, in disregard of all truth and justice, by a stray sentence in the Bible, taken apart from its context and from any rational interpretation. When the hero of Scott's " Old Mortality " fell into the hands of a body of such fanatics, his doom was pronounced on the ground that they had just read the sentence from Joshua, " What shall we say when Israel turneth their backs before their enemies? " Does the silverite argument for the sanctity of silver, based on the presence of the phrase " gold and silver " somewhere in the Constituion, stand on a much higher level?

A SOCIAL NEED

(May 12, 1896)

The opening of the summer concerts in Music Hall last night suggests some reflections on a subject the importance of which is not adequately recognized by our people. It is one of the mysteries of organized human life that the customs of one country are so slow to be introduced into another, no matter how thoroughly they may recommend themselves both by argument and by observation. A standing example, of a most striking character, is furnished by the persistence of the British in not checking baggage on their railways. They do not have to cross the broad Atlantic in order to find the better way practised; they are divided from it only by the narrow seas, and every year a swarm of English men and English women travel over the Continent and enjoy the benefit of the simple plan of having their various pieces of luggage identified by numbers pasted on them. But they return to their island home, and, in spite of that propensity for making a fuss if anything is wrong, of which the British people are so justly proud, they quietly fall back into the good old English plan of each man and woman trusting to his or her own vigilance and care to secure his or her own property. Why sick people and old people and delicate people and nervous people submit to the worry attendant upon the pouncing on their own baggage the moment the train arrives at its destination, when a simple

paper label or brass check would save them from it all, is one of the mysteries of sociology, and we respectfully suggest its thorough investigation to the attention of such young men as may now be casting about for a thesis in that rather hospitable science.

If, in so small a matter as this, national habits are thus persistent, we need not be surprised that they are hard to change in the broader concerns of social intercourse. And, in a general way, no one endowed with the historical sense can regret that this is so. That national peculiarities may not entirely die out must be the earnest wish of any one who dreads the blight of uniformity, and who feels how essential the preservation of the picturesque is to the beauty of life. But there are cases in which regard for historical continuity can not for a moment be weighed against the benefits of an innovation from abroad, and especially is this true when that innovation introduces life and variety and gaiety where before there was dullness and vacuity.

To an American or an Englishman who has sojourned on the Continent of Europe, there is one element of social life there which, more than all else, must impress him as distinguishing it from the social life of his own country. This is the opportunity afforded for free-and-easy sociability by the abundant gardens, sidewalk restaurants, and large, airy halls where great numbers can congregate to eat and drink and talk, without either crowding or stiffness and formality. It is these which make travel on the Continent of Europe so refreshing to the tired American. He enjoys the inspiriting sight

of hundreds of people—men, women and children—with pleasant faces, resting from the labors of the day not in vegetative silence, each in his own petty "castle," but in the enjoyment of lively chat with neighbors and friends; he enjoys this sight as he might enjoy a spectacle on the stage, but he does not realize what it means to the population who take part in this recreative form of social intercourse. He does not realize that at the very moment when those people are unbending from the strain of business and household care, and refreshing themselves in this easy and inexpensive way, benefiting by the contagion of ease and good humor which spreads about naturally in such an assemblage, his own countrymen and countrywomen are being bored to death because there is nothing for them to do but spend the whole evening over their newspapers or make a stiff "call" upon somebody, with the mitigating possibility of finding them not at home. The beauty about the open-air restaurant or large, airy concert hall is that it offers the comfort of home and that peculiar ease which, as long as men and women are flesh and blood, can be furnished only by the presence of food and drink, without imposing upon anyone the duties either of host or of guest. No one is the caller and no one is the called upon. You meet by chance, and you see at once whether you want to join forces or not. There is no obligation about the matter. The presumption is, of course, that you are not in a specially misanthropic mood, else you would be keeping to yourself; a presumption which cannot be said to hold uniformly when your dear friends call upon

you at home and have the happiness of finding you within.

How needful this cheerful, wholesome, simple, resource of social life is to the strenuous, nervous, ambitious American worker and his family, ought to be evident to any reflecting person. The very recreations of Americans of both sexes are too often a strain upon them, instead of a relief. The formal dinner, the afternoon tea, the society reunion, are all good in their place, and will certainly not be driven out even if the Continental restaurant and music hall should gain ever so strong a foothold among us. But none of these things provide thorough relaxation. All of them involve more or less planning beforehand, more or less trouble in getting ready for them, and more or less strain during their performance. Even the theatre, excellent as it may of course be, has the drawback of long sitting in a constrained position, in vitiated air, and with no opportunity for general sociability. The open-air or music hall restaurant is ready to receive you the moment you find yourself in the humor to go. You are tired and fretful, and feel that you must have a change; instead of putting on your hat and going off alone for a half-sulky evening at the club, you ask your wife and perhaps your children to go with you and have music and refreshments, where other people are assembled on the like errand, and where you are pretty sure to meet some persons with whom it would be a mutual pleasure to chat. The atmosphere of the place is hostile to business talk and to grumbling. You come home with your brain and your body rested and refreshed. You are

distinctly farther off from nervous prostration than you would be if you had either stayed at home and sulked, or gone to the club and left your wife behind with the blues, or paid a visit to a friend whom you didn't care to see, who probably was not in the humor for seeing you, and who, at all events, offered you the luxury of his handsome parlor furniture instead of the honest cane chairs and little tables with something on them which your physical and moral nature really stood in need of. It will be a slow work, educating the American public to understand the importance of an admixture of the easy, gregarious Continental life with those pleasures which, like the English, they so often take sadly. But that it is important, and that it would do a great deal to diminish the physical ills under which we labor, as well as to make our lives more pleasant and more picturesque, we are entirely convinced.

THE NIGHTMARE CAMPAIGN

(October 9, 1896)

The people of the United States are now looking forward with confidence to the crushing defeat of Bryanism in less than four weeks. A cartoon in the Chicago Times-Herald represents Uncle Sam with an expression of strained resignation on his face, looking at the calendar and noting that there are "27 days more" to election day. "These days go awfully slow," says Uncle Sam; and the people of his country say the same. We are all anxious to have done with it, and to relegate this campaign, so different from any previous American Presidential contest, to a past which we shall endeavor to forget.

When the campaign of 1896 does go down to history, it ought to be known as the nightmare campaign. Surely neither the log cabin nor hard cider can have played a greater part in the contest of 1840, which has since been popularly remembered as the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign, than have the various nightmares of the silverites in the present struggle. First and foremost, there is the nightmare of the gold standard itself, crushing the poor by its deadening weight, strangling them in its contracting folds, pressing down upon their brow a crown of thorns, and inflicting upon them every other cruel and unusual punishment that the Populist imagination can conceive. All this is nightmare, pure and simple. The people that talk this stuff never try to present any facts whatever to substantiate what

they say. They have been challenged thousands of times to talk about the facts of wages, and they have never accepted the challenge. They cannot deny that under the gold standard the wages of workingmen, even as measured in money, have shown a remarkable increase, and that, in consequence of the greater purchasing power of money caused by increased facilities in production and transportation, the real wages of labor have risen more than would be shown by their money wages. But the very trouble with a nightmare is that it refuses to yield to facts. In the nightmares of sleep, you are in a state of terror over something which you could get rid of by merely lifting your hand, but you don't lift your hand. In this nightmare about the gold standard the victim is in a state of terror which he could get rid of by merely opening his eyes, but he doesn't open his eyes. The only thing to do is to wake the sufferer up, and that is what the election is going to do next month.

Next to the gold standard itself the " foreign-domination " nightmare has been worked more vigorously than any other by the silver candidate. In one respect this is even more thoroughly a nightmare than the gold-standard delusion is. For at least the gold standard exists, while this foreign-domination bugaboo is made out of absolutely nothing. It is as pure a delusion as the snakes that a man sees when he is suffering under delirium tremens. Nobody has ever made the slightest attempt to show that foreign influence is being in any way exercised to affect our financial policy. The only approach to anything of the kind has been

Prince Bismarck's recent letter, and that was evoked by a silverite and has been used by the silverites to help their cause. The Governments of Europe are not bothering about the matter at all. The public press there takes only such interest in it as a contest of this extraordinary character and importance in a great commercial country must necessarily arouse. But the main point is—and this every intelligent person knows—that there is not a soul in this country who thinks of such a thing as voting one way or the other on the matter because foreign nations wish us to do so. We wish to be on a good financial footing, as good as any in the world; we wish to keep our currency sound, as sound as any in the world; but we wish to do it because it is honest and because it is wholesome. The idea that because we want to do as other enlightened nations do therefore we are slaves to those other nations is a nightmare idea. You might as well say that because we don't go about naked, we are slaves to the monarchical nations of Europe. Why don't we adopt an American policy on the subject of clothing? Clearly it is because we have been reduced to a condition of serfdom by the aristocrats of the Old World.

We cannot attempt to consider all the nightmares this campaign has been filled with by the Populist candidate. There is the scarce-dollar nightmare. Mr. Bryan keeps talking as though the number of dollars in circulation had been steadily diminishing under the gold standard, but never mentions the figures. He spoke the other day as if it were almost inconceivable that "dollars ever could be much scarcer than they are now." In another speech recently he

spoke of dollars being so scarce that the only chance the people had to see them was by looking through an iron grating at a pile that didn't belong to them. Lately, he has taken a particular fancy to talking about the "balloon dollar" and saying that, like a balloon, it is going out of sight. Now, we submit that, in view of the facts, this talk is not mere exaggeration; it is nightmare talk. For dollars were "much scarcer than they are now," not only sometimes but *always* during the happy years before "the crime of 1873"; and Mr. Bryan (when he is awake) must know it perfectly well. There never were so many dollars per head of the population in circulation in this country before 1873 as there are now. In 1874 we had a per capita circulation of $18.19; in 1894 it had risen to $24.33, an increase of 33 per cent. It is slightly less now than in 1894, owing to the hard times produced by silverite agitation; but still it is much higher than it was in the good old times before 1873. Yet Bryan racks his resources of speech to find images to convey the notion that dollars are disappearing, are taking wings, and what not. The balloon idea is a very good one, for it is nightmarish physically, as the whole thing is nightmarish mentally.

These are only a few of the Bryanite nightmares. The "cornering of gold" is another one; the conspiracy of bankers to force the Government to issue bonds is another; the people who flourish on the distress of their countrymen are still another. Never before has an American Presidential campaign been conducted on such a basis. Never before has an American candidate for the Presidency tried to pro-

duce among the American people that state of mind which leads not to rational political discussion, but to such outbreaks of mad delusion as the witchcraft craze in early Massachusetts or the no-popery frenzy in London a century ago. His failure will not be the failure of a mistaken currency scheme half so much as it will be the failure of an attempt to substitute blind passion for reason and sobriety, and the terror of hobgoblins for the persuasion of facts.

POPULISM AND SOCIALISM

(October 29, 1896)

The Populist party, which virtually absorbed the Democratic party as represented at the Chicago Convention, is not avowedly a Socialist party. A large portion of its members are unaware of any leaning toward Socialism, and many of them doubtless have no idea what Socialism is. Nevertheless, thoughtful men, on the Bryan side no less than on the McKinley side, recognize that the animus of the Bryanite campaign is essentially Socialistic. In the hottest of the fight, it is not the question of silver but the question of general social reform that is found uppermost. The most intense appeals are made and the most intense feelings are aroused, not in behalf of a mere financial measure, but in behalf of a cause whose triumph, its adherents believe, will bring us a long step nearer the millennium.

What, then, is the difference between Populism or Bryanism on the one hand and Socialism on the other? The difference is that between a blind, ill-considered, impetuous rush and an orderly march. The difference is that between undisciplined and thoughtless discontent and a deliberately reasoned scheme of social improvement. The Populists are Socialists in a raw state, and are revolutionists without knowing it. They are at heart loyal to American institutions and traditions; it is in their heads that the trouble lies. They think that things are not

as they should be; that the poor should get more of the wealth of the country; that many things ought to be easier for those who toil. But they do not realize that as long as the institutions of society are not radically altered, improvement of this kind must take place by slow and orderly progress, and not by violently laying hands on the first thing that offers itself to the notice of a lot of glib-tongued agitators. Just now it is the banks that they are most excited about; and they have come to feel as though bankers were the very emissaries of Satan. The notion that it is the banks which are at the bottom of the poverty of the poor and the wealth of the rich would be noticeable only for its absurdity and childishness, were it not for the deadly earnestness with which so many poor deluded men have taken hold of it.

The practical aspect of this matter of the difference between Populism and Socialism is obvious enough. Those good people who are going to vote for Bryan on the vague general ground that his election would result in a step toward a more ideal condition of society, a less complete sway of competition, a diminution of the distance between rich and poor, would, if they elected their candidate, be the ones who would most bitterly rue the result. While we are opposed to Socialism in the abstract, and not only as a matter of practicability, we know that thoughtful persons are to be found in the country who favor it in the abstract. But surely nobody can be found who pretends that the United States is ripe for a plunge into Socialism at the present time. And a Bryan victory would not mean an experiment

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in Socialism. It would mean a series of Populist "monkeyings" with everything that makes the present social order work as well as it does, without the substitution of anything in the nature of a different social order. It would mean, over and above free silver—which would be disastrous enough in itself as an attack upon confidence— the adoption of such a hostile attitude toward the conductors of great enterprises as would paralyze the energies of the great "captains of industry" who keep this wonderful machine of commercial and industrial civilization going. They would never know what was coming next. They would feel that they were playing a game of "heads you win, tails I lose." They would know that when high profits were being made in good times, the half-baked Socialists in control of our politics would cry out for legislation that would cut off those profits, but that when they were running at a loss no Governmental succor would be forthcoming. The consequence of the prevalence of this state of mind would be such acute and widespread distress among all classes, and especially among the poor, as this country has never witnessed. And the game would end—perhaps after two years, perhaps four, perhaps six—in such an overwhelming demand for a return to safe and conservative methods as would put a stigma on all the proposals of social reformers for generations to come. The inveterate optimists who look forward with such steadfast hope to the rapid betterment of mankind through legislation could do nothing worse for their ideals than to introduce a régime which, through its incompetence and crudity, would so disgust the whole com-

munity that they would welcome the restoration of sobriety in government, even though the real evils of concentrated wealth which we now bear were to return in redoubled force as the price paid for our reckless investment in amateur Socialism.

DRAWING THE LINE IN LUXURY

(February 6, 1897)

A couple of weeks ago, a New York clergyman expressed his condemnation of an approaching social festivity which was to be marked by extraordinary lavishness of expenditure. The expressed ground of his condemnation was the stimulus to discontent and unrest which such a display of extravagance would produce at this time, when, in consequence of several years of depression in business, suffering among the poor is intense and widespread. But the discussion which was called forth by Dr. Rainsford's sermon has naturally taken broader ground, and covered the general question of luxury and extravagance in its moral, social and economic aspects.

The out-and-out defenders of the Bradley-Martin type of luxurious expenditure are very apt to attempt to close the whole question, on its moral and social side, by simply pointing out that it is impossible to draw the line; that what is luxury today is matter-of-course tomorrow; that what is extravagance to one person is mere ordinary expenditure to another; in short, that no definition can possibly be laid down which would discriminate between reprehensible luxury and legitimate indulgence. And this is certainly true; it is quite impossible to draw the line upon any abstract principle. But this is equally true of almost everything upon which we base a judgment of human conduct. We draw the

line somewhere in practice, though it would be impossible to lay down any general principle for doing so. We say that a person is obstinate or even pigheaded if he passes a certain line, whereas the selfsame qualities exercised in greater moderation win for him the praise of firmness. We say that a man is a fop or a dude if he devotes excessive attention to his person, unhindered by the circumstance that our own niceness about the same matter would be branded with the same epithet by a cowboy. We call a man a gourmand if he makes the excellence of his fare too absorbing a subject of care, though almost every one of us cares far more about the nature of his food than is at all called for by the law of self-preservation. The common-sense of the community draws the line somewhere in practice, in these and a thousand other things, without being in the least troubled by the impossibility of laying down any rule for drawing it, or by the fact that the line was drawn far otherwise in former times, or is drawn quite otherwise in other parts of the world.

And precisely the same thing should be true of profligate expenditure for senseless luxury. Moreover, it *is* true of it. Even the persons who plant themselves so firmly on the doctrine that the line cannot be drawn, and that the man who indulges in the luxury of a gold watch has no right to object to any luxury, however extreme, which may be indulged in by anybody else—even they would balk at things too atrociously excessive, and give up their doctrine at some point. It is not for nothing that history has preserved for two thousand years the story of the golden vessels out of which Caligula's

favorite horse was fed, and has placed this story on a level with that of his phenomenal atrocities. It is an instinctive and just requirement of our moral sense that great expenditures should have as their result something which seems in some measure to justify the outlay.

And a healthy public opinion on the subject is by no means insignificant in its effect. A large part of the pleasure—indeed very often the chief part—which the wealthy derive from their expenditure arises from the general admiration, or esteem, or regard of some kind, which accompanies it. There can be no question that the habit of giving to public objects, which is so marked a feature of the use of great wealth in America, is due in great part to the well-established and steadily growing public sentiment on the subject, which not only applauds the givers, but has reached the point of regarding those who do not give some respectable amount out of great fortunes as deficient in their duty as members of the community. And there can likewise be no doubt that the degree to which senseless luxury will be carried in the country will be largely dependent on the view taken of such conduct by the people at large. People will take very little pleasure in parading their mere ability to spend money without stint upon showy luxuries, if their doing so is generally regarded as a combination of vulgarity, selfishness and folly.

As to the economic aspect of the question, it ought to be clear that, speaking of normal conditions, and of the result in the long run, it is not the expenditure of money, but its investment in pro-

ductive enterprises, that furnishes the support of the laboring class. The only way in which luxurious expenditure can be shown to be connected with the maintenance of laborers is by the argument that were it not for the prospect of such expenditure in the future, nobody would care to pile up a big fortune, and consequently the accumulation of capital, and the resulting employment of labor, would be checked. Unfortunately for this view, it is an almost universal rule that the accumulators of great fortunes do not live in ostentatious luxury. It is almost always those who come after them that do the immoderate spending. There is no particular reason to suppose that men would be less ambitious to get rich if the notion that they were more or less responsible to the community for a rational mode of using their wealth should become more and more deeply rooted; and it is their willingness to make money—that is, to embark in productive enterprises—and not to spend money, that makes their wealth useful to the poor.

It is nevertheless true that at a time of depression expenditure should not be checked; if anything, one ought to spend more than his usual amount at such a time if he can afford it. This is not because indulgence in expenditure is normally good for the community, but because of the abnormal condition existing, namely, a failure of the usual demand in the various lines of business. But it must be remembered that there are plenty of ways of spending besides self-indulgence. Even in giving to downright charities, it must not be overlooked that the amount thus expended does not stop at the pockets

of the poor who are relieved, but immediately goes into the channels of trade. The sum of the economic part of the matter is this: Don't think you are a public benefactor because you habitually spend lots of money; but, on the other hand, don't choose a time of distress to cut down your expenditures, for that is the very time your keeping them up does some good.

"BOTH THE ARTICLE AND THE CASH"

(February 19, 1897)

We are rather surprised to find the Washington Post taking up the cudgels for the crude protectionist fallacy to which we referred the other day, and which had been revived by the New York Press. The fallacy is contained in the following statement, which, for some unguessable reason, the Press had attributed to Abraham Lincoln:

> When an American paid $20 for steel rails to an English manufacturer, America had the steel and England had the $20. But when he paid $20 for the steel to an American manufacturer, America had both the steel and the twenty.

The Post, after very fairly quoting the comments of The News upon this, plants itself squarely on the same ground with the Press, for it says:

> Despite the sneers of the free-traders it is a fact that when we buy an article abroad we have the article and a foreign country has the money paid for it, but when we buy the same thing here we have both the article and the cash.

In view of the fact that a clever journalist thus falls into this logical trap, it seems worth while to point out precisely where the fallacy lies. We resorted, the other day, to the more interesting form of analogy; but it would seem to be necessary to go straight at the matter in a b c fashion.

The thing, then, that is overlooked in the remark just quoted from the Post, and likewise in the alleged Lincoln quotation, is that when we buy an article

abroad we do not also expend the labor and capital necessary to its production at home. When we pay $20 for steel rails to an English manufacturer, we get those rails for the $20 (or rather, for that is the truth, for $20 worth of other goods), but the labor and capital that would have been necessary to the production of those rails has been free to employ itself in other ways. It is true, to be sure, that "when we buy a thing here we have both the article and the cash," but then it must not be forgotten that we had to *make* the thing; when we buy an article abroad, the foreigners have gone to the trouble and expense of making the article for us, and we have presumably utilized for the making of something else those resources which we should otherwise have had to expend on the making of the imported article.

This grave and sober argumentation over the proposition that two and two do not make five is really very like breaking a butterfly on the wheel. But this particular butterfly seems to be miraculously tough. And perhaps, after all, another attempt at analogy may be helpful. Suppose that some genius in Pittsburg, say, were to startle the inhabitants some fine morning by the great discovery that whenever they buy cotton cloth at Fall River they get the cloth but the Fall River people get the money, while if they buy the same thing in Pittsburg the Pittsburg people have "both the article and the cash." The announcement would certainly be most important if true, and the Pittsburg people would doubtless appoint a committee at once to look into it. The committee, however, would not be long in

reporting. They would report that, in the first place, they couldn't have "both the article and the cash" unless they first made the article; that the capitalists of Pittsburg had been perfectly well aware all along that it was physically possible for them to erect cotton mills instead of iron foundries, and to employ labor for the making of cotton cloth instead of the making of steel billets; that the business men of Pittsburg had deliberately chosen to put all their energy into lines other than cotton manufacture, and that they could not put any of it into cotton without taking some of it away from steel or something else; and the committee would doubtless wind up with the remark that the next time anybody asked them to investigate a proposition which contemplated the making of something out of nothing, they begged to be excused from wasting their time upon its consideration.

One word more in regard to the Washington Post's article. Apart from its defense of the childish fallacy we have been exposing, it makes some remarks on the actual merits of the steel-rails question. With this we had not at the time, and have not now, any concern. We were far from intimating that the whole cause of protection was bound up with the fate of one simple fallacy. "The intimation," says the Post, "that buying steel rails or any other product of iron from England is getting them from steel-rail makers and that to make them ourselves is getting our shoes from a watchmaker is absurd, it is nonsense." This observation is in itself quite correct; the only trouble is that we never made any such intimation as that referred to. Our suppos-

ititious case of watchmakers and shoemakers was not intended to be at all like that of England and America in concrete details; it was chosen precisely because the result of applying to it the reasoning in the so-called Lincoln quotation was so glaringly absurd. If that reasoning were correct, it would follow that watchmakers had best make their own shoes; but this is a very different thing from saying that the American policy of protection does actually lead to results so nonsensical. If the practice of protection were as absurd as this particular argument used by some of its supporters, it would have disappeared from the earth long ago.

GROVER CLEVELAND

(March 3, 1897)

At noon tomorrow, Grover Cleveland will cease to be the President of the United States. For twelve years and more, he has been the most important figure in the public life of our country. His return to private life is instinctively felt by serious-minded men to mark something far more impressive than the mere close of an official term. His individuality has so stamped itself on the history of the time, his influence on the character of our administration and on the shaping of public policies has been so profound, that the removal of this powerful element from among the political forces acting immediately upon the country is recognized as closing an epoch of the greatest interest and significance. In some sense a man without a party, he yet looms larger in the public eye as he retires from the Presidency than most men have done when entering upon that high office amid the enthusiastic huzzas of their victorious party followers.

Friend and foe alike feel this largeness and importance of the man. As has been well said, it is not that his powers are extraordinary in kind, but that they are made upon a grand scale. The qualities that have brought him to his high estate and have upborne him in playing the great part which has been his during two Administrations and during the four years' interval between them are qualities which many people possess in a degree sufficient for com-

mon purposes, but which almost none exhibit on a scale adequate to the high occasions that confront the chief executive of a great country fully sensible of his mighty responsibilties. Unflinching courage, a profound conviction of duty, the insight that recognizes the one vital thing which must be adhered to at any cost, and untiring industry—these are the qualities which, from the time he first attracted notice as Mayor of Buffalo to the close of his second term as President of the United States, have been the foundation of his strength, the source of his remarkable public services, and the secret of his extraordinary command of the respect of his countrymen.

If any one should for a moment feel inclined to doubt the justice of the estimate which places him high above all the other public men of the time, let him imagine any other of our political celebrities placed in the circumstances which have confronted Cleveland, and consider whether there is the least likelihood that he would have been equal to the ordeal. Entering upon his first term as the successful candidate of a party which had not tasted national power for a quarter of a century, he was confronted at once with the problem of combining fidelity to civil-service reform with the retention of a sufficient party following to enable him to carry on the Government effectively. The difficulties of the situation were overwhelming. The public service as he found it was almost completely partisan. The idea of the merit system was still a novelty, and in practice it had not yet undergone the test of a change of parties. Very few indeed of the men of

influence in the Democratic party were in sympathy with it. Mr. Cleveland himself was new to the responsibilites of national government, and he was well aware of the need of support in bearing them, conscious though he may have been of his own strength. In view of all these elements, there can be but one verdict as to his success in grappling with the civil-service problem in his first Administration. It is easy to find flaws in his performance as regards appointments. But he never left it for one moment doubtful that the merit system was safe in his hands, and would pass through its first great and crucial test not only unimpaired, but strengthened and enlarged. He did not, it is true, oppose a rigid and invariable denial to the demands of spoils politicians, but he resisted these demands sufficiently to secure great progress to the cause, while at the same time retaining his power and prestige, not only as President, but as leader of the Democratic party.

But even before he received the onset of the office-seeking hordes in Washington, he was called upon to meet another question, which, like that of the civil service, was destined to occupy a large share of his attention throughout his two administrations. He was invited by Mr. A. J. Warner and other Congressmen friendly to free coinage to define his position on the silver question. To do this clearly, firmly, without evasion, was to Mr. Cleveland a mere matter of course. The reply which he wrote on February 24, 1885, opens with the almost naive statement that the letter of the Congressmen "invites, and, indeed, obliges" him to give expression to his views upon the grave necessities of the situation,

"although in advance of the movement when they would become the objects of my official care and partial responsibility"; and after reviewing the facts of the case, he laid down the principle, which he has ever since strenuously maintained, that the maintenance of the parity of all forms of our money with gold was a paramount necessity, and that the only way to insure this parity was by a suspension of the coinage of silver. How many men, assuming for the first time the duties and trials of the Presidency, would thus, before induction into office and under no political stress, have invited trouble by boldly declaring themselves on a subject upon which their party was divided? How many would have failed to avail themselves of the obvious plea that pressing duties prevented adequate consideration of the subject, and thus put off the evil day of conflict?

Yet another matter, apparently of far smaller dimensions, but in reality of hardly less critical nature, called for the exercise of Cleveland's characteristic qualities from a very early period in his first Administration. His numerous vetoes of private pension bills, accompanied by the reasons for their rejection, which were based on fixed and sound principles, have constituted from the beginning a peculiar feature of Mr. Cleveland's activity. His scrupulous sense of duty, his extraordinary industry, and his civic courage have all been manifest in a very high degree in this part of his conduct. On the face of it, there might seem something trivial in the expenditure of much personal care, and the writing of many special messages, by the Chief Magistrate of this great nation upon matters involving expendi-

tures utterly insignificant in comparison with the general expenses of the Government. But these vetoes of private pension bills have never impressed the country as ridiculous. In his first Administration, they educated public sentiment on the subject of pensions, and prepared the way for his veto of the Dependent Pension Bill, February 11, 1887, which saved the Government for the time being from that disastrous and demoralizing pension profligacy which has since been the source of incalculable evil. In vetoing this bill, and still more in his persistent vetoes of private pension bills, he has set an example, unfortunately almost unique, of deliberate offense to a large and well-defined body of voters, in strict pursuance of the dictates of public duty.

One more instance of high courage and of sagacious statesmanship must be mentioned as marking Mr. Cleveland's first term as President. The Democratic party, before the beginning of his term, had drifted into an almost hopeless state of incoherence. The break-up produced by the war, the subsequent exclusion of the Southern States for many years from genuine participation in Federal affairs, and other causes, had led to a want of definiteness of purpose or meaning in the party. It had lived rather upon oppositon to the arrogant and sometimes corrupt perversions of power by the Republican party than upon any clear purpose of its own. In 1876, Tilden had infused strength and reality for a time into the party's life, but after the disappointment of its hopes upon the seating of Hayes, it seemed to have lapsed into its former condition. There was always, indeed, a pervading spirit in the party,

inherited from the days of its greatness, and kept alive in the bosoms of millions of the "plain people" who had been brought up in the doctrines of opposition to centralization and paternalism. But the most portentous embodiment of paternalism which had fastened itself upon our national polity was the system of protection; and yet the party had dealt for years in a halting and half-hearted way with this concrete and living issue, upon which its principles demanded aggressive action. Mr. Cleveland realized that his duty to the party, no less than his duty to the country, would have been left unfulfilled if he laid down his office without recalling the nation's attention to the principle that taxation must be levied only for the supply of the Government's needs, and not for the support of private interests. His tariff message of December, 1887, was recognized by all as a most daring stroke. It is not improbable that that message, which created the issue of the campaign of 1888, was the cause of the Democratic defeat of that year. But it made the Democratic party once more real, living, aggressive. It added a new and most formidable contingent to the "enemies he had made," in the shape of the great protected interests of the country; but it confirmed the judgment and heightened the affection of Americans of all shades of political opinion, who admire and honor sincerity, firmness, courage and foresight.

To some persons of short memory, language like this may seem at the present moment in some degree extravagant. Nothing succeeds like success, and it cannot be denied that at this juncture Mr. Cleve-

land's popularity is far from universal. No less a man than Napoleon is quoted as saying that after you have made all your calculations, taken every precaution, made sure of every advantage, one more element is still necessary to victory—good fortune. Mr. Cleveland's second Administration has been coincident with a period of profound business depression and widespread distress. However illogical, it is yet natural that a large proportion of the people should associate this distress with the man who has held the helm of State during its prevalence. It could not be expected that the feelings which were entertained toward Mr. Cleveland in times of prosperity by the people should be unimpaired when their thoughts were preoccupied above all things else by the anxieties and complaints attendant upon the hard times through which we have been passing. But it requires only a moment's attention to recall the extraordinary hold which for eight years Mr. Cleveland enjoyed upon the loyalty and admiration of the people. This it was which, in spite of the enmities he had fearlessly aroused, made his nomination in 1888 and again in 1892 inevitable in the face of the dislike of nearly all the party magnates. The people trusted Cleveland, and they would have no one else. Some wanted him the more for his position on the silver question; others wanted him in spite of that position. But the sentiment that Cleveland was the one man for President was almost universal in the rank and file of the Democratic party; and confidence in his integrity, courage and patriotism was hardly less general even in the Republican party. We believe it is not too much to say

that such a state of feeling has not been paralleled in the history of the country in the case of any man whose services had been purely of a civil character, and had not been rendered at a time of national peril.

It is not the purpose of this article to present a survey, or even a sketch, of the events of Mr. Cleveland's two Administrations. Its object is only to recall, upon this farewell occasion, a few of the acts most characteristic of the man, and to point to some leading features of his public career. No episode in that career was more remarkable than that which occurred precisely in the middle of the period that separated his two Administrations. On February 10, 1891, he addressed a letter to the Reform Club of New York, expressing his emphatic opposition to the free-coinage bill then pending in Congress. This letter was regarded at the time by nearly every Democratic politician as utterly putting an end to the possibility of his receiving the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. Contrasted with the conduct of all the Republican leaders early last year, from Reed down, this act of Cleveland's shines out as an example and rebuke to other public men. Nothing could have put his popularity with the "plain people" to a sharper test. Before this, he had not only alienated the politicians, but offended the "soldier vote," frightened everybody interested in protection, and refused at all times to win favor by departure from his strict principles of administration. Now he flew in the face of a widespread popular movement, owing to his conviction that it was based upon a delusion and would lead to ruin. The politicians felt that they had him prostrate at last.

But nothing of the kind. He kept on quietly with his law practice, and without stirring a finger, without any manipulation of caucuses or capturing of delegates, he received for the third time the nomination of his party to the Presidency, in the face of all the efforts which the most adroit politicians of his party put forth.

In Mr. Cleveland's second Administration, the financial question has overtopped all others so completely that it is a false perspective which does not see in his services to the country upon that head the crowning achievement of his career. It is true that the Venezuela affair led to action upon a broader field, and that the negotiation of the general arbitration treaty with Great Britain is an achievement which will probably be more conspicuous in the historical school-books of the future. In both these things, Mr. Cleveland certainly displayed high qualities. The Venezuela message resulted in an extraordinary diplomatic triumph, and showed a boldness and masterfulness greater, perhaps, than has been exhibited by Mr. Cleveland in any other matter. Its success, however, was the resultant of causes over some of which this country had no control, and was purchased at a cost which can never be estimated—a cost consisting not of dollars and cents alone, but of the demoralization of the financial and political situation due to a setback of business occurring at that sensitive period when it was on the upward slope after a long time of acute depression. It must not be forgotten, however, that the President had "Congress on his hands," and it would be presumptuous to assert dogmatically that

he could have cleared the air in time to prevent trouble, by any less violent means. Of the arbitration treaty, great as the achievement is, it is unnecessary to say more than that, whether confirmed at once or negotiated again in the near future, it will always be set down as in reality brought about by Mr. Cleveland's Administration, and as one of his greatest titles to the country's gratitude.

But it is the financial trouble that has really tested to the utmost the strength of our President during the term just closing. It pressed upon him with crushing weight from the moment of his second inauguration. With diminished revenue, with expenditures enormously increased by the profligate pension act passed during Harrison's Administration, and with the steady increase of currency based on silver through the operation of the silver-purchase act of 1890, the death-grapple with the silver issue could not be expected to be long deferred. The closing of the India mints to silver precipitated the collapse. A great banking panic, accompanied by unparalleled currency stringency, supervened. It was only by tremendous efforts that the President was able to secure the repeal of the silver-purchase measure. We believe that it must be admitted that Mr. Cleveland used the patronage of the Government to secure this end. We believe that with men like Voorhees in high places in the Senate, he felt it his duty to sacrifice his opposition to the spoils doctrine in order to compass what he considered absolutely vital to the country's highest needs. Whether he could have succeeded without attempting to conciliate these men, no one can say with certainty. It is possible that the added moral force

which would have resulted from such a heroic stand might have secured the victory through the pressure of public sentiment alone. But he must be a very righteous man indeed who will venture to condemn Mr. Cleveland out of hand for doing, for the nonce, in the interest of what he regarded as his country's supreme need, what other public officers have been doing constantly in the pursuit of petty ends of self or of party.

Nor was it by any means in connection with legislation only that the President's powers had to be exerted with constant vigilance and insistence. The state of the Treasury was such, and the laws regulating its policy so imperfect, that the maintenance of the national standard of value depended sometimes from month to month, sometimes almost from day to day, upon a rigid adherence to a fixed policy directed toward the prevention of currency debasement. The President, supported by an able Secretary of the Treasury, never flinched. The history of the bond issues is too recent to require much reminder. What was necessary to be done, the President did. Unawed by clamor and by factitious and sensational accusations, he negotiated the loans necessary to protect the Treasury, by public bidding when he could, by private arrangement when the pressing emergency would have made any other course disastrous. He tided over the time of storm and stress. He and his faithful Democratic coadjutors held together the forces of sound money in both parties, when the cowardice of the Republican leaders left them without their natural support in that party. And after four years of this splendid display of courage and strength, he had the satisfaction of

seeing the opposition party literally forced to the unequivocal adoption of his own principles and carrying those principles to victory at the election which marked the close of his own Presidency.

The foregoing is by no means a catalogue of Mr. Cleveland's achievements. His extension of the civil-service rules to cover almost the entire Federal service except the small postoffices is certainly one of his most beneficial acts. On the other hand, we do not pretend that there are no flaws in his record. Minute examination is not to the present purpose. For, on the occasion of his departure from the scene of his labors, it is fitting that the people of this country pause for a moment and recognize with gratitude that they have been given the services of a man of high character, of lofty patriotism, of unbending integrity, of unflinching courage. We might distinguish and define all his qualities with the utmost niceness; we might weigh and measure his services with accuracy, placing here what was good and successful, and there what was mistaken or unsuccessful; and we might form a higher or a lower estimate of each particular one of his achievements. But after all this, we should miss the one chief thing if we did not recognize that greater than all his specific services, more precious than any concrete thing he gained for his country, is the legacy of the fame of one more great American, one more name to stand to the youth of coming generations as an example of strenuous work, of lofty endeavor, of high statesmanship, and of heroic steadfastness in the midst of all the obstacles and difficulties of a time of trial and trouble.

DECENCY AND THE STAGE

(November 18, 1897)

The drift of the American stage toward the level of the Parisian concert hall is not only one of the most marked and one of the most deplorable, but also one of the most curious phenomena of the time. We say it is curious, because, as one looks at the audience which sits in apparently unalloyed enjoyment of the unmitigated indecency of such a piece as "The Girl From Paris," one finds that it is composed, not only in part, but almost entirely, of persons of both sexes evidently representative of American families of the best type. The women, indeed, are probably in the majority, and their faces are the faces of modest women, who would certainly be sincerely shocked at the most remote approach, outside the theatre, to such indecencies as form the entire staple of the piece to which they lend their countenance, and from which apparently they derive enjoyment.

Now if, in the year 1860, say, any one had ventured to predict that within a comparatively short period it would become a mere matter of course for plays of this nature to be attended by self-respecting and well-bred American women, taken to see them by their husbands and brothers and fathers, such an assertion would have been either resented as an insult or laughed at as an absurdity. We have been going down hill in this matter in an astonishing fashion during the past twenty or thirty years. Not

that there was ever any difficulty in finding lewd plays to go to for those who wanted them. Young men sowed their wild oats just as much then as they do now, and a part of that process consisted in their frequenting of low theatres, in which lascivious performances were given for the sake of the lasciviousness. But they knew what they were doing just as well when they went to a "variety theatre" as when they went to a gambling hell or any other resort of vice. The peculiarity about the present drift of representations in respectable theatres is that the audience, to all appearance, does not know what it is doing. A play of which the entire substance consists in the display upon the stage of all the arts of a Parisian courtesan, with the sensual allurements of them heightened by every possible device of the stage, is looked upon, apparently, by hundreds of innocent and healthy-looking American women and men as though it were nothing more than a pleasing little jest.

The question naturally suggests itself, has there been a radical change in the prevalent American standard of decency? We do not believe there has —as yet. Strange as it may appear, we nevertheless believe it is true that this lowering of the tone of the theatre has thus far been a mere matter of vogue and fashion, and an outcome of the easy-going American habit of taking things as they come. It is a curious thought, but we believe it will be borne out by observation, that the majority of the women who go to these plays are in the same frame of mind about them as is the lad of eighteen who is getting his first taste of fast life in the company of

the maturer youth of twenty-two, and who is ashamed to own that he is ashamed or disgusted at anything he witnesses. It cannot fail to strike any modest woman who has not become indifferent through repetition of the experience, that the carryings-on in these plays are full of vulgarity, indecency and bad suggestion. But she sees those around her, who are older or who know more of the world, looking on with apparent pleasure and satisfaction, and she checks her impulse of disgust or condemnation, thinking it must arise from a foolish squeamishness on her own part. After a while she comes to look upon the whole thing as a matter of course, and she in her turn becomes a guide to others in the same direction.

Now, this sort of thing can go on for a considerable period without producing a marked effect on the national character and habits. But not indefinitely. The thing is not yet fully naturalized in America; but when it shall have been, America will no longer be the America of a generation ago. Everyone can understand what a calamity it would be if the youth of the nation were brought up on the typical novels of France in place of the noble and manly novels of our own tongue. No less a calamity will have befallen us when we shall have completely recognized the standard of the Parisian Boulevard as one which is suited to the tastes and the desires of the American family. If that calamity is to be averted, it is high time a stand were made in the matter.

Here we run up against that great stumbling block whenever an evil is discussed: "What are

you going to do about it?" We are certainly not going to have any "blue laws" that will deal with it. We are not even going to have—or at least it is to be hoped we shall not have—any crusade after the Salvation Army fashion against it. The question is not one of the extirpation of vice or even of the suppression of something which allures to vice. There are plenty of low theatres where things on their face more grossly indecent than the class of performances we have in mind are presented, and will doubtless continue to be presented, for those who want them. But we have a right to expect that these things shall be kept where they belong. It may be either impossible or inexpedient to suppress the Police Gazette, but everybody will agree that it is not to be recommended as good family reading. And precisely the same feeling ought to be entertained in regard to theatrical performances whose very essence is the exploitation of a kind of indecency more offensive in reality, even if less crude in its grossness, than those of the avowedly low theatres. Those who care to preserve the standards of decency which are traditional with the English-speaking race should distinctly show their condemnation, not only by their own absence from such performances, but by speaking their minds about them to their friends. To go to them should be looked upon as disreputable, and theatrical houses which desire to be regarded as reputable should be made to feel that they cannot afford to produce them. The consequences may very safely be left to take care of themselves. The plays in question may possibly receive just as much patronage as if they

were not condemned by reputable persons; though we think that extremely doubtful. But the great thing that would be accomplished would be the preservation of the distinction between what is wholesome and decent and what is noxious and indecent. It is only so that we can prevent an insidious poison from undermining the very foundations of social health; for it is only so that we can prevent it from spreading throughout that portion of the community upon which it has thus far relied for keeping unsoiled and uninjured the sense of purity and of delicacy.

THE FERMENT IN PARIS

(January 19, 1898)

If the capital of any other great country than France had been giving the world such an exhibition as Paris is now furnishing in connection with the Dreyfus case, the natural supposition would be that something very terrible was impending, and that the excitement over the friends of Dreyfus was but a symptom of an appalling national disorder, which would soon manifest itself in the most general and disastrous manner. The thing which led to the outbreaks, it would be argued, was utterly inadequate to the production of such effects if the people were not on the brink of a revolution. For it must be remembered that it was not the friends of Dreyfus who got up riots by way of protesting against what they regarded as the infliction of a most cruel punishment upon an innocent man, condemned by a secret trial. That would be intelligible; but the rioting arose entirely from the other side, and it is difficult to imagine sane people inflaming themselves to the point of riot because the friends of an officer convicted of selling information to a foreign government wish to have his case reconsidered. And, as we have said, outside of Paris doings like those of the past few days would be looked upon as a sign and portent of a tremendous national catastrophe.

In point of fact, some able observers on the spot do interpret the Paris excitement as the forerunner

of real revolution. Of course, they may possibly prove to be right, but what has thus far taken place can hardly be looked upon as justifying such a conclusion. It must never be forgotten—and yet it is hard to bear in mind at the moment of trouble —that the Parisian students and the Parisian populace flare up in this manner upon very slight provocation; and while the present is a more serious case than usual, there is no good reason to suppose it to mean that the organization of society in France is tottering to its fall. The trouble may possibly grow to great dimensions, but more probably it will go the way of so many Parisian outbreaks in the past, whether they be started by the suppression of an extravagantly indecent exhibition at a students' ball, or by the revelation of all-embracing rottenness furnished by a Panama Canal investigation.

What does, however, give an ominous coloring to the affair, whatever may be its outcome, is the anti-Semitic side of it. Anti-Semitism is the shape which, for the past decade or two, it has been the fashion for discontent and obscurantism to take on the Continent of Europe. It furnishes a convenient and simple rallying-cry for those who want to break up something, they hardly care what. It is so much easier to get a rabble excited over Jews, who can be imagined to be supplied by nature with something peculiarly diabolical, than over a class defined simply by wealth, or by opinion, and whom the masses know to be after all of the same blood as themselves. Anti-Semitism is essentially a superstition, and a peculiarly low and mean superstition; but it is a superstition which comes in remarkably

handy for the fomenters of class discontent. In the present instance, a touch of humor is given to the situation by the circumstance that the Anarchists have been fighting against the anti-Semitic students, and so have in a sense ranged themselves on the side of the Jews. The real reason for this is doubtless not that the Anarchists either love the Jews or are special sticklers for justice, but that, while they hate the Jews, they hate the army still more and they want the Dreyfus case reopened for the sake of hurting the army. The reason they themselves assign is interesting; it is substantially that they are opposed to looting merely the Jewish stores and banks, because all stores and banks ought to be looted. Possibly they fear that an anti-Semitic outbreak would serve to prevent an attack upon property generally, somewhat as varioloid gives immunity from smallpox. If so, their logic is more refined than practical. Wherever anti-Semitism has become rampant, Governments, however much they might have seemed disposed to coquette with it at first, have found it necessary to do all in their power to curb it, for it contains within itself the germs of some of the most serious dangers which threaten modern civilization.

WHY SOME HONEST PEOPLE ARE NOT PROHIBITIONISTS

(February 8, 1898)

We print in another column a letter from a most highly esteemed correspondent, in criticism of a recent editorial in The News entitled "Prohibition and the Press." That article was a comment upon the very extravagant—though doubtless perfectly sincere—attack made by a clergyman, in a letter to The News, upon the conduct of the press in general in not advocating prohibition. The reverend gentleman having assumed that the press is "suborned" by the liquor interest to maintain this attitude, we took occasion to point out that the state of mind of many Prohibitionists, even those less extreme than the gentleman in question, was based upon an error, in that "they are apt to take it for granted that everybody agrees with them in thinking that liquor-selling is the root of all evil, that it ought to be suppressed by law, and that its suppression would usher in a reign of universal happiness and goodness." That this is an error is a simple matter of fact. There are scores of millions of human beings—namely, nearly all the population of the chief countries of the Continent of Europe—who, so far from agreeing with them in their view, look upon the idea of suppressing the drinking of wine and beer in public places as a monstrosity, and a thing which would go very far to make life dreary for millions of most excellent

people. This view is held not only by light-minded or selfish persons, but by the best and most earnest and most high-minded men, including certainly a very large proportion of the clergy, without distinction of sect. How many or whether any of these excellent and conscientious persons have ever in any explicit way laid down the doctrine that "the evils springing from excessive drinking do not overbalance the benefits arising from moderate drinking," or the doctrine that "even if these evils are greater than the benefits, the restraint upon individual freedom involved in prohibition is wrong in principle, and would work a greater injury upon mankind, though in a very different way, than does the evil which it attacks," we confess that we have no means of determining; but evidently it is a plain inference from their conduct and conversation that they must hold one or the other or both of these two views.

And of course these views are not confined to Europe. So far, at least, as the second of them is concerned, not only is it held by some millions of American citizens of German birth or descent, for instance, but it is also certainly held by many millions of citizens who are American by long descent. But our correspondent challenges us to justify our statement that we find that there is very great force in these positions. The subject is too great to be covered in a brief editorial article, and we shall not attempt more than to indicate in outline what may be said in support of them. It is impossible, to be sure, to make a "parallel column" exhibit of the benefits that the upholders of drinking may claim

as arising from it, which should match the undoubtedly frightful record of harm done by drunkenness. The evils are very startling and impressive in each individual instance; the good is of a far less tangible kind, and cannot be reckoned up in anything like statistical fashion. Most prohibitionists would doubtless deny its existence, in toto. For what we have reference to is by no means a mere physical gratification. In all ages of mankind, drinking has been a promoter of sociability and through this a means of relaxing the strain of hard every-day life, which nothing else has yet been found to replace. Many people feel no need of this relief; many others feel no need of any other sociability than that which can be got from the gravest kind of conversation in a library or a drawing-room. But not everybody is cast in the same mold, and it is fortunate they are not. To vast multitudes of persons, the easy, friendly sociableness that accompanies drinking is one of the few things which brighten life and make it something else than a dull monotonous grind; and for many persons the flashing out of warm and generous sentiment at a convivial gathering now and then is not a mere pleasure of the moment, but is a great element in preserving the picturesqueness and the poetry of life.

Before going further on this first branch of the question, it will be best to take up the second. The question of the restraint upon individual freedom is not a question of constitutional right, and cannot be answered in the way which our correspondent adopts. To hold that any one has an "inherent

right to sell intoxicating liquor by retail"—or, for that matter, by wholesale—we freely grant is quite absurd. The State has a right to regulate the liquor traffic, and, if it pleases, to abolish it. The question at issue is quite a different one; not in the least a question of the rights of the government, but of the ends sought to be accomplished. The object and intent of prohibition is not the prevention of selling, but the prevention of drinking. The individual freedom which is trenched upon is the freedom to enjoy one's self in one's own way so long as one doesn't interfere with the safety or peace or welfare of other persons. The right to employ the means—prohibition of sale—is not questioned; the serious opponents of prohibition do not raise a factitious issue as to the means used, but a real issue as to the end sought. That end is substantially an infringement of individual freedom, of the kind above defined. We do not say that under no circumstances can such an infringement be justified. But we do say that it is a most serious thing to do, and further that all cases like those cited by our correspondent are of a totally different nature. You are prohibited from building a frame house because you would thereby introduce a danger to other people's property which they have no means of averting; not because it tempts your neighbor to burn down his own house, but because the burning of yours may, without any contributory act on his part, cause the destruction of his. Shooting and fast driving are obviously in the same category. In all these cases, the object is to prevent one man from injuring another, not to prevent a man from injuring himself by his own voluntary act.

In regard to both aspects of the matter—the preservation of individual freedom and the benefits actually supposed to arise from drinking—the great argument on the anti-prohibition side, from the point of view of society as a whole, is that it is of the first importance to the world to permit diversities of taste and temper and desire to develop freely, so far as that can be done with safety to society. Just where to draw this line of safety, it may sometimes be difficult to decide; but, roughly speaking, it has been thought, in the most enlightened ages and countries, that it is not wise to interfere with the actions of one man except on the ground of his injuring another either without that other's consent, or under a consent obtained by fraud or constraint. Prohibition would be a violation of this principle, on a great scale. And if the contention is true that it would be felt by vast numbers of people as a great restriction of individual freedom, and if the further contention is true that these people would lose something very important in the brightening and sweetening of life to them, the loss to the world would be extremely difficult to calculate. For it would be a loss affecting not them only, but all mankind. A chief ground of objection to Socialism is its tendency to reduce all the world to something like a single type, to crush out peculiar and individual ambitions, to close the thousand avenues which the present constitution of society opens to the restless cravings and aspirations of mankind. By the presence of these multitudinous varieties of character we all profit, even the most normal and humdrum of us; and so do we all profit by what-

ever gives free play to the development of the various dispositions of the children of men. In the case of drinking, it is quite possible that this is purchased at far too high a price, and the prohibitionists may be right. But they should recognize that those opposed to them are not necessarily either sensual or venal or selfish; and that, while they may be entirely wrong, they have respectable and rational grounds for their convictions.

THE PEACE-WAR MESSAGE

(April 12, 1898)

One merit should be unanimously conceded to the President's eagerly awaited message of yesterday. It is that which was assigned to one of our best-known Northern universities by a Japanese student, some years ago. Being asked how he was pleased with the institution, the Japanese replied: "It is admirable. The teaching is so bad that we are compelled to do all our own thinking." If the President's object was to say just enough to set Congress and the people to thinking very hard, and not enough to show them either what they ought to think or what he thinks himself, he has succeeded to a nicety.

On the primary aspects of the question, to be sure, the President is clear enough. He does not hesitate to tell us, in strong and unequivocal language, what we all knew already. He repeats the oft-told tale of the barbarities of the present struggle. He says again, and, it must be admitted, with the added energy which the present critical situation demands, what both he and his predecessor had previously said, that these horrors must come to an end. On the subject of the destruction of the Maine, also, he speaks out in plain language. His declaration that "the destruction of the Maine, by whatever exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable" is exactly right.

There is one other portion of the message which is sufficiently clear and strong. That is the part relating to the recognition of the belligerency of the insurgents or the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic. The President reiterates the reasons that have been heretofore urged, upon general principles, against either of these steps. These reasons are, to our mind, conclusive; and, what is much more to the purpose, they are likely to have a very powerful influence upon Congress on account of a circumstance which has come, one is tempted to say providentially, to the President's aid. What no amount of the severest logic could have accomplished, the voluble Mr. Rubens has brought about by a little offhand talk. It can hardly be doubted that the disposition now manifested by the war wing of the Republican party in the House to agree with the President in his opposition to the recognition of the present insurrectionary government is traceable to the wholesome shock given to Americans generally by the Rubens manifesto. If we are to intervene in Cuba, we should intervene with our hands free, and not with our action subordinated to that of a set of guerilla leaders about whom we know little or nothing, whose title to the control of Cuba we have no ground for asserting, and for whose humane or competent use of that control we are utterly unable to vouch. These elementary facts of the situation were brought to the front with great vividness by Mr. Rubens' manifesto, and have come powerfully to the aid of the President's strong argument, written before the Cuban " counsel " had been heard from.

So much for what we have called the primary aspects of the question. But when it comes to the intricacies of it, the perplexities which confront us at the moment, the character of the diplomatic transactions which have led up to the present situation of affairs, the demands that have been made upon Spain, the points that have been granted and those that have been refused, the value or significance of such concessions as have been made, the light thrown upon these things by the President is very scanty. And the same is true as to the steps it is his desire to take if entrusted with the discretionary power for which he asks. His intention has to be gathered by inference from a phrase picked out here or there. In an able article in one of our New York contemporaries, for instance, we observe that much is made of the circumstance that the President, in speaking of the kind of government of which it is our duty to secure the establishment in Cuba, defines it not only as a stable government capable of maintaining order, but also as one capable " of observing its international obligations "; the argument being to the effect that, since none but an independent government can have international obligations, this expression pledges Mr. McKinley to secure the independence of Cuba if he is entrusted with the power he asks for. But upon such a slender thread as this, Congress will certainly not hang any issue so weighty; and what little strength there might be in the view is taken from it when we recall that the phrase is sufficiently accounted for as a mere allusion to the failure of the Spanish Government to prevent the destruction of the Maine, which had

been emphatically dwelt upon in the former part of the message.

The obscurity of the message in regard to the matters most in need of illumination is enormously aggravated by the nature of the postcript, written after the receipt of the information that a suspension of hostilities had been decreed by Spain. In the body of the message the President refers to Spain's previous answer in these words:

> With this last overture in the direction of immediate peace and its disappointing reception by Spain, the Executive was brought to the end of his effort.

In the postscript he says, referring to the suspension of hostilities:

> If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

If this language means anything, it means that the President considers it our duty to give the suspension of hostilities a trial, and see whether it will effect, without forcible intervention on our part, that "full and final termination of hostilities" and that "establishment of a stable government" which form the burden of the main body of the message. If this be so, we are no longer to regard the reception of our overtures by Spain as "disappointing"; and accordingly it is difficult to see on what ground we are called upon at the present moment to announce to Spain and the world that the United States Congress has authorized the President to use the war forces of the country at his discretion, to enforce our demands. According to the body of the mes-

sage, Spain has disappointed our just expectations and refused our just demands; according to the postscript, she has adopted a measure which, if it "attains a successful result," will realize "our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people." Having given Congress this very pretty little problem to consider, Mr. McKinley complacently signs his name, doubtless comforted by the reflection that it will be a very good mental exercise for the Representatives and Senators to puzzle it out. Our Japanese friend could have been treated to nothing better in this line at the university to which he gave so singular a form of praise.

What the net outcome of the message must be can hardly be doubtful. The President has practically confessed his inability or unwillingness to assume the responsibility of any positive action. That responsibility will have to be assumed by Congress. Something in the line of the President's recommendation should be, and probably will be, adopted; but the discretionary powers of the President cannot be made as wide as asked for in the message. Had the President shown a stronger touch, or a firmer grip of the situation; had he presented a satisfying record of the diplomatic efforts heretofore made, or marked out a clearer programme for the future, Congress might well have given him an entirely free hand. But now, this would seem to be out of the question.

As it is, if the conservative members of the two Houses show wisdom as well as firmness, much latitude may still be given to the President with a view to the possibility of avoiding war. But the country

has a right to know the general purpose for which the President's powers will be used. He has failed to indicate this himself; it must be indicated for him by Congress. Mere suspension of hostilities is, in a situation like that of Cuba today, a meaningless thing, for the simple reason that there are not, in any true sense of the word, any hostilities to suspend. It will not do for the conservatives to entrench themselves behind the vague phrases of the President's message; somebody must decide upon a real policy, and if the President does not, Congress will have to do it. Precisely what that policy should be, it will require the best judgment and greatest wisdom of the strongest minds in Congress to determine; but clearly it must be something which everyone will recognize as unquestionably looking toward the independence of Cuba, instead of leaving that object to be mistily inferred from a few phrases picked out here and there in the midst of a voluminous document.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

(May 19, 1898)

The death of Mr. Gladstone closes one of the most remarkable careers in all political history. In the distant future, it may be difficult for students of the history of our century to discover precisely wherein lay the greatness of his actual achievements in statesmanship, though the greatness of his intellect, and his marvelous powers of abundant and successful work, will always be sufficiently manifest through a mere summary of the events of his long life. The man who, for the better part of half a century, was, through his hold on the public mind, incomparably the greatest political power in England; who, as an orator, combined a marvelous power of clear statement of the most intricate questions with a wonderful persuasiveness and fascination of manner; who won his most signal Parliamentary triumphs as a financier, and yet whose voice was the great trumpet call against inhumanity and barbarism, whether in Naples in 1851, in Bulgaria in 1876, or in Armenia in the closing years of his life; whose rest from his enormous labors in the public service consisted in the accomplishment of literary and scholarly tasks adequate to represent a lifetime of work on the part of a man of ordinary powers;—that such a man was one of the greatest figures of his age will never be subject to serious doubt.

That his influence on the course of history was really a great one is, however, even now not so easy

to demonstrate if anyone were disposed to question it. He was not one of the world-compelling breed of men. Bismarck formed to himself in early life a great design, and pursued it with inflexible purpose, with indomitable will, and with keenest statecraft, until it was accomplished in the fullest measure in the creation of the German Empire. Not only had Gladstone no such achievement to point to, but the great measures of progress with which his name is associated were espoused by him only gradually, often after a previous record of obstruction or even of bitter opposition. And yet it is a shallow view which would fail to recognize the greatness of the part he played in their accomplishment. That he was no time-server is evident, not only from that loftiness of soul which is the unmistakable source of his greatest speeches and writings, but from more than one incident in his career, when he deliberately sacrificed political advantage to the dictates of his conscience even upon matters not of cardinal importance. His conservatism at the outset of his career, and his steady advance toward radical liberalism in almost every direction throughout his public life, were due to one and the same cause—his profound sympathy for the institutions of his country, his keen intuition of what was demanded by their safety on the one hand and their development on the other. During the debate on his first bill for the extension of the suffrage, in 1866, replying to a taunt of Disraeli's, Gladstone turned the tables completely against his opponent, and gave the key to his own political history, when he said: "He (Disraeli), a Parliamentary leader of twenty

years' standing, is so ignorant of the House of Commons that he positively thought that he got a Parliamentary advantage by exhibiting me as an opponent of the Reform Bill of 1832. It is true, and I deeply regret it. But I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning and under the shadow of the yet more venerable name of Burke. My youthful mind and imagination were impressed just the same as the mature mind of the right honorable gentleman is now impressed. I had conceived the fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill in my undergraduate days at Oxford which the right honorable gentleman now feels."

Gladstone's service to his country did not consist, then, in the origination of any great lines of policy or in the advancement of any body of political doctrine which he had made peculiarly his own. Indeed, it should be admitted that he did not possess those qualities which mark what we call most distinctively the man of genius. But he was probably the most remarkable example in all history of the type of statesman which peculiarly belongs to and adorns such a scheme of government as that under which the English people now live and which they have made a beacon to all the peoples of the earth. It is the type which Tennyson has enshrined in his splendid lines " To the Queen ":

> And statesmen at her council met
> Who knew the seasons when to take
> Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet
>
> By shaping some august decree
> Which kept her throne unshaken still,
> Broad based upon her people's will
> And compassed by the inviolate sea.

It may be held that such statesmanship is mere drifting with the tide, and that there is no more merit in its practice than in the floating of a boat down a smoothly-flowing stream. It ought not to be necessary to refute such a view. During Mr. Gladstone's public career, England passed from the condition of an aristocracy to that of an almost complete democracy, the Irish Church was disestablished, free public education was introduced and developed, free trade became a fixed national policy, a humane and liberal attitude toward Ireland was gradually substituted for one of ignorant and prejudiced coercion, and other equally marked changes in the same direction have been made in a score of other things. If all this has come about without shock to the English Constitution, and has been accompanied by a steady growth of material prosperity, who shall say to what extent this beneficent record is due to the wise and provident statesmanship of the great man whose life ended this morning? That the voyage has been smooth does not prove the simplicity of the course; rather does it call for a tribute to the skill of the pilot.

The leading traits in Mr. Gladstone's character and temperament were a boundless enthusiasm for his work in all its manifold variety, a high sense of public duty, a passionate abhorrence of inhumanity, and, probably rarest of all in our time, a steady and unfaltering optimism. Just as the remembrance of his youthful opposition to the Reform Bill did not chill his ardor when, in middle life, he began the work of extending the suffrage to all classes of the population, so his early opinions on the Irish Church

did not stand in the way of his being the author of its disestablishment, nor his record in regard to Ireland prevent his closing his career as the champion of a radical measure for Irish Home Rule. From first to last his changes were always in the same direction, that of progress toward those liberal ideas and liberal policies of which both the justice and the expediency were gradually unfolded to his view. Of all his endowments, it is perhaps his never diminished capacity for optimism which many of us have had most reason to envy him. And yet, on casting one's eye back to the time when, sixty-five years ago, Mr. Gladstone first entered Parliament, his optimism is not much to be wondered at. He saw changes take place a tithe of which, in those early days of his career, were considered by reasonable men sufficient to sweep away the very foundations of government and society. They have been accomplished, and England is more prosperous, more orderly, and infinitely more honestly governed than she was in the early part of the century. The corrupt system of patronage has been completely swept away. From the shameful state of having no public provision whatever for elementary education, England has advanced to the possession of an admirable system of free schools. The wise old man saw how the salutary forces of the nation were constantly at work mending what was bad, shoving aside what was dangerous, laying the ghosts which a natural conservative dread successively raised in the anticipation of each new measure of reform. Whether the optimistic view will continue to hold good in the future, time alone can tell; and no fitter

tribute can be paid to the great statesman who " was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning and under the shadow of the yet more venerable name of Burke," than that the most serious apprehension for the future, of those lesser souls who cannot fully share his optimism, springs from the doubt whether, in the days of complete democracy, there shall continue to be bred statesmen of the large and noble quality of William Ewart Gladstone.

THE BELLAMY UTOPIA

(May 24, 1898)

The death of Edward Bellamy has given rise to a great amount of comment on the suddenness of his leap into fame upon the publication of "Looking Backward," the rapid growth of a literary and journalistic propaganda for the promotion of the ideas advanced in that book, and the quick subsidence of the activity and interest thus aroused to very small proportions a few years later. The view that seems to be generally taken of these phenomena is that Bellamy's book stirred an immediate and worldwide interest because of the fascination of his picture of a society in which all hardships arising from material want had been abolished, in which there was just enough work to do to furnish healthy exercise, and all men and women had leisure and opportunity for the gratification of their higher tastes and desires; while the rapid decline of interest in the scheme was due to the realization, which came with sober second thought, of the impossibility of its execution.

We do not believe that this explanation, in either branch of it, really explains the case. The mere drawing of a fascinating picture of what might be could not have centered the attention of millions in all parts of the world as did Mr. Bellamy's book. There were in it, apart from its conception of the future, several elements drawn from the very centre of the economic discussion of the present day, that

gave a reality to his discussion without which it never would have taken the hold it did on current thought. The enormous cheapening of production which has been taking place in the past two decades through the introduction and the more thorough exploitation of modern processes; the sudden rise of gigantic trusts, seeming to menace the very life of the competitive system, and at the same time drawing attention to the waste which is a necessary accompaniment of that system; the new vista opened up in the field of invention through the applications of electricity in the telephone, in the transmission of power, and in other things; all these supplied for Mr. Bellamy's structure a basis in the most familiar talk of the day. If the labor-saving processes were going forward by leaps and bounds, why should not the world's work be done in a few hours of the day? If electricity was capable of annihilating nearly every obstacle opposed to a scheme of universal comfort, why not make use of it to procure universal comfort? If the mutual strife of contending manufacturers is suddenly swallowed up in the embrace of a colossal trust "without our special wonder," why not carry the process a step farther, and swallow up all the wrangling and jangling competitors of industry and trade in one comprehensive, beneficent, co-operative whole? The very reason that Mr. Bellamy's work was so successful was that it advanced no sudden new conception, but appropriated and combined and skillfully embellished a number of economic thoughts which, taken separately, were not only current but were in the very forefront of the active discussion of the time.

As to the reasons for the subsidence of the interest he aroused, these may perhaps not be assigned with so much confidence. Of course, much is to be set down to the very natural reaction arising in all such cases. Fast as our age is in producing changes, it is not so fast as a sanguine or youthful temper may be inclined to suppose. The course, even of trusts, does not run absolutely smooth, and there is an immense lot of life in the competitive system yet. The combinations are able to get and keep control of certain great lines of production, owing to peculiar and favoring circumstances; in other lines they manage to get control, but hold it on a most precarious tenure; and there still remains the great mass of occupations in which the old order holds its own, untroubled by trusts or combines. People who fancied that the trusts would rapidly make such headway that we should before long see the Bellamy State looming up before us as the logical and inevitable next step, the thing that must swallow up the trusts as they had swallowed up everything else, have had time to cool off and take a more tranquil view of things. And, in other directions also, while changes have been rapid, they have not gone on with that degree of swiftness which would have been necessary in order to keep up the kind of enthusiasm that Mr. Bellamy's book at first awakened in not a few minds.

But we are inclined to think that the true cause of the decline of interest in the Bellamy Utopia lies much deeper than this; and we suspect that it is not the impracticabilty of the scheme which has stood most in the way of the propaganda for it.

Difficulties may daunt the great mass of people, and slowness dampen the ardor of the shallow and the lightminded, but, if an ideal is such as to excite the ardent devotion of serious and strenuous spirits, the obstacles in its way will not prevent the keeping up of an eager and persistent fight for it. We believe the fact to be that to most men of healthy nature and vigorous mind, the trouble about Bellamy's ideal was not that it was impracticable, but that it was unattractive. Few people are drawn toward Heaven by imagining it as literally made up of nothing but harps and golden pavements; and to men of hearty constitution, mental, moral and physical, life in Bellamy's perfect State could not help seeming almost as unsuited to human beings with such faculties and emotions and aspirations as we now call normal, as such a Heaven. No amount of Wagner music by telephone in your bedroom, and no reduction of hours of work, could compensate in their minds for the absence of free initiative, of self-assertion, of struggle, triumph, and, if it must be, failure. The great thing that Bellamy wished to abolish was anxiety for the future, which he spoke of as one of the greatest of human hardships. So it is, but it is also the greatest source of human effort, and thence of human character and of the interest of human life. We believe that it was because that smooth and easy existence which Bellamy pictures failed to furnish such an ideal for humanity as could inspire a loyal aspiration in earnest men, that interest in it has languished.

But it cannot be said that "Looking Backward" has been without effect on its time or on the future.

It has been one of the many strong influences that have directed attention to the evils and drawbacks of the existing condition of society, and has set hundreds of thousands to thinking seriously, and in the humane spirit which inspired its author, on the means that might be employed to better the lot of the poor, and to put an end altogether to the most extreme forms of poverty.

THE SAVING REMNANT IN FRANCE

(August 20, 1898)

It is now about two years that the Dreyfus case, with its accompaniments of mob fury, of chauvinist proscription, of anti-Semitic rage, has called down upon France bitter and foreboding judgments from other nations, and especially from the English-speaking peoples. A recent editorial in the London Times, speaking of the condemnation of Zola in his second trial, referred to it as the close of another act "in the squalid yet tragic farce known as the Dreyfus case." There has been only too much justification both for contempt and for grief in the history of it. Yet there is a side of the matter which should give rise to far other emotions, and which will not only redound to the honor of the French nation when the whole story of this extraordinary episode shall have been recorded upon the pages of history, but which even now affords ground for hopefulness through the assurance that the best minds and highest souls of France hold sacred the great ideals of justice and liberty, and are ready to make the greatest personal sacrifices in a cause which appeals to them solely from the standpoint of abstract principle.

We pride ourselves on the fact that under our institutions and traditions the overriding of law and justice which has been carried on by the French governmental authorities would be impossible. And indeed it is difficult to conceive circumstances under

which, in England or America, a parallel to the Dreyfus proceedings could be enacted. But grant for a moment that such a thing did take place; grant that the injustice were done and that the tension of the public mind were—as it has been in France—such as to cause any one attacking the proceedings of the military authorities to be classed at once as a public enemy. Can we feel confident that under these circumstances there would have been found among us such an array of eminent men as have arisen in France, and, with no interest whatever in the individual concerned, have lifted up their voices for justice and have shaken France from centre to circumference in the effort to redress the wrong done to that one lone prisoner on the Ile du Diable?

The roll of honor is a long one. There may be differences of opinion as to Zola's place in it, since it may be held that he was following what may be called his professional instincts as a writer in creating the sensation which his protest produced. But no such doubt is possible in the case of the others who have been foremost in the defense of the right of every Frenchman to a fair trial. First of all stands Scheurer-Kestner, one of the vice-presidents of the French Senate, a man of wealth, of high culture, of great influence, enjoying the highest respect throughout France. Having absolutely no connection either with Dreyfus individually or with Jews in general, he was the prime mover in the agitation to reopen the case, and through his ardent efforts in this direction sacrificed his political future. Along with Scheurer-Kestner should be named M. Trarieux, Senator and former Minister of Justice,

who has made an equal sacrifice of his political prospects. Perhaps an even more striking figure, when all the facts are known, is that of Colonel Picquart. This brilliant young officer was chief of the military secret service at Paris, and in the course of investigations arising in the ordinary line of his duty he came upon evidence pointing to the innocence of Dreyfus and the guilt of Esterhazy. He made every effort to make these facts known to the proper authorities, and through his activity in following up the clues he found and in testifying to the facts which came to his knowledge has brought upon himself the loss of his rank in the army and destroyed his prospects of a brilliant future. When it is added that with Picquart military ambition is known to have been in an unusual degree absorbing, that he had already won, for his age, exceptional distinction, and that, far from having a leaning favorable to Jews, he was strongly anti-Semitic in his prejudices, it will be seen that this man has shown no common merit and made no common sacrifice. Another army officer of high rank who has suffered through his allegiance to principle is Commandant Forzinetti, who had for years been in charge of the Cherche Midi prison and was in charge of it when Dreyfus was confined there. For his testimony in favor of Dreyfus he has been removed and retired from active service.

But it is especially among men of letters and men of learning that the movement for the reopening of the Dreyfus case has had its strength. And here, too, the participants in it have been called upon to make sacrifices. M. Grimaux, member of the Insti-

tute—the highest scientific honor in France—and for twenty-two years professor in the Ecole Polytechnique, was removed from his professorship as the punishment for his eloquent plea for justice as a witness in the Zola trial. In other cases no such gross and immediate penalty was exacted, but nevertheless, the whole University system being in France under the control of the Government, every professor who lifted up his voice knew that he was risking his career, and doubtless scores of them have felt the consequences in the cutting off of chances of advancement. Among the most distinguished of the scholars who made themselves heard in behalf of the right were M. Duclaux, the successor of Pasteur; M. Paul Meyer, director of the Ecole des Chartes; MM. Reville and Havet of the Collège de France, and M. Gide, the eminent political economist, of Montpellier. According to a letter of M. Guerlac of the Paris Siècle, in the New York Nation, almost all of the students and professors of the great Ecole Normale Supérieure entered into the movement for revision. That M. Brunetière, instead of joining this legion of honor, should have chosen the unworthy part of sneering at the agitation of "the intellectuals" will have been heard with special regret by Baltimoreans who admired his lectures here last year.

The names we have given afford but a very imperfect idea of the roll of honor. A striking case is that of one of the foremost of French writers. Anatole France, "the gentle philosopher, the exquisite ironist and rare writer," to quote from M. Guerlac's letter, who, though "a stranger to all per-

sonal activity " theretofore, " dared to face the wrath of the mob and offered his testimony for Zola." And, to make an end where the list is far too long for us to begin to do justice to it, we must mention the names of M. Yves Guyot of the Siècle and M. Clémenceau of the Aurore, who have been mighty champions of the cause in the journalistic arena, and finally of M. Jaurès, the Socialist leader, long known as the greatest orator in his party, and one of the greatest in France; he planted himself firmly on the platform of the right of the citizen to a fair trial, in the face of the almost unanimous opposition of his party, with the result of losing his seat in the Chamber of Deputies at the next election.

To appreciate all this, we must remember that the question about which the controversy raged was not a question of general public policy, but a question of a single individual act of injustice. That that injustice has not been redressed, in spite of the noble efforts made to bring about that result, will ever remain a blot on the history of France; but that so great an effort should have been made, and such sacrifices incurred, in such a cause will as surely be set down as a testimony to the high qualities existing in the nation. It must not be forgotten that, had the men who have given themselves with such ardor to this cause been less singleminded in their devotion to principle, the world would have heard little more than an occasional murmur concerning the Dreyfus case. In the showing that has been made of the depth and strength of such devotion in the best minds and hearts of France, and in the response which has been given to their appeal, must

be seen the hope of the ultimate triumph there of a nobler spirit than that with a rampant militarism has for the time being made dominant. That response must have been widespread indeed to have been able to shake the whole nation as it has been shaken, and to have caused the movement for redress of the wrong done to one man to gain headway in the face of repeated defeats in the halls of justice as well as of legislation. And the whole story should serve, in other countries than France, to teach anew the lesson that there is no principle which should be guarded with greater jealousy or cherished with more unremitting zeal than that of the freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. That it is especially the men of university training who have been in this critical time in France the exponents of freedom of opinion should be a source of pride and gratification to the friends of the higher learning throughout the world.

THOMAS F. BAYARD

(September 29, 1898)

In contemplating the loss which America has suffered in the death of the eminent statesman whose career came to a close yesterday, the thought that comes uppermost to every one, without distinction of party or opinion, is that of the pre-eminent nobility of his public life. Not in the palmiest days of the country's history can a record be found of more steady, unfaltering and uncalculating devotion to high principles than that which marked the career of Mr. Bayard from his early days to the very close of his public labors. Not a recluse or a theorist, but a most active and strenuous participant in the great struggles of national life, he yet preserved throughout his life a completeness of personal independence and a consistency in the support of his profound convictions which we are apt to regard as impossible among those who go down into the arena of practical politics. The little State which he represented so long in the United States Senate derived lustre from the eminence of his ability and the acknowledged loftiness of his character; and in spite of the woful lapses Delaware has since made in connection with her representation in that body, it may be said to her credit that there never was any doubt of Mr. Bayard's continuous retention of his seat as long as he might choose to remain. What is more significant, however, of the recognition which high qualities command, and of the error of those who think that

easy pliancy and vulgar political arts are the only avenues to success in public life, is the prominence of Mr. Bayard, upon at least three successive occasions, as candidate for the Democratic nomination to the Presidency. It may be set down as certain that his failure ever to get the nomination was due to the attitude he had assumed at the outbreak of the Civil War, upon the question of the right of the Federal Government to compel the seceding States to remain in the Union. It was felt by the Democrats for many years after the war that a man who was on record as having passionately opposed the coercion of the seceding States and advocated the peaceful recognition of the Confederacy could not command a sufficient vote in the North to make his election possible. That a statesman of the high type of Mr. Bayard, a man so completely above the reach of political bargains and intrigues, should have been kept from nomination for the Presidency only by the remembrance of his position on the question of the war for the Union, and should have come near it in spite of that formidable obstacle, is a thing to be remembered with gratification and should ever serve as an incentive and encouragement to high-minded public conduct.

Mr. Bayard's service in the Senate was productive of an amount of good which it would be exceedingly difficult to estimate. In the days of rampant carpet-bagism, when the Senate was almost unanimously Republican and there seemed to be no limit to the high-handedness of "reconstruction" legislation, the presence in that body of a handful of sturdy Democratic conservatives was of incalculable im-

portance; and that in this small knot of men were included two men of commanding ability—Bayard and Thurman—was a piece of good fortune for which the country has lasting reason to be grateful. It is a very comfortable doctrine that, whatever mistakes we may make, or whatever excesses we may indulge in, these things are sure to be corrected in time by reason of the underlying virtue and intelligence of the people. The doctrine may be true, in a sense; but what as to the amount of mischief that shall have taken place in the interval, and what as to the insensible change in the character of the people themselves which would come of the adoption of this easy-going notion of government? Mr. Bayard and his sturdy fellow-workers gave themselves over to no such facile views of the duties of statesmen. They made a gallant and persistent stand for the preservation of constitutional rights and constitutional restrictions; and the ability with which they did it was such as to make their numerically feeble band a powerful barrier to reckless legislation until such time as, with recovery from the passions and prejudices of the war, there came a restoration of the Democratic party to numerical equality or preponderance in the councils of the nation.

Upon Mr. Cleveland's accession to the Presidency in 1885, he chose Mr. Bayard for the office of Secretary of State. It has been rather a custom to charge Mr. Bayard with weakness in the conduct of that office; but we have never seen any reason assigned that would give weight to the charge. Mr. Bayard was not engaged in seeking quarrels with

other nations, nor did he conceive that the greatness of this country was in any way dependent upon an exhibition of readiness to get into hot water upon every available opportunity; but he conducted the affairs of the Department of State with dignity and firmness. In connection with the foreign relations of the country, however, his most conspicuous part was played when, in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration, he was our Ambassador to England. Not only did he there continue the long and honorable tradition of our representatives at London, and especially that which had grown up during the terms of Mr. Lowell and Mr. Phelps, but it happened that his presence at the British capital was of signal importance in calming the troubled waters which arose upon the issuance of President Cleveland's famous Venezuela message. Mr. Bayard's admiration of President Cleveland and his faithful devotion to him were well known; those who heard his powerful speech at the Academy of Music in this city, in the campaign of 1892, could not fail to be struck with the extraordinary depth and sincerity of the personal tribute paid to the ex-President by the man who, as Secretary of State, had been thrown into such close relations with him. But Mr. Bayard did not hesitate for a moment as to the part which the situation arising from the Venezuela message called upon him to play. He had always felt and had always avowed the warmest sentiments of attachment to England, the strongest conviction of the essential unity of traditions, ideals and purposes between that country and his own. When the critical moment came at which there was danger of a violent rupture

between the two great English-speaking peoples, Mr. Bayard felt that what he could do by the reiteration of his life-long sentiments should be done to avert bad feeling and to make so disastrous a strife impossible. His protestations of the friendship and kinship of the two peoples may have been—they probably were—overdone; but it was a good fault. There can be no question that his presence and activity in London contributed most powerfully to the allaying of British susceptibilties, to the facilitation of the successful settlement of the trouble, and to the promotion of that good understanding with England which is so prominent a feature of the present international situation.

Mr. Bayard was a man of fine presence, and a most pleasing as well as most impressive speaker. What contributed most of all to the effect he produced as a speaker was the conviction of his absolute sincerity with which every hearer was sure to be impressed. That it was not only the knowledge of his admirable public life which caused him to produce this impression upon his audience, but something intrinsic in the man, was abundantly attested by his reception in England. Not preceded, as was Mr. Lowell, by a distinguished literary reputation, or, as was Mr. Phelps, by high rank as an authority in jurisprudence, and not having in an eminent degree the lighter gifts which count for so much in social intercourse, Mr. Bayard was subjected to a hard test when he went to London. Yet so successfully did he stand the test, that no American has been the recipient of more honor or greater admiration than he. As the Saturday Review said upon

his departure: " It is within the truth to say that no American minister has held so high a place in English esteem as Mr. Bayard. He came to England as a simple gentleman with no adventitious recommendations, and Englishmen at once recognized what he was and honored him accordingly." It is gratifying to feel that, in spite of all divisions of party or section or opinion, it can be said of the American people too that they recognize what he was and honor him accordingly. There is but one feeling in America today concerning the high-minded statesman and chivalric gentleman whose long and distinguished and stainless life has now come to an end.

THE REALITIES OF THE EXPANSION QUESTION

(December 13, 1898)

In bringing forward, at the very opening of the session, his emphatic opposition to the " imperialist " programme, Senator Vest has set a good example to fellow Senators and other public men opposed to the expansion policy. Whether the treaty is to be ratified or not, the time for discussing most effectively the fundamental issues raised by the Philippines question is while the treaty is pending, not after it has become an accomplished fact. The sentiment of the nation, if it is to be tested at all, must be appealed to most strongly at this incipient stage of the new policy.

Whether the line adopted by Senator Vest—which is also, judging by his past utterances, that which will be taken by Senator Hoar—is the one best calculated to accomplish results, is open to serious question. That the Constitution could be invoked with irresistible power to prevent the annexation if annexation could be shown to be in clear conflict with the Constitution, we entertain no doubt. The American people are not so bent upon taking in those islands that they would sanction, for a moment, an overriding of the fundamental law of the land for the sake of getting them. It is doubtful whether the majority, or even any large fraction of the people, want them at all. We feel pretty well assured, for our own part, that the great bulk of the people are simply in a state of suspense on the subject. The

belief that the Constitution was to be violated for the purpose of acquiring the Philippines would convert this great mass of doubters into ardent opponents of annexation.

The trouble is that the strictly Constitutional objection has not enough definiteness or solidity to operate as an effective force. You cannot rouse public sentiment to the point of action by declaring that in your judgment the Constitution would be violated by a certain course of action, unless you are able to make it plain to the way-faring man wherein the violation consists. The Constitution does not forbid the acquisition of territory; nobody pretends that it does. It is only contended that the Constitution does not empower the United States to acquire territory except for the purpose of ultimately adding it to the group of States of the Union. Unfortunately, it is impossible to rest this contention upon any words of the Constitution itself. High judicial authority may be cited in support of it; strong public men of today may declare it to be their own view; but after all, it must remain a mere matter of personal opinion, and cannot be laid down with that impressiveness which would be necessary to produce a real and vital effect on public opinion. It is interesting to recall how completely the alleged unconstitutionality of a protective tariff was relegated to the rear when the real fight on that issue came on in President Cleveland's time.

A real leader in the anti-expansion fight must take it up from the point of view of the actual effect that the carrying out of the "imperialist" programme may be expected to have upon the institutions and

the traditions of the country. His cause would be strengthened, not weakened, by throwing away the clumsy shield which the Constitution is supposed to furnish in the shape of an inferential limitation of power. Let the objection be based, not upon what it may be argued that the fathers intended, but upon what it may be expected that the sons will feel to be a real danger to the inheritance which those fathers handed down. It is true that Senator Vest essays to do this also, to some extent, in his speech. But he is encumbered by the weight of a Constitutional argument which is more marked by heaviness than by strength. Let the next Senator who speaks against expansion take it on its merits, pure and simple. Let him show how the government of such a dependency as the Philippines would tend to destroy the simplicity of our political principles, to burden us with tasks to which we are unsuited, to impose on us vast expenses for which the returns are extremely doubtful, to complicate our domestic problems and to invite foreign difficulties, to weaken our position in American affairs as embodied in the Monroe Doctrine. Let these and other objections to annexation be put forward on their merits, with all the logic and all the eloquence that can be commanded, and let the expansionists be challenged to meet them if they can. If you tell them that their policy is not permitted by the Constitution, all the reply practically necessary is a denial of your assertion; if you waive your right to a Constitutional challenge, and attack their policy on its merits, they are bound to meet you on your own ground and make real answer to your arguments.

A STATESMANLIKE POSITION

(January 19, 1899)

Of all the opponents of the policy of territorial aggrandizement, it is Senator Bacon of Georgia who has struck the truest note. Both in the resolution which he offered a week ago and in the speech which he made yesterday in support of it he addressed himself, in the spirit of a statesman, to the realities of the case. Not by a mere appeal to abstractions, nor by the proposing of a short cut which disposes of difficulties by ignoring them, does Mr. Bacon attempt to effect real work in a real crisis. The resolution which he offered would, we are convinced, be strengthened strategically, and not weakened in its moral effect, by the omission of the third declaration; but it is in the first, second and fourth that its gravamen lies, and these are admirably to the point. The first declares that the war with Spain was not waged for conquest, but "solely for the purposes set forth in the resolution of Congress making the declaration of said war, the acquisition of such small tracts of land or harbors as may be necessary for governmental purposes being not deemed inconsistent with the same." The second declares that "in demanding and in receiving the cession of the Philippine Islands it is not the purpose of the Government of the United States to secure and maintain dominion over the same" or to incorporate their inhabitants as citizens of the

United States, or to hold them as "vassals or subjects." The fourth declaration is as follows:

> That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands, and assert their determination, when an independent government shall have been duly erected therein entitled to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people.

Senator Bacon's speech was conceived in the same spirit as his resolution. It was the speech of a man whose primary purpose was not to protest, but to accomplish something. He laid stress not upon limitations of power which may be inferrible from the letter of the Constitution, but upon the effect which the actual undertaking to impose our sovereignty upon the Philippines would have upon the whole spirit of our national polity. He appealed to the deep-rooted feelings of the American people, not as embodied in allegiance to a formula, however noble, but as they would be excited by contemplation of the use of force against a foreign people aspiring to be free. He pointed out further that a policy of extension for the sake of dominion—not, as in former instances of acquisition, for the sake of settlement and natural growth—could not end with its first step. "The logic of the situation," said Senator Bacon, "will be to acquire more Asiatic territory, and after that to reach out for still more. There is no reason for the acquisition of the Philippines which will not apply to the acquisition of other parts of Asia, each acquisition furnishing a reason

why another part still beyond should be also acquired. . . . This reaching out for empire will inevitably lead to wars, not such wars as the little one, with its trifling sacrifices, through which we have just passed, but great wars with all their sacrifices. It means vast armies, composed in large part of our young men, ready on a day's notice to cope in bloody conflict with the great military powers of the earth."

Some may doubt the practical value of such a resolution as that offered by Senator Bacon. Of course there can be nothing absolutely binding about it; but, for our own part, we regard the adoption of a resolution of that nature as likely to be of the utmost service. Mr. Bacon pointed out the immediate influence it would have upon the situation in the archipelago; the removal of distrust of our purposes upon the part of the natives might reasonably be expected to dispel the danger of a collision which, as matters now stand, is a possibility of every passing day. But that is not all. Just now, there is a disposition, which it is hardly too much to call astonishing in view of the swaggering tone that prevailed a few weeks ago, to take the view of our duty embodied in the Bacon resolution. The Georgia Senator said in his speech that he was glad to have the assurance of Senator Foraker that "of his own knowledge the position stated by him is the position of the President of the United States." If that position can be assured, said Senator Bacon, "there is little difference or contention between us." But we all know that any day may bring forth events with which the President will deal at his

discretion, and his dealing with which may start us on the other course again, and with great impetus. What is wanted as a check upon these evident possibilities is a deliberate declaration of the purpose of the United States, duly embodied in a resolution of Congress signed by the President. Of course this would not be an insuperable obstacle to a departure in the wrong direction; but it would be a most powerful anchor, on which conservative men could rely to keep the ship of state from drifting into strange waters at the first touch of an unfavorable wind. And for this reason Mr. Bacon's resolution and his speech deserve the most earnest attention of the country.

"A WHITE MAN'S CITY"

(April 8, 1899)

The Democratic party made an admirable beginning of its campaign by nominating for Mayor a man whose name is a guarantee of official integrity and energetic devotion to the public interest. It followed up this excellent beginning by nominating for the two offices next in importance to the Mayoralty gentlemen whose fitness for them was equally indisputable, and for seats in the Second Branch of the City Council eight men all of whom are thoroughly satisfactory candidates. It also named candidates for the First Branch most of whom are entirely acceptable. There has been no time in the past thirty years when a ticket of anything like so good a quality has been presented by either party for the suffrages of the citizens of Baltimore.

With so excellent a beginning, it was to be hoped that the campaign in the city would be waged in such a spirit as to give promise of permanent good results from its successful issue. There was no need of resorting to claptrap. There was no need of appealing to class prejudice or to race prejudice. There was no need of alienating those men—and there are many of them in every walk of life, and in every ward of the city—who, while thorough Republicans in national politics, are too much concerned in the issue of economy and efficiency in city government

to let a party label prevent them from voting for the best candidates for municipal office.

We regret to observe, however, that, within the past day or two, there have been signs of a tendency to raise a cry which we do not hesitate to pronounce pernicious in its immediate effect, and charged with the seeds of the gravest evils in the future. If the party makes its fight upon the cry " this is a white man's city," it cannot also make its fight on the issue of good city government. As surely as the sparks fly upward, if the " white man's city " flag be adopted as the banner of the Democratic party in the fight, it will be used as a cloak to cover Democratic party sins after the fight is over. If the Democratic party is to win not because it is more worthy of support but because the Republican party contains the colored vote, we shall have a brutal and insistent demand for a clean sweep of Republican employes of the city, no matter how faithful and efficient they may have been, on the same plea. And experience teaches what kind of influences determine the character of the new appointees that any party puts in when it engages in the business of a clean sweep, whether it be called by the name of " spring cleaning " or by any other name.

We wish to remind the people who are inclined to raise this cry of a " white man's city " that we had a " white man's city " for twenty-five years prior to 1895. What kind of city government did we have? What kind of politics did we have? What did Severn Teackle Wallis—that high-minded Southern gentleman, who had suffered in a Federal

prison for his sympathy with the South—say about our political condition at that time? He said that he felt as if the hoof of an unclean beast were upon his neck, and that he must shake it off if he died. As to the city government, we do not admire that of Mr. Malster, but it is impossible to point to any such scandalous condition of things in the present administration as was notorious and rampant in the old Democratic days. We are having no Gay street pavement scandals, and we are having no corrupt favoritism in the Appeal Tax Court. As for elections, every election since the political revolution of 1895 has been perfectly orderly and as nearly fair as possible, while every hotly-contested election before that time had been full of disgraceful disorder and of equally disgraceful fraud.

From the deplorable and demoralizing condition of things then existing, we were saved by the possibility of turning to another party for improvement. The News did so, and expects to do it again if the occasion should demand such a course. The Republican party has not lived up to what we regard as the fair demands of good citizens, but it has made a decided improvement on the preceding state of things. The Democratic party, not only by the character of its nominations, but also by the utterances of Mr. Hayes, Mr. Wilmer, and others prominent in the party, promises another decided step in advance. We trust that, if returned to power, it will carry out that promise. But our confidence in such a result would be greatly weakened if the responsible leaders of the party were to give countenance to the

deplorable and demoralizing race cry which so many unthinking persons are disposed to raise.

Senator Wellington spoke out manfully and loyally when he said at last night's Republican meeting:

> This is not a white man's city. It is not a black man's city. It is not for the rich nor for the poor, for the Catholic nor the Protestant, for the Gentile nor the Jew. Every man, black or white, high or low, Protestant or Catholic, Jew or Gentile, shall, bowing before the majesty of the law, have weighed out to him the quantity of justice to which he is rightly entitled.

There are States in the South where the question of negro domination is a real one. In those States, it has been felt to be an unfortunate necessity to resort to means which are in themselves repulsive and hateful, for the purpose of preventing the affairs of the community from being inefficiently and corruptly carried on by a section of the population possessing little either of property or of intelligence. But every thoughtful Southerner has regarded the recourse to such means as a great misfortune, morally and politically. Baltimore is in no such condition. It can safely allow to the negroes of the city, constituting one-sixth of the voting population, the untrammeled exercise of the right of suffrage. It is the part of good policy, as well as of humanity, to act toward them with entire good will and fairness. And as to making the race issue a reason for proscribing one of the two political parties and giving to the other carte blanche to do as it pleases on the pretext of this being " a white man's city," we know by long experience the rascality and rottenness which

may be covered by such an appeal, if once it is allowed to gain headway.

No newspaper in the city has given the Democratic city ticket in this campaign as hearty support as has The News. Our anxiety for its success has been due to our conviction that it would conduce to the welfare of the whole people of Baltimore. But we shall not lend ourselves to any hue and cry, nor shall we, so far as it lies in our power to prevent it, permit a campaign which ought to be conducted on rational lines, and lead to an intelligent and auspicious inauguration of the New Charter regime, to degenerate into a contest between opposing appeals of rival demagogues. We had a word to say about the silly class-cry the other day, and we have a more serious word to say about the pernicious race-cry today. The first is the more contemptible, in a sense, because it is purely a piece of campaign claptrap, with no substance in it at all; the second is the more dangerous, because it appeals to a real sentiment, and one which has been used in the past, and may be used again, in the interest of a corrupt party ring. There are some things which should not only not be countenanced but should be distinctly denounced, whether they are done in the interest of the one party or the other; and one of them is the raising of the standard of race prejudice, to obscure the real issues, to excite evil passions, and to endanger the benefit which might otherwise be expected to accrue permanently to the community from the success of such a movement and such a ticket as that of the Democratic party in the present campaign.

CHICAGO'S WONDERFUL HEALTH

(May 23, 1899)

"So remarkable are the statements as to the increasing duration of life in Chicago contained in the last bulletin of the Health Department," says the Chicago Times-Herald in an editorial under the above caption, "that they need all the authority of the statistics accompanying it to silence incredulity. These demonstrate beyond dispute that the average duration of life in this city has more than doubled during a single generation." The man who is quick to snuff something wrong when a startling result is announced on the basis of statistics—and we trust his name is legion—will at once suspect that this extraordinary statement finds its origin in an inflated computation of the population of the Windy City, of the kind that cities less obstreperous and nearer home are familiar with, in the years between Uncle Sam's sober enumerations. But in this suspicion the skeptic will find he is mistaken.

In point of fact this conclusion as to the doubling of the average duration of life in Chicago is not based on figures of population at all, but solely on mortality returns. As the Times-Herald says, "no disputed question as to the reliability of a national or school census or any other estimate of the population of Chicago enters into the computation. The record of deaths and their causes in Chicago is certain and definite. No dead body can be buried in or

removed from the city without a permit from the registrar of vital statistics. The report on which this permit is based must give the exact age of the decedent in years, months and days." It is from these statistics of death exclusively that the inference, so extraordinary and so favorable to Chicago, is deduced.

The number of deaths in Chicago in 1869 was 6488 and the aggregate of the ages of the decedents was 90,336, being an average of 13.9 for each person who died in Chicago in that year. In 1896, there were 22,897 deaths, with an aggregate of 672,540 years of life, or an average for each decedent of 29.4 years. "Thus the average duration of life," says the Times-Herald, "is shown to have more than doubled in thirty years." And the intermediate years show a steady tendency in the same direction, the average at death of those who died in Chicago in the various years cited being as follows:

1869	13.9 years
1872	15.2 years
1882	19.6 years
1892	22.7 years
1898	29.4 years—

certainly a remarkable showing.

But, after all, is it true that these figures "demonstrated beyond dispute that the average duration of life" in Chicago "has more than doubled during a single generation"? Is not the skeptic's instinct right, in this instance as in so many others, where statistics seem to lead to queer results? We fear that it is. The thing that is overlooked in this supposed absolute demonstration is that the average

age at death in a given city is not necessarily the same thing as the average duration of life. Imagine a new and rapidly advancing city in which practically the entire population consisted of young and vigorous unmarried men and women, and young married couples with their children; a city in which there were few persons above 50, almost none above 60, a very large proportion between the ages of 15 and 30, and a considerable proportion of infants and young children under 10. It is plain that in this community almost all the deaths that occurred would occur among the little children. The average age at death would be extremely low, but it would indicate nothing as to the average duration of life of the entire population. Those who died would die young, but there would be nothing to tell how long, upon the average, those who had not died were likely to live.

And what would be the history of mortality records in this city as it grew older? The original settlers, the men and women of twenty and thirty and forty, who had formed the bulk of the population in its early years, would die off at ages which practically were not represented at all in the population of the city in its earlier stages. Deaths at the age of seventy necessarily cut a very small figure in a city in which hardly a person of that age is to be seen. When you begin to get deaths at such ages you raise the general average very heavily; and at the same time, along with this change, there is a change which produces the same effect in the smaller proportion of young children to the whole population.

That this sort of thing has taken place in Chicago, and on a large scale, there can be no doubt. That it does away with the gratifying conclusions as to improved health conditions in Chicago drawn from the Health Department's figures, we are far from asserting. On the contrary, we are quite sure that those figures, upon thorough investigation, would still show a very remarkable improvement in the health prevailing in the great Western metropolis. But that they do not show any such marvelous progress as has been inferred from them is evident enough from what we have said. And it happens that in the Times-Herald's own editorial there are contained statements which might have warned the writer that there was something wrong, and have shown in what direction the error was to be sought. The percentage of decedents whose age at death was above 70 rose from 2.7 per cent in 1872 to 8.8 per cent in 1898. This shows a gain of 226 per cent "among those whose lives are now prolonged in Chicago beyond the Scriptural limit of three score years and ten," says the Times-Herald, quoting from the Health Department's report. But unfortunately it is added that "the average age of the Chicago decedents reaching the Scriptural limit was 77.5 years in 1872, 77.8 years in 1882, 74.7 years in 1892, and 77.7 in 1898." Thus it appears that those who are septuagenarians in Chicago today have no better chance of life than those who were in the same stage of existence twenty-six years ago. Is it not clear, then, that the reason why so many more people die above the age of seventy in Chicago than formerly did so is simply that a lot of young and

middle-aged people have had time to get old in the interval? So long as all your population is young, it is impossible that those of them who die should die old; and we must conclude that, excellent as the work of the Health Department of Chicago has doubtless been, it has not produced the miraculous results claimed for it. There is still room there, as elsewhere, for the Elixir of Life—and, by the way, it is Chicago that told us, the other day, that she had found it.

A LEADER OF MEN

(November 6, 1899)

Two or three days ago, the simple announcement was made in the New York Evening Post that, owing to impaired health, Mr. Edwin L. Godkin had retired from active participation in the conduct of that journal. To the vast majority of those who read that statement as copied in the newspapers of the country, it came as a mere item of everyday news, having at most a mild interest, and calling forth far less emotion than a score of other things which they read of in the same issue of their paper. But there are those to whom few announcements could have given a keener pang; for it marked the close of thirty-five years of a public activity unique in its character and in its results; an activity of the highest kind, the influence of which has been no less profound and no less pervasive than it has been elevating and inspiring.

The Nation was established by Mr. Godkin in New York in 1865; with him was associated, as its literary editor, Mr. W. P. Garrison. Viewed even upon its literary side alone, the service rendered by the Nation to American civilization and culture is quite incalculable; it has drawn upon the best talent and the highest scholarship of the country for its contributions, and the unerring taste of its literary editor and his unfailing fidelity to his standards have secured a uniformity of excellence which can probably not be matched in any periodical in the world.

But it is upon its political and general side that the work of the Nation has been most notable and most potent; and in that work, however able his coadjutors, the Nation—and the Evening Post since its absorption by the Nation—has been the product of the intellect and the will of Mr. Godkin. From the moment of its establishment, it became a powerful agency in the formation not only of public opinion but of something that lies far deeper than mere opinion. It stirred the thought of the most serious and the most high-minded men and women in the country, and it stamped indelibly upon the minds of thousands of earnest young men standards of political thinking and of political conduct which would otherwise have existed for them but as vague ideals. While its immediate circle of readers was never very large—its subscription list seldom exceeding 10,000—it was read with care in every respectable newspaper office, and the strong doctrine so mightily poured out at the fountain-head filtered through, we may be sure, in a thousand ways, and slowly but steadily made itself felt by the multitude. Improbable as it may seem to many readers, we have no hesitation in saying that, taking the entire period of thirty-five years, the influence of the Nation and the Evening Post upon the history of the time has been incomparably greater than that of any other American publication.

To attempt, in a brief newspaper article, to give any idea of even the chief objects to which the Nation (and the Evening Post) has been devoted during this long period would of course be absurd; but it may not be out of place to recall a few of the

most striking and most important of them. Coming into existence immediately after the close of the Civil War, the Nation, though animated by the fullest sympathy with the great purposes for which the Republican party stood, was distinguished, from the outset, by its vigorous protests against carpet-bag misrule, its ardent desire for the promotion of good feeling between North and South, and its championship of the rights of the Southern States as against the centralizing and militarist tendencies of the Republican party. From the close of the war to the last flutterings of the "bloody shirt," the wicked policy which sought to make political capital out of sectional animosity found nowhere a more persistent or more formidable enemy than in the columns of the Nation. Another cause which enlisted the championship of the Nation from its earliest days was that of civil-service reform, and few things would be more interesting than to contrast the situation when the Nation was almost alone in its advocacy of that salutary measure with that now existing, when it has not only been carried out upon a large scale, but when there is hardly an important newspaper in the country which does not support it. In the education of the public mind to this point, much as was done for it by others, and especially by George William Curtis, the leading part was played by the Nation. The keenness of its wit, the unending resources of its ridicule, no less than the force of its arguments, ever repeated yet so admirably varied as to be ever fresh, gave a life and impetus to the agitation such as nothing else could have imparted. Perhaps next in importance to these services should be named the

splendid work done by the Nation for the maintenance of a sound currency; a work in which, while the part played by the Nation was less unique than in the two causes already mentioned, it was marked by the same extraordinary energy, ability and effectiveness. A less continuous, but perhaps even more striking example of the Nation's activity was its leadership, in 1884, in the struggle against the nomination and election of Blaine, and in favor of the election of Cleveland. To it must be assigned the first rank among all the many strong forces which were arrayed against the lowering of the standard of honor of the Presidential office.

Such are a few of the great causes in which the Nation has done signal service. But even if we were to make a much fuller list of them, this would convey no idea of the nature of the paper. It is the elevation of purpose, the high moral tone, and the splendid intellectual quality of the Nation which distinguish it even more than its specific achievements. Not that it is free from faults; far from it. The very ardor of conviction which is behind all that it says is the source of a defect which, especially in recent years, has reached such dimensions as to go far toward undermining its influence with a large portion of the very class to which it is chiefly addressed. In its early years its main energies were devoted to the furtherance of great causes upon which the combatants were separated as goats from sheep: in such questions as that of the merit system against the spoils system, or that of hard money against greenbackism, the foes the Nation was fighting represented either low morality or crass ignor-

ance or both. The practice of treating its enemies with contempt, natural enough in such cases, seems to have bred habits of contemptuous disregard of whatever may be advanced, upon any question, on the side to which the Nation is opposed. Splendid as has been the fight of the Nation against protection, against silver, against imperialism, all of these have been marred by frequent and glaring unfairness toward the opposing side, and the same thing is true in many other instances. Such unfairness is doubtless the product of genuine zeal in behalf of a cause held to be not only right but vital, and of genuine contempt for those who are arrayed against it; but it has none the less had the effect of alienating many of those whose allegiance it would be of most consequence for the Nation to retain.

But to say this is only to say that no human institution is perfect. The young men who, in the '60's and '70's, sat at the feet of Mr. Godkin, and drank in his words of wisdom, and gathered inspiration and courage from his teachings, have now passed the meridian of life. Few indeed of them have been able to continue that undivided allegiance which, in the golden days of youth, they gave with such unfaltering heartiness. Some have diverged from him on one line, some on another. But on all of them his influence has left an impress which will remain as long as life endures. Many of them feel that it is to their early reading of the Nation that they owe a large part of what is best in their habits of thought and in their ideals of conduct. To be brought, week after week, into contact with those utterances, in which it would be difficult to say whether the moral

fervor or the intellectual glow was the more remarkable, was to have one's whole nature quickened as few things could quicken it. Five and thirty years have brought about many changes; but the Nation has continued to stand for these high things. Its old disciples, whatever may be their divergences from it, feel toward it the old attachment. The news that Mr. Godkin is no longer to be its active head is to them like the announcement of the close of a great chapter in their own lives. Whether as individual men and women or as American citizens, they feel that they owe him the most profound gratitude. He has been to them individually a constant aid and inspiration; and no man has a better title than he to say, with Othello, "I have done the State some service, and they know it."

ENGLAND AND THE WAR

(December 15, 1899)

In the midst of the discouraging news which has been accumulating during the past few days, the people of England have shown the solid and sterling qualities which distinguish them as a nation. The reverses suffered by the British arms at Stormberg and Magersfontein have not, indeed, in themselves, been of great magnitude, but taken in connection with all the circumstances they have been calculated to produce greater consternation than far heavier defeats sustained in a war against a different foe. To be repeatedly out-manœuvered, thwarted, and severely punished by an enemy who, but a few weeks ago, was regarded with contempt, is an experience calculated to upset the equanimity of any people. Nor is this all; for the bare possibility of ultimate defeat—faint as that possibility is, even now—brings into view vistas of disaster appalling in scope and in significance. The people of England see a war which was entered upon as a mere "incident" in the general sweep of British expansion suddenly assuming the proportions of a contest on the issue of which the integrity of the British Empire may possibly turn, and this owing to military reverses which might apparently have been avoided by the exercise of proper military skill and precaution. To the humiliation of repeated defeats by an adversary regarded as inferior is superadded the feeling of unexpected danger of the gravest kind

brought on apparently through a combination of diplomatic short-sightedness and military rashness; and it must be admitted that a sharper test of a nation's capacity for calmness and self-restraint could hardly be devised. Yet London, though of course profoundly stirred, has given no sign of anything even approaching hysterical excitement. There are no frenzied cries for the instant removal of anybody from his post, either civil or military. The Government is made to understand, sternly enough, that its account is being grimly cast up by thousands of indignant critics; but there is no demoralizing crusade, no wild and unreasoning excitement.

What the present situation—even though it may at any moment be entirely changed by a decisive British victory—must bring home, with melancholy emphasis, not only to every thoughtful Englishman, but to every person whose natural inclination is to wish well to England, is the utter needlessness of the war, and the combined wickedness and folly of the policy which brought it on. It is one of the weaknesses of human nature that the force of any injunction, either of morals or of prudence, is never felt to the full until the transgression of it has brought on some painful consequence. It is difficult to see how anything could have been plainer, a few months ago, when this war was in the air, than that the condition of things in the Transvaal was not such as to make war a necessary recourse for the remedying of it. It was absolutely clear that England had no more right, under the convention of 1884, to interfere in the domestic affairs of the

South African Republic than in those of Brazil or Argentina; a fact which Chamberlain virtually admitted when he set up the preposterous plea that the convention of 1881 was, in such part as suited his purpose, still in force. It was equally clear that the wrongs of the Outlanders were not such as called for immediate redress as offending the instincts of humanity; they were paying high taxes, but they were extracting the wherewithal to pay them out of the bowels of the earth, from under soil which the Boers had made their own. What was still more clear was that Kruger had offered to concede almost everything that Chamberlain had asked for, and that the spirit in which the Birmingham statesman had refused to accept these offers could only be interpreted as meaning a settled desire to force matters to extremities. The only thing that was not clear then, and has become clear now, was that there was a point at which the Boers had determined to draw the line, and that they were prepared to maintain their cause in right Dutch fashion when driven to defend their independence. Had this one thing been known as it is now, we should have seen "the gambler Chamberlain"—to use the just appellation bestowed on him by the London Star—playing a very different game. It is wonderful what a different light this one circumstance sheds on all that went before; the pity is that public opinion is so seldom capable of being stirred profoundly by considerations of a higher kind. Had the voice of "aunties" like John Morley, James Bryce, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, and Sir Edward Clarke had the weight with the people to

which it was justly entitled, the Birmingham plunger would not have been given carte blanche to provoke the most wanton war that has been waged since Napoleon III sent poor Maximilian into Mexico.

WOMEN AND THE JOHNS HOPKINS

(January 26, 1900)

In connection with the question of an appropriation by the Legislature toward the support of the Johns Hopkins University, the subject of the admission of women to the graduate courses of the University has been brought forward somewhat prominently. An effort has been made to make the opening of graduate courses to women a condition of the Legislative grant. To such a movement we are distinctly opposed, and it is gratifying to observe that a number of members of the Assembly have expressed their purpose to vote for the appropriation without any reference whatsoever to the woman question. Indeed, it would be most unreasonable for the Legislature to impose upon the University, as a condition for making a two-year grant of aid, the requirement that that institution shall adopt a change in so important and permanent a matter of academic policy as is involved in the admission of women. Whatever one may think of the merits of the question itself, the University has so clear a title to the support of all thinking people in this city and State that there is only one thing that can properly be done in the circumstances. That thing is to make the grant which is so necessary to the maintenance of the character and standing of the institution, without exacting in return the adoption of any scheme of education which is not the free choice of the governing authorities.

Having said thus much on the question of Legislative compulsion, we feel all the more free to express our own judgment as to the merits of the question itself. The policy of the University in excluding women from admission to its graduate courses is an anomaly which we have always found it difficult to understand. That old and conservative institution, Yale University, opened all of its graduate classes to women years ago; Harvard has for years admitted them to a very large proportion of its graduate classes. The doors of the German universities, in spite of the prevalence in Germany of ideas as to woman's place in nature which have long been outgrown in this country, have been steadily thrown open more and more freely to properly qualified women students. Johns Hopkins is almost alone among the important educational institutions of the world in refusing to serious and earnest women students all participation in its advantages.

This fact is, of course, not in itself conclusive of the question. Johns Hopkins might be right even if it stood absolutely alone. But the trouble is that one looks in vain for a substantial argument of any kind against the admission of women to the graduate courses of the University; and the remarkable headway which has been made by the movement in Germany, in face of the well-known backwardness of general public opinion in that country on questions relating to women, is due to this total absence of any solid argument that can be made for excluding from university privileges a woman who wishes to pursue serious advanced study in any specialty,

and who has qualified herself to do so. What has had to be overcome is not reason, but inertia; and, with all due respect to the Johns Hopkins authorities, the only conclusion to be drawn from their course is that their fund of inertia in this particular matter is exceptionally large.

To talk of the question as one of "coeducation" is to use a misnomer. Upon the "coeducation" of boys and girls opinions differ widely, and obvious reasons can be urged against it. The question at issue is not whether it is well for boys and girls to get their college education in each other's company, but whether there is any harm in grown men and women, engaged in serious and special study, attending the same lectures and working in the same laboratories. We have yet to see an articulate and intelligible argument in support of such a position.

In the case of the Johns Hopkins, it is urged that many of the men who are graduate students find it necessary to supply deficiencies by attending some undergraduate classes also, and that women would find themselves under the same necessity. But the answer to this plea is extremely obvious. If it be admitted that the presence of a few women graduates in undergraduate classes would be disorganizing to the undergraduate department—an admission which many will feel is negatived both by theory and by experience—what can be simpler than to admit women to graduate classes only? If this makes the path of the woman graduate more difficult, or if it excludes all except those who are especially well prepared, so much the better, surely, in the eyes of those who dread the influx of the sex.

It is strange, certainly, to hold that all women must be excluded from all graduate classes because some women have a need for some undergraduate classes. Indeed, this objection affords indication rather of that inertia of which we spoke above—and which is a most natural and human quality—than of anything else. Law or no law, it can hardly be that the time is far distant when the Johns Hopkins University will recognize so reasonable and unobjectionable a claim as that which women graduates have to participation in its academic opportunities.

THE SAD PLIGHT OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND

(March 19, 1900)

A little over a quarter of a century ago there died in Baltimore a very wealthy man; one who, beginning as a poor Anne Arundel county boy, had amassed a great fortune through his own successful efforts. This man, having never married, was led to conceive the strange notion that a good way to dispose of his great estate upon his death would be to devote the bulk of his wealth to two great public institutions; and, looking over the field of opportunity in that direction, he came to the deliberate conclusion that the best thing he could do was to give half of it for the foundation of a hospital, and half of it for the foundation of a university. This, accordingly, was the disposition he made of the bulk of his fortune.

But this is not the strangest of the things that happened through the death of this man. In America, the leaving of large fortunes to universities and hospitals had been a very common thing, long before those days; and, though the amounts in this case were unusual, and indeed unprecedented as far as single gifts were concerned, yet cumulative gifts in other places had been so great that there was nothing in the mere magnitude of the bequests to make a very great stir in the world. What did bring about this result was the curious notion that possessed the trustees of both institutions to make

them surpass in excellence anything up to that time known in America, and to make them, if possible, worthy the attention and regard of the highest authorities in these matters the world over. And, stranger still, they succeeded in doing so. The university had not been established half a dozen years before it was recognized as the foremost of American universities in its standards, in the kind of work it turned out, in the kind of scholars it attracted; its graduates were sought after to fill professorships in the colleges of the country from Maine to Texas, and from New York to California; the great old foundations, like Harvard, were waked up to follow its example; in every great new foundation since made, whether it be Clark University in Massachusetts, or the University of Chicago in Illinois, or the Leland Stanford University in California, its methods and purposes have served as the chief model; and in Europe the pre-eminence of the new university among our American institutions of learning was promptly acknowledged. The success of the hospital was hardly less striking; it has been one of the most perfect institutions of the kind in the world, and, while doing a great work of humanity in the community in which it is situated, has done most important service in the advancement of medical science. Moreover, it has made possible the brilliant success of the Medical School of the University, which, established only a few years ago through the liberality of Miss Garrett and others, has at once taken rank as the foremost of the medical schools of the country.

All this sounds very fine, does it not? But there

is a dark side to the picture. Through the failure of the investment upon which the founder chiefly relied to carry on the work of the University, that institution finds itself called upon to ask aid from the State. This shows the undesirability of such displays of misdirected public spirit as the foundation of universities. We were very well off in this community without the Johns Hopkins University; nobody asked Johns Hopkins to leave his money for any such purpose. So long as his money was sufficient to carry it on, well and good; but when it comes to asking for public aid, that is quite another matter. Then look at the amount they ask for! If it were a matter of five or ten thousand dollars, the State might be expected to grant it just out of good nature, as it does grant it to scores of little charitable and educational institutions that few persons ever heard of; but fifty thousand dollars! Why, it's monstrous. Fifty thousand dollars a year is actually one-sixth the amount Wisconsin spends on her State University, or Michigan on hers, and to ask Maryland to come as near as that to the absurd coddling of the higher education which goes on in those States is really ridiculous. It is true that the amount expended on the various branches of the Johns Hopkins foundations is about $400,000 annually, and that the State is asked for only $50,000 in order to maintain unimpaired that one of them which has had the most brilliant history, and has done most to add to the fame of our State and city, as well as to stimulate the intellectual advancement of our own community; but the plain English of it is that these things are not worth $50,000 a year. Besides, if they were,

all the University has to do is to cut its coat according to its cloth, and if the present professors won't stay with salaries cut down, it can get others who will. Everybody knows there are lots of persons hanging round throughout the country just waiting for a chance at a professorship.

But the worst of all remains to be told. When folks once get "notions" into their heads, there is no telling what you may be in for. One of the most annoying features of the situation is that a lot of people—plain people, too, right here in Baltimore—have become possessed with the idea that for the Maryland Legislature to let the Johns Hopkins University run down for want of $50,000 a year would be a blow to the city and State, a sort of negative advertising which it would be worth while to pay many times that amount to avoid. And the worst of it is that there is certainly a great deal of truth in this. Of course, neither the distinction nor the benefit of possessing one of the foremost universities of the country is a thing of any real value to a State or city. But unfortunately, while *we* know this very well, the rest of the world labors under an obstinate delusion to the contrary. We may regret this as much as we please; but we cannot change it. It is unquestionably a fact that by a large and influential part of the civilized world, indifference to the fate of such an institution as the Johns Hopkins University will be interpreted as a sign of lamentable backwardness and phenomenal want of spirit on the part of the people of this State; and, reluctantly as we come to the conclusion, we are compelled to admit that this consideration seems

to make it worth while to throw that $50,000 away on the University rather than incur the injury to our reputation that would come from not doing so. It is a great pity the Legislature ever allowed the pesky thing to be chartered.

THE MEDIAEVALISTS AND THE BALTIMORE SCHOOLS

(May 8, 1900)

If, upon judicial inquiry, it shall appear that the law makes it impossible for this city to employ the services of a citizen of another city for the Superintendency of our schools, that will end the legal aspect of the question of Mr. Van Sickle's appointment. Upon this question of law, we do not venture to assert any opinion of our own; the point is strictly technical, and none but professional lawyers are competent to pass judgment on it.

But the occasion is one which should not be allowed to pass without the utterance of some very plain language on a matter infinitely broader than the interpretation of the word "official" or "officer" in a statute. The opportunity has not been allowed to pass unimproved by those who represent mediaeval narrowness or villagelike prejudice and exclusiveness; and it is eminently desirable that those who take a more enlightened view of the interests and aspirations of a modern city of 600,000 inhabitants should make their sentiments upon the subject clearly understood. The obscurantists have hardly ventured so far as to come out in plain language and declare that, in entering upon a new phase of school organization in this great city, the School Board's first concern should be to give a good $4000 job to a Baltimorean, however much the hundred thousand children in the schools might be

benefited by securing the services of an outside man. But they have been unable to conceal their delight in the difficulty which seems to confront the Board in consequence of its enlightened action. They have not the courage to attack the principle; but they give voice to their fourteenth-century satisfaction by chuckling over any phase of the situation that seems to give an opening to their petty spite.

One form which this dignified warfare has taken is that of an attack upon the Board for its want of "publicity." Now, everybody with a grain of sense knows that in the discussion of such personal questions as were inextricably bound up with the appointment of a new Superintendent, secret sessions were absolutely indispensable. The session in which formal action was taken might have been public, but the sessions in which the question was really decided, if they were to be of any use, were necessarily private. The choice was simply between sham publicity and sham discussion. You either had to have your real discussion in private, or not have it at all. No one believes more strongly in real publicity, wherever real publicity is practicable, than does The News; but we do not believe in buncombe publicity, and we believe still less in buncombe clamor for publicity.

Another phase of the mediaeval protest against the utilization for the rising generations of Baltimore of the best talent, training and experience available, is more interesting than this, because it is more characteristic. The talk about publicity is mere sham, representing no feeling whatever, and is taken hold of only as a stick accidentally lying around handy,

to give the Board a whack with. On the other hand, the curious fling that has been made at the Johns Hopkins University in connection with the episode comes straight from the heart of the—we were going to say mediaevalists, but that is far too good a term, since the people of the Middle Ages were not, so far as we can recall, anywhere hostile to universities. It is most singular, we are told by these wiseacres, that, although the Johns Hopkins University has been here twenty-five years, no one of the requisite training, capacity and attainments for the post of Superintendent of Schools is to be found in the city.

We can imagine quite a little congregation of old women of both sexes chuckling with a rare pleasure at this brilliant attack. We dislike to interfere with their mildly malignant enjoyment; but it is possibly worth while to remind them that of the several hundred Baltimoreans who have graduated at the Johns Hopkins, nearly all are either lawyers, physicians, clergymen, or business men; and of the small remainder who are engaged in teaching, all but the merest handful are college professors in one specialty or another. It may have been very wicked in them to engage in these callings, but the bitterest enemy of the Johns Hopkins can hardly blame that institution for permitting them to choose law or medicine instead of school-teaching as a career. That the University has made some pretty decent successes out of Baltimore boys is generally admitted; one, for instance, has been professor at Harvard and at the University of Michigan, and has returned to hold one of the principal professorships in the Johns Hopkins Medical School; another

has recently been chosen, at an extraordinarily early age, for a most responsible Government position, solely on the basis of the qualities he developed in his University work; still another was for many years chief of one of the most important divisions of the United States Patent Office, giving up that position only to take up a highly lucrative practice as patent attorney; and there are many similar instances, not to speak of the majority who have had honorable careers here at home. But the University has not sent out many young men to teach in the public schools of Baltimore; and we don't blame any old woman who pounces upon the opportunity to point to this fact as proof of the utter unworthiness of the institution.

To the snarling of the mediaevalists we have devoted more attention than it deserved. But upon the principle really involved in this question of the Superintendency too much stress cannot be laid. We want to get for the headship of our schools not the best man among a possible half dozen Baltimore men who may be more or less fitted for the post, but the best man among the thousand or ten thousand whom the country affords. We want this most particularly now, when, for the first time, a serious effort is being made, by serious men, to bring the schools up to a better state of efficiency. It would be the next thing to a miracle if there were in Baltimore just the man who is needed to put life into this work; from the nature of the case, new blood is required for it. The School Board acted in the spirit of conservatism as well as in the spirit of progress when, while they determined to choose for Superin-

tendent a man combining personal ability and energy and tact with long training elsewhere in successful school methods, they retained as Assistant Superintendents the efficient and conscientious gentlemen who had been so long identified with our own schools. For this enlightened policy—dictated, as every one knows, solely by the desire to promote the welfare of the children of Baltimore—they deserve the thanks and the cordial support of every public-spirited citizen. Their every success should be greeted with appreciative recognition; any difficulty with which they may meet should be felt a matter for public regret, and should be lightened as far as possible. That there should be evinced in any respectable quarter a disposition the opposite of this is just cause for chagrin and shame to any patriotic Baltimorean.

THE NEWS IN THE CAMPAIGN

(September 26, 1900)

The Presidential campaign is settling down to its final stage. The preliminary fighting has been, in the main, on extremely curious lines. So far as regards the Eastern section of the country, and particularly Maryland, the attempt has been made on the Bryan side to shout up imperialism as not only the "paramount" but practically the only issue; while on the Republican side it has been sought to deny that there is anything at all in the issue of imperialism, and to maintain that the issue of the currency was the only thing to be considered.

The News has not subscribed to either of these views. It has been opposed all along to the attitude of the Administration toward the Philippines, and it has neither belied that opposition during the campaign, nor denied that the question was one of profound importance to the country, and one that legitimately entered into the campaign. It would have heartily welcomed a Democratic candidate representing views which it could approve on the most vital issues of government at home, and at the same time representing opposition to the present tendencies toward a policy of dominion and conquest. On the other hand, it has denounced as ridiculous the pretensions made by some extravagant anti-imperialists that the re-election of McKinley would mean the indorsement of a "would-be dictator" or the subversion of our free institutions.

The issue of imperialism is an important one, but it is not of such a nature as to rule out the consideration of all other dangers which may beset the country.

Of those dangers, by far the most pressing is that of a revival of the silver menace in any form; and there is no form in which that menace could be revived which could compare in seriousness with the election to the Presidency of the man who embodies in his own person all the fanaticism and all the persistence of the most uncompromising advocates of the 16-to-1 doctrine. The idea that, in the event of Bryan's election, the Senate is sure to protect us from the peril of free silver has been shown again and again to be unfounded; but even were this otherwise, a very small modicum of foresight should be sufficient, one would think, to enable any one to realize that the occupancy of the Presidential chair by Mr. Bryan would not only revive the silver issue, but place it upon a footing more formidable and more menacing than it has ever before occupied. That this would mean incalculable injury to the country, it is difficult to see how any one can deny who took the Cleveland side in his long fight on silver during his two administrations, or who left the Democratic party on the silver issue in 1896.

All these things The News has repeatedly said during the campaign; and one thing more it has said which is of the most vital bearing on the matter. The danger from Bryan on the currency question is not to be looked upon merely in the light of an offset to the merits of his position on imperial-

ism; it throws the gravest possible doubt on his being in a position to accomplish anything even for the cause upon which his position is, in our judgment, sound. As we said early in the campaign: "If confidence were unsettled, business depressed, and employment of labor greatly diminished, is it to be supposed that the resulting reaction against Bryan would be limited to economic matters? That is not the way public feeling works in this country —or in any other, for that matter. If a man has clearly identified himself in the public eye with the cause of repudiation, and has thereby made a mess of the home affairs of the country, it may be set down as a certainty that no line of demarcation will be drawn by which his policy on colonial matters will be made exempt from the general snowing-under to which he and his party will be subjected at the first opportunity."

Time and the course of the campaign have but served to emphasize these considerations. We regret very much to find no alternative from McKinley that holds out any substantial expectation of furnishing a remedy for the evils with which the McKinley Administration is identified. We regret very much that a protest against those evils at the polls on the sixth of November can be made only at the cost of introducing dangers most serious in themselves, and of such a character, moreover, as to preclude any genuine hope that the author of them will be able to accomplish substantial good in any direction. But this is the conviction which has been more and more forced upon us.

Nevertheless, we are not going to throw up our

cap for McKinley. Two or three readers of this paper have written to express their dissatisfaction with the coldness of The News in the present campaign, and with the appearance in its columns of editorials commenting adversely on both sides. But that was just what we have felt compelled to do by the situation. Half-heartedness is certainly not a fault to which The News is at all addicted. But there are times when, to do justice to the realities of the case, one cannot adopt the language of advocacy. We believe that the best interests of the country will be served by the defeat of Bryan; but we realize that, in the minds of many conscientious persons, thinking as we do, but forming a different estimate of the elements involved, the objections to an apparent indorsement of McKinley are of such a character that they cannot reconcile their conscience to a vote for him under the circumstances. We shall not endeavor to cram McKinley down the throats of these people. We have pointed out, and shall continue to point out, the realities of the case as we see them. That in the light of those realities—as distinguished from the merely abstract merits of platform declarations—the election of Bryan would be by far the greater of the two evils between which the country has to choose, we are more and more convinced; and that conviction may become still further strengthened by the developments of the remaining weeks of the campaign. But we cannot see our way to satisfying readers who desire from The News a "hurrah" campaign for McKinley and a suppression of serious criticism of the Republican candidates or of Republican advocates upon due occasion.

WILLIAM L. WILSON

(October 18, 1900)

In the death of William L. Wilson at Lexington yesterday a life was closed which, for purity, elevation of purpose, and self-sacrificing devotion to public duty, may well challenge comparison with that of any American of our time. The commanding position in his party which came to Mr. Wilson at a critical period in its history came to him solely as a tribute to his ability, his sincerity, his zeal for the principles he represented, and the personal regard and confidence which he so universally inspired. In some respects, his attainment of such a position was literally unique. Not only did he practise none of the arts of the professional politician, but his personality was devoid of most of those attributes which are usually thought necessary to the acquiring of high political eminence in our country. He was a man of extremely slight physique, and of little or no "magnetism." There was an engaging friendliness, simplicity and good humor about him that was certainly attractive, and the total absence of any kind of pretension went far to making those with whom he came in contact feel kindly toward him; but he was anything but effusive, and indeed was given to expressing far less than his real feelings in personal intercourse. Moreover, he was the "scholar in politics" in a far truer sense than that in which these words are usually applied; for he was not merely a man in politics who had once been a scholar, but a

man who retained the tastes and habits of a true scholar and industrious reader throughout his career. That, without the aid of qualities which are so nearly indispensable to the acquiring of a wide and powerful influence over a large mass of men, he should have become the enthusiastically followed leader of a great party on the floor of the House of Representatives was due to the fact that, in addition to his intellectual ability, his unflinching integrity, his devotion to his work, and the manifest sincerity of his character, he possessed two qualities which gave volume and force to the impression which those sterling attributes produced. These were, first, a quiet geniality which made him popular wherever he was personally known; and secondly a gift of eloquence which made his speeches upon all great occasions not only the utterances of a keen thinker but the moving appeals of a true orator.

The work with which Mr. Wilson's name will be specially associated in history is the framing and passage of the Tariff Act of 1894. His exhausting labors in the preparation of the tariff bill, and in the conduct of the long debate upon it, were, it can hardly be doubted, the real cause of his untimely death. Coming, as they did, shortly after the strain incident to his leadership of the Democrats in the House during the intense struggle over the repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman act, these labors undermined a constitution never very robust, and wrought the damage which culminated fatally yesterday morning. It was a cruel fate that caused the experiment of that reform in the tariff which had so long been the object of Democratic

endeavor to be made at a time when conditions were such as to make an immediate favorable showing quite impossible. Under any circumstances, a reform of the tariff would naturally bring about at first some disturbance and loss; but in 1894 the country was in the early stages of a business depression which required years to run its course, just as the business depression started by the panic of 1873 required years to run its course. Popular discontent resulted in defeat of the Democrats in the elections; demoralization of the Democratic party and its surrender to the silver element followed. In 1896, the Republicans gained control of Congress and the Presidency, and immediately undid the work of the Wilson act. Time had not been given for anything like a fair trial of its working, and there is not a shadow of reason for the assertions so glibly made that it was a failure. Normal conditions of prosperity did not set in until long after the passage of the Dingley act, and the increase of manufacturing exports which has been so much commented on began, on a great scale, during the Wilson act period. The depression beginning with the panic of 1893 was precisely parallel, in character and duration, with that which began with the panic of 1873; and yet glib and shallow writers will doubtless continue to set down this depression as proof of the disastrous character of the tariff legislation of 1894.

No tribute more striking to the high worth of Mr. Wilson could be cited than the universal respect in which he has been held in spite of the belief honestly entertained by so many that he represented not only a mistaken but an infinitely disastrous economic

policy. No better proof can be given than this to the youth of America that character and solid ability can triumph against all odds, and achieve a reward far more gratifying than can be attained by the most specious qualities or by the most skillful intrigue. To those who knew Mr. Wilson's life well, however, this but expresses a small part of what his career signifies. The modest simplicity of his life when he was one of the leading men of the nation; the total lack of ostentation with which he devoted himself to the welfare of the republic, not sparing himself even when his very life was evidently at stake; the steady pursuit of duty, whether in public office or in private station—these are the things which Mr. Wilson represented and in which he was most distinguished from the general run of men who are in the public eye. In the example of such men, and in their emulation by the rising generation, lies the chief hope of this great Republic; for it is the example of stainless integrity, unflinching courage, and steady devotion to the truest ideals of American citizenship.

AT THE END OF FOUR YEARS

(March 4, 1901)

When Mr. McKinley succeeded to the Presidency of the United States, four years ago today, a fairly definite impression of the man's qualities was current among his fellow-citizens of both parties, other than extreme partisans on either side. He was a man whose personal traits aroused neither enthusiastic admiration nor impassioned enmity. He was careful, moderate—on everything except the tariff—conciliatory, diplomatic, prudent. On no great question upon which the ground was difficult to tread had he at any time figured as a leader. Throughout the intensely interesting period which preceded his nomination—the period during which the Chicago platform was incubating, and the Bryanization of the Democratic party was foreshadowed—his voice had been conspicuous by its silence. Although the leading candidate for the Republican nomination, no appeals were adequate to induce him to declare his attitude on the one great question of the day. Not until, through the recognition by others of the clear path at once of duty and of party policy, it had become established that the Republican party must anticipate the uncompromising declaration of the Democrats for free silver by an equally uncompromising declaration for the gold standard, did Mr. McKinley make it known where he stood on that vital question. And it was as the exponent of this issue, which he had

done his utmost to evade, that he was elected President in one of the most exciting campaigns in the country's history.

Coming into the White House with this record, it was very generally expected that he would make a dull and commonplace President, signalizing his Administration by no marked exhibition either of the qualities of leadership or of high powers in the management of affairs. Looking back over the quadrennial period which has now expired, many will revise the judgment formed at its beginning, either for better or for worse. Fate has placed Mr. McKinley in the centre of great and stirring events, and he is, for better or worse, of necessity a larger figure than anyone could have anticipated when he first entered upon the chief magistracy of the nation. That he has shown adroitness in management, an ability to shoulder heavy burdens, a power of going through new and unexpected tasks of great complexity and difficulty, a skill in avoiding blunders when there was ample opportunity to make them—all this in such a degree as to raise one's estimate of his general ability far above that which prevailed even among his friends four years ago—we think cannot be fairly denied. Few American Presidents have been confronted with problems so strange and complicated, and Mr. McKinley has stood the strain of them in a way which shows the possession of remarkable administrative ability.

But, after admitting all this, the question remains, Was not the old estimate of the man fundamentally correct? Has not Mr. McKinley's time-serving dalliance with the currency question proved to be the

true index of his character and career? Is not the country now reaping the legitimate fruits of having a man of that type at the head of its affairs in a time of crisis? Has not the Ship of State been under the guidance of a captain skillful, indeed, in avoiding the rocks or shallows which may beset his course from day to day, but sailing without a chart and drifting hither or thither as the wind may blow from one quarter or another? And what shall it avail us though we gain all the islands of the sea if we shall have lost the guiding principles which have been the soul of our national life?

Mr. McKinley drifted into the Cuban war, and he drifted into the policy of imperialism. Many extravagant accusations have been made against him, and it may indeed be said to have been his good fortune that some of those who might have been his most formidable opponents have discredited their authority by the fantastic exaggeration of their charges. Mr. McKinley is not a Nero, or a Cæsar; neither is he the truckling and obedient servant of Mark Hanna. He is neither the despotic master of Congress nor a trembling weakling, anxious to turn all responsibility over to that body—though both these accusations have often been made by the same person, and almost in the same breath. William McKinley the President is, in essentials, just what William McKinley the candidate was—an adroit politician playing his game with an undeviating devotion to his one principle, opportunism. When driven into a very close corner, he is capable of going so far as to take both sides of the question at once—as he did on one most momentous occasion,

when he sent to Congress that famous war message with a peace postscript which marked the end of his efforts to stave off the Spanish war. But when the situation is less critical than this, he is capable of far more pronounced conduct. He is not a weakling. Having felt his way for a sufficient length of time on the question of expansion, he took the entire responsibility of dictating the terms of peace; and a little later on, he issued that proclamation of "benevolent assimilation" which was the real crossing of the Rubicon in our imperialist policy. It is not in capacity or willingness for action that he is lacking; where he is wanting is in the possession of a fund of abiding principle upon which he can draw in time of need, and upon the possession of which by its chief executive the preservation of the character of the Republic must largely depend.

The inauguration ceremonies today will doubtless be the most imposing that have ever been witnessed in Washington. The scale on which the festivities are to be carried on will be typical of the growth of the nation in numbers, in wealth, in trade, in material prosperity, and in many things which are better than material prosperity. America has much to be proud of today; in some directions, more to be proud of than ever before. But as President McKinley is about to enter upon his second term in the White House, he does so with more doubt in the minds of his countrymen as to the integrity of the American ideal than has existed in the minds of the people since the Civil War. With a staunch Republican paper in Chicago declaring that the Cuban conditions just adopted "have written hy-

pocrisy and shameless perfidy like a blister across the hitherto fair and untarnished brow of American honor"; with another staunch Republican paper in Philadelphia inclosing in mourning rules its comment on the same act; with the last Republican predecessor of Mr. McKinley expressing the gravest forebodings as to the consequences of our present policy—with these and other signs of the doubts which beset so many earnest men as to the direction in which we are moving, it is fitting that any American, however unquestioning his patriotism, should look upon this day as one rather for serious reflection than for mere rejoicing. The President himself, we feel very sure, is not unmindful of this aspect of the situation. No more loyal service can be rendered to him as he enters upon another four years of arduous work and high responsibility than to impress upon him that, whatever may for a time appear on the surface, the American people are still animated by a profound devotion to the grand principles upon which this Republic was founded, and that, whenever the issue may be fairly joined, they will insist that these principles shall prevail.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT AND THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

(March 11, 1901)

Last Sunday the Rev. W. A. Crawford-Frost, in his sermon, made this reference to the work of the Charity Organization Society, and of others who act in accordance with the general principles of that association:

Organized pride says to the tramp: "Go away. Do not bother me. Go to 309 South Sharp street and saw wood. You say you have been there for three days and had to leave. No matter. You say you have heart trouble and cannot saw wood. No matter." "Send him away, for he crieth after us."

Yesterday, he returned to the subject, and introduced his discussion of it with these words:

Let me say at the outset that I have the highest regard for the good intentions of prominent workers in organized charity. The fact that they are engaged in this work shows them to be good men, but that does not blind me to the fallacies in their position. The stand which they take may be sane. It may be expedient, but it is in direct opposition to the command of Jesus. This can be seen from a comparison of the following parallel columns:

"Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."—Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v., 42.	"Homeless men should receive neither money nor food at the door. Such aid only increases the number of drunken and vicious loafers who live in voluntary idleness," etc., etc.—Charities Reference Card, Edition of 1899.

It is satisfactory to note that in using the expression "organized pride" Mr. Crawford-Frost did not deliberately intend to stigmatize the spirit of the Charity Organization people; he now expressly recognizes their "good intentions" and bases his condemnation on "the fallacies in their position." We hope to show, before we get through, on which side the fallacy lies.

The position of the reverend gentleman is stated in these questions, relating to the two quotations in parallel columns above:

Question 1. How is a man to obey both these injunctions at once?

Question 2. If he has to disobey either, which shall it be, God's or man's?

Question 3. Which breathes the more noble spirit?

The third question may be answered at once. The Sermon on the Mount is the noblest and most inspiring appeal to what is highest and purest in man's nature that the human race has ever received; the directions in the Charity Organization Society's card are rules for practical guidance as to how—in the opinion of the framers of them—the least harm and the most good can be accomplished in a certain definite class of contingencies. It is absurd to condemn a set of practical rules because the Sermon on the Mount "breathes a more noble spirit"; there is not a law or regulation of any kind in force in any country in the world which would not be open to precisely the same condemnation.

But the kernel of the reverend gentleman's case is in the other two questions; and the fallacy implied in them can be very plainly pointed out. He

assumes that the choice people actually make is between following the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount just as they stand and following the rules of the Charity Organization Society. But he must know very well that not a single person of his congregation does actually make that choice. To give a little dole now and then to a beggar is not a fulfillment of the injunction "Give to him that asketh thee"; neither is lending a half-dollar once in a while to a poor devil the carrying out of the injunction "From him that would borrow of thee turn not away." Probably not a single person who heard Mr. Crawford-Frost had ever so much as entertained the idea of acting upon the advice he gave them yesterday, "If they steal your overcoat, let them take your cloak also," though they had read a thousand times the corresponding precept in the Sermon on the Mount. The alternative the reverend gentleman discusses is not at all the alternative with which the men and women whom he was addressing are confronted. The question with them is simply whether they shall yield to their benevolent impulses and do a little act of immediate material good to the beggar before them, without considering the future consequences of their conduct, or curb that impulse because they have learned that they can do more good and less harm to the poor in other ways. Not one of them is going to act upon the doctrines of the Sermon on the Mount regarded as literal rules of practical conduct; not one of them is even going to try to do so. What the best of them will do is to endeavor to act in something of the beautiful and unselfish spirit con-

veyed in that inspired utterance. To assert that he who gives a pittance to every beggar who asks it—at extremely little sacrifice to himself, which is the case in at least nine-tenths of all instances—is necessarily displaying more of that noble spirit than he who does not give unless he knows something of the circumstances of the case is to take an extremely low view of the meaning of that lofty teaching.

Those who have given serious thought to the problem of poverty do not advise people to give less; they only advise them to give with more care. They do not say, despise the poor; on the contrary, they say, consider the poor worthy of your careful thought and not merely of an occasional sixpence. They do not say, do less good to the needy; they say, take care lest, in indulging your impulse of kindness, you gratify yourself at the cost of the permanent welfare of those whom you shove along the road of pauperism, and to whom, after giving your dole, you never give a second thought. Most of us can easily find in the circle of our immediate knowledge enough objects of well-placed charity to absorb all that we are in the habit of giving, and more; and in doing this, the Charity Organization Society bids every one of us Godspeed. What they ask us not to do is to give to every comer a little alms which costs us no sacrifice, but which makes easy to those weak in spirit that downward path the following of which means a lasting farewell to self-respect, to decency, to honesty, to all that makes life worth living.

THE BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM OF THE BILLIONAIRES

(November 14, 1901)

Another great step toward the control of the leading economic interests by a few small groups of financial potentates was taken yesterday. By the incorporation of the Northern Securities Company, capital $400,000,000, preparation was made for the full control by the Morgan-Hill combination of the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railways, and of their leased lines, including the Burlington. That this object, which is now immediately in prospect, does not define the limits of the movement may be set down as practically certain. The bringing in of the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific, thus completing the control of the entire trans-Mississippi railroad system of the United States, is undoubtedly contemplated as the goal to be arrived at in a not distant future.

These gigantic transactions, designed and executed by men of the highest order of financial genius, have so many bearings, and are of such profound significance and importance, that it would be an act of temerity for almost anyone to undertake to discuss them in all their aspects. There are two respects, however, in which they obviously appeal to the general interest, and call for some words of comment. On the stock-brokering side they present phenomena such as, only a few years ago, would have been regarded as almost fabulous. The mere

recasting of the organic connections of these vast interests—just as has been the case with the great industrial corporations, of which the United States Steel Corporation sets the high-water mark—has given opportunities for those engineering the deals to make colossal fortunes at a stroke of the pen. Great consolidations are effected for the promotion of the future profits of the capitalists involved; and it is the public, not the profiting capitalists, who are asked to pay the bonus for this golden transformation. Just as soon as Mr. Morgan gets his hand on the machine, every one of its parts becomes endowed—at least for the time being—with a new value in the market. The public pay the price, and those in the secret get the profit. Whether the investing public will come out unscathed in the end remains to be seen. Everything is charming just now; but who knows how long the skies will remain so smiling? The prices which rule today for securities, lifted as though by magic to a sudden height, may not prove to be justified when experience shall have covered not months, but years. When a change to the bad sets in, and the drop comes, the great operators will be standing from under, and the little people, and the not very big people, will have to suffer the consequences.

As for the interests of the public at large, it is plain that, in the great central requisites of trade and industry—transportation, coal, steel and the rest—these interests are being relegated more and more to the control of a "benevolent despotism." Any despotism which is not absolute is of necessity more or less benevolent; it must be so for the sake of self-

preservation, if from no other motive. Moreover, in the case of an economic despotism, conduct which is directed toward the welfare of the commercial world at large is often dictated as an essential to the continuance of economic opportunities. Whatever may have been the exact inside history, for example, of the action by which the Morgan interests and the Kuhn-Loeb interests averted a panic last May, through permitting the Northern Pacific "shorts" to settle their unperformable obligations upon a reasonable basis, certain it is that this action, while humane and merciful in itself, was essential to the continuance of the grand financiering projects of the parties who performed this act of clemency. Such a panic as would have resulted had the enforcement of obligations been insisted on would have knocked the bottom out of the great projects of the financial kings, as surely as it would have brought ruin to hundreds of lesser operators, and distress to the country at large.

It cannot be denied, then, that in many ways the concentration of financial and industrial power in a few potent hands is of direct and unmistakable benefit. In matters less dramatic than this of the averted panic, claims of similar benefit have been made, and made with much appearance of reason. Thus the New York Times, a day or two ago, in an able editorial on "The Steel Corporation and Prices," points out very forcibly that the present situation in the iron and steel market would, under the normal play of free competition, justify and actually bring about extraordinarily high prices for iron and steel. The Steel Corporation, says the

Times, has steadily refused to permit prices to be raised to a figure which it could easily have exacted for the time being under the extraordinary pressure of the present demand. "It requires no great imagination," the Times argues, "to describe what would have happened in the iron and steel markets at any time within the past six months, and especially within the past six days, if the Steel Corporation had not been formed. We should have seen a rapid advance in prices of raw material and finished products, and a great speculative activity in pig-iron, billets, sheets, tinplates and merchant steel. Dealers would have placed all the orders which they could get accepted, and prices to consumers would have taken a rocket flight. Then would have begun a brief era of speculative importations. Meanwhile, consumers would have begun to lose confidence, enterprises predicated upon the use of iron and steel in large quantities would have been postponed, railroads would have delayed purchases, and a feeling of uncertainty would have taken possession of all in interest. This would have checked the advance and perhaps turned the movement in the opposite direction. What would have happened then every one who has been through an iron boom in previous years will know without telling. For those who have not, we need only say that the market would have suddenly and utterly collapsed, and for an uncertain period we should have had the 'hard sledding' so freely predicted but not yet experienced, nor in sight."

That a regulating and restraining influence such as can be exercised, and upon occasion has been

exercised, by these great repositories of industrial and financial force may often be highly beneficial will, we believe, be conceded by candid critics. But there is more than one reason why this circumstance cannot be accepted as a satisfactory recompense for the evils and the dangers attendant upon this tremendous concentration of power. It is not in accord with the healthy instincts of a virile people to permit their welfare to be parceled out to them through the good will, or the good sense, of a few individuals, even if the possession of these qualities could always be counted upon. Moreover, great as is the power possessed by those who make and unmake these vast financial combinations, the natural conditions upon which, in the last resort, even they must depend for success are still mightier in their potency. The control of the transportation facilities of half a continent involves the dealing with forces and conditions too complex and various to be held tightly in the grooves of any syndicate's financial policy. Finally, it is yet to be seen whether, in the skillful averting of financial panics and even in the prolongation of a period of bustling activity, the calculated policy of the magnates will prove better in the long run than would the rough-and tumble of ordinary competition. The great engineers have strengthened retaining walls and prevented floods, where lesser people might have been unable to cope with the waters; but are they not only putting off the evil day? Is it not their policy to prolong a boom so long as there is any chance of keeping the market high? Will not the pressure at last become too heavy even for them to hold back? And then, when the break

comes, will it not be disastrous beyond all precedent? These are questions which cannot be waved aside by mere general optimism, and which the future alone can answer.

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

(December 31, 1901)

At the close of the joint session of the American Economic Association and the American Historical Society at Washington last night, a few remarks were made by Professor Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, which were received with evident relish and approval by a very large part of the audience present, representing the scholarship of the country in these departments, and were greeted with unusually hearty applause. The subject under discussion was "The Economic Interpretation of History," a phrase by which is generally understood that view which seeks to explain every important phenomenon in human history as an outcome of economic forces, as well as to discover an economic thread which is the clue to the development of mankind as a whole. The theory had been outlined in a previous paper by Professor Seligman of Columbia in a form so cautious and moderate as almost completely to disarm criticism; but Professor Cheyney took it not as it might be when shorn of all its aggressiveness, but such as it is in actual practice by those who are under the sway of its influence. And he proceeded to insert into the theory a few swift and piercing stabs, which, while leaving the theory in a decidedly damaged condition, appeared to afford very considerable mental relief to the audience. In a word, Professor Cheyney declared that the way to interpret history is to go to the facts of history and find out what they mean; not

to approach them with a ready-made explanation, and then arrange the facts to fit the explanation. The historian, he said, confronted with any particular historic epoch, goes to the facts of it, and tries to ascertain what is the order in which they marshal themselves when subjected to intelligent and impartial examination; the economic-interpretation man goes to them with his mind made up as to which class of facts come first and foremost, and the whole array of evidence is consequently twisted out of shape, individual facts lose their natural significance or are lost sight of altogether, and the truth of history is essentially sacrificed to the demands of a preconceived notion.

What Professor Cheyney said—and it is to be regretted that a verbatim report of his trenchant remarks is not available—about the errors of a set of doctrinaire scholars is unfortunately applicable to the attitude of a large number of persons extremely influential in public affairs and in the moulding of public opinion. The world has been swept, during the past decade, by a wave of economic thought which is so distinctly doctrinaire and so imperiously dogmatic as to be comparable almost to some of those waves of religious fanaticism which, from time to time, have so profoundly affected the history of the world. There is something of fascination in the bizarre picturesqueness, something of a dominant quality in the brutal simplicity, of the doctrine that all of the great tableau of human history is merely a by-product of economic struggle; that the sacrifices of heroes, the aspirations of saints, the intrigues of ambitious tyrants, the resistance of inflexible patriots, have served indeed to make the

story more interesting and to keep alive the spiritual nature of man, but have had hardly more influence on the course of history than do the bubbles on the surface of a rushing stream upon its sure progress to its destined outlet. It may be said that this is an extravagant statement of the doctrine, and that nobody holds such an opinion. Whether the statement is accurate or not, as representing opinions which, for instance, Mr. Chamberlain or Captain Mahan would be willing expressly to avow, is of very little consequence; it is the doctrine which underlies their attitude toward the great questions of the time, and which has had a mighty effect, through the acts of the one and the words of the other, upon the conduct of the two great English-speaking peoples. It is a doctrine which has just enough of truth in it to make it terribly dangerous; while it has so much falsehood in it that it leads to absurd and monstrous delusions as to the facts of the past, and to confident forecasts of the future which are utterly untrustworthy. No better service could be rendered by a keen historian than to expose to the destructive analysis of genuine history some of the glittering generalizations that have been the fuel upon which this flame of false doctrine has been fed, and help the public at large to estimate at its true value the rampant materialism of the day. Secretary Long's speech at the launching of the Missouri is the latest illustration of the pernicious and blinding effect of this false attitude; but the atmosphere of every country is impregnated with it, and it prevails as much in once-idealist Germany as in the land of Joe Chamberlain or in that of the illustrious Beveridge of Indiana.

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

(February 22, 1902)

When an advance is made in any field of intellectual endeavor, it is almost invariably the case that the award of the honor due to the originator of it is involved in more or less uncertainty. Too often it is made the subject of prolonged and acrimonious controversy. Even when this is not the case, the honor seldom falls with entire definiteness upon a single recipient, but is divided among several. In the field of invention, the steamboat, the telegraph, and the telephone furnish familiar examples; the promulgation of the great doctrine of the origin of species by natural selection was prevented only by the magnanimity of both Darwin and Wallace from being made the source of such a personal controversy as would have dimmed the lustre of that epoch-making achievement; the sublimated atmosphere of mathematical research did not make Newton and Leibnitz immune from the bitterness of rival claims to the creation of the calculus. That these things so often arise is due, of course, to the fact that, great as a given forward step may be, it is seldom taken until the ground is prepared for it; and when the ground is prepared, there is generally more than one man of power or genius ready to make the advance.

In the case of the Johns Hopkins University, it is a notable fact that no dispute has arisen in any

quarter as to the uniqueness of her special title to glory. This is the more remarkable because, as in those other cases of which we have been speaking, the time was ripe for the new achievement, and for a number of years there had been stirrings in the direction of it, at various seats of learning in different parts of the country. The Johns Hopkins University was the first in America to embody the ideals, the spirit and the methods of true university work; but there had been, at half a score of colleges and universities in the country, special courses for graduates, giving university opportunities in one direction or another. It is to the credit of the older universities that they have never, so far as we are aware, pointed to these fragmentary efforts at university work as belittling the title of the Johns Hopkins to the position of leadership which is her due. On the contrary, they have manifested from the first the most whole-hearted and generous recognition of the splendid service which our Baltimore University has done for the cause of learning in America. She has been accorded, with one voice, the signal honor of having lifted the plane of university education in America to a new elevation; of having placed it, for the first time, alongside that of the universities of the Old World in which the advancement, and not the mere dissemination, of human knowledge is the aim constantly held in view. How complete is the recognition of this grand service, how thoroughly the pride that we in Baltimore take in the great work of the Johns Hopkins is echoed in the appreciation of the representatives of learning throughout America, has never been so impressively

shown as in the celebration now in progress of the completion of the University's first quarter-century.

The history of the Johns Hopkins is, in its broad lines, too well known to Baltimore readers to require rehearsal at this time; and the significance of that history has been too often pointed out in these columns to call for renewed exposition now. Her splendid record is familiar to us all; it is not a novelty to see her laurels displayed. To lovers of the Johns Hopkins, here in Baltimore, the most moving feature of this celebration has been the gathering together of the faithful sons of the University from every quarter of the country. As emphasizing the national character of her influence, this might be regarded as of sufficient interest; but the same conclusion could be easily drawn from a table of statistics. What the gathering of Hopkinsians, old and young, from North and South and East and West, signifies is something more than the intellectual influence which all know she has exercised. It attests the depth of the sentiment which is felt by these fellow-workers in the cause of learning toward the institution in which their highest ideals and standards of intellectual striving were formed. Mere piling up of knowledge would be almost as dreary a pursuit as mere piling up of money, were it not informed with genuine sentiment; and the gatherings of this week have given signal evidence that such sentiment is not wanting among the soldiers of science and learning.

MEDIOCRITY AND GREATNESS

(March 17, 1902)

The remark recently made by a prominent college president to the effect that the Twentieth Century was opening upon a race devoid of great men has led to the usual variety of comments upon such assertions. The remark, as quoted in the Boston Transcript, is that the Twentieth Century has dawned upon a very mediocre race. "But mediocrity," says our Boston contemporary, "is a relative term; as much so as superiority. The superiority of one period may be the mediocrity of a succeeding or subsequent period. It is undoubtedly so in this case. It is unquestionably true that there is not such a widely separating chasm between the great and the small in the present year of grace as there was a hundred or even fifty years ago. There may be as many intellectual Mont Blancs now as then, but the inferior elevations have advanced in stature and reduced the lordly proportions of the monarch of the range by the process."

This expresses a view which is widely accepted, but which is, in our judgment, radically false. There is no valid reason to suppose that the gap between the truly great man and the mediocre man is any less today than it ever was, nor that, given the same quality of greatness, and an equal stimulus and occasion for its exercise, the man who measures up to the historic standard of greatness would not be marked out with the same distinctness, and recog-

nized with the same honors, in the Twentieth Century as in any previous age. What is true in regard to persons of what may be called mediocre distinction is not that they reach a higher standard than the corresponding class of former generations, but that there are more of them. Where there was one clever novelist fifty years ago, there are perhaps a score today; where there was one scientific discoverer or inventor, there are a hundred; where there was one capable essayist and journalist, there are dozens now. But all this does not lessen the difference between the author of the last "boom" novel and Thackeray; between the merely talented and assiduous experimenter and Faraday; between a fine writer in the magazines and Carlyle. Indeed, in the comparison of the mountain range, there is a lurking fallacy; what has risen is the general level of the knowledge and opportunities open to us all, not the height to which individuals rise in their own achievements.

A single example is almost sufficient to show that the essential place of individual greatness is the same as it has ever been. Take a glance at the literary figures that came into general notice in the English-speaking world during the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. There was precisely one—one and no more—that was recognized as a great and original force. This was Rudyard Kipling. There were no end of good writers in the field, but not one of them was regarded as more than an able literary worker—an object of admiration and a source of pleasure, no doubt, but not a centre of influence, a factor to be reckoned with, a man or

woman the appearance of whose every succeeding work was to be looked upon as an event of importance. We need not investigate the source of this feeling; it might be difficult to analyze or account for it. The one thing certain about it is that it emanated from individual power; from that kind of personal quality which is essential to greatness, and which, when it exists in sufficient measure, constitutes greatness.

Now, we have not the least notion that the final verdict on Kipling will rank him with the great names of English literature; but this only increases the force of the argument. He had something of the mountain about him, and there was not the slightest difficulty in distinguishing him from the surrounding hills. It is unfortunate that the nearest approach to a great figure that has recently been produced in the world of English literature should be one that falls so short of the highest standards. But the obstacle to his achieving an illustrious rank resides not in the circumstance that his contemporaries are too great, but that he is not great enough. The distinctive quality of genius was swiftly recognized in him; it needed but the thin little volume of "Plain Tales From the Hills" to establish that. And, in spite of the sad disappointment to which he has since subjected us, he still retains something of the peculiar prerogative that has always attached to the man of genius—to what Carlyle calls the hero. The world is as much in need of the hero as ever it was; there is as much room for him as ever there was; and whenever he appears, he will be found to tower above his fellows just as distinctly as he did when

there were no telephones or electric lights, and when thousands of young people, whose descendants now have access to all the books in the world, felt it a rare and precious privilege to pore over the pages of Plutarch and Bunyan and Shakespeare.

CECIL RHODES' NIGHTMARE

(April 10, 1902)

A great deal has been said, and justly said, of Cecil Rhodes' wonderful dream, and of the still more wonderful rapidity with which, largely through his efforts, that dream approached realization during his lifetime. It was not destined to be a happy dream to the last, for it began to be seriously disturbed and troubled at the time of the Jameson raid, and it was covered with a mist of blood and shame during the years of the Boer War. But he had reason to feel, even to the last, that his dream of a new Africa, a South Africa vastly enlarged and all British, was to be made a reality, and he died in the assurance that he had not dreamed in vain.

The "political last will and testament" of the "empire-builder," which is about to appear in the American Review of Reviews, and of which copious extracts were published yesterday, shows that Mr. Rhodes, besides being the possessor of a grand dream, was himself possessed by a tremendous nightmare. This was nothing less than the belief that all the world was engaged in a deadly struggle to destroy England by cutting her off from the possibilities of trade, and that the only way to prevent her annihilation was that of a federation of the English-speaking people the world over. Not only so, but that the way to secure such a federation was by England making desperate and relentless com-

mercial war upon America. "I note with satisfaction," he wrote—this was in 1890—"that the committee appointed to inquire into the McKinley tariff reports that in certain articles our trades have fallen off 50 per cent. Yet the fools do not see that if they do not look out they will have England shut out and isolated, with 90,000,000 to feed and capable of internally supporting about 6,000,000. If they had a statesman they would at the present moment be commercially at war with the United States, and would have boycotted the raw products of the United States until she came to her senses; and I say this because I am a free trader." And again: "I believe that England, with fair play, should manufacture for the world, and, being a free trader, I believe that, until the world comes to its senses, you should declare war—I mean a commercial war—with those trying to boycott your manufactures. That is my programme. You might finish the war by a union with America and universal peace after a hundred years." It does not seem to have occurred to "the Colossus" that this plan for forcing a union essential to England's existence but non-essential to America's welfare might not prove to be the very best device for bringing about America's willingness to enter into it.

Once possessed by this nightmare, it is not surprising that Mr. Rhodes pursued it into nightmare-like ramifications. Since the stupidity of Parliaments would prevent them from adopting spontaneously the plan of economic coercion for effecting a world-wide Anglo-Saxon union, another resource would have to be brought into requisition. A coa-

lition of multi-millionaires, forming themselves into a firmly-disciplined secret society carried on upon the system of the Jesuits, would be absolutely irresistible. As to any interference with the successful working of such a league of hundreds of millions of dollars which might come from the insignificant hundreds of millions of mere human beings, the diamond-mine empire-builder seems never to have regarded that as worthy of notice. Nor did it ever seem to cross his mind that it is only by the common consent of mankind, based upon the common sense of the world, that the possessors of great wealth are enabled to enjoy in peace such power as is now theirs, not to speak of the arrogation of such extravagant functions of world-rule as Rhodes fancied in his nightmare scheme.

At the end of the nightmare comes the bright dream again; the dream of an Anglo-Saxon world, a world unencumbered with incompetent and useless peoples, peoples that potter along with life, enjoying themselves in their own fashion, developing their own tastes, creating their own peculiar trifles of art or literature or amusement, but not accomplishing the one thing needful—the maximum of industrial production, the greatest development of wealth. To some minds, however—and to not a few "Anglo-Saxon" minds—this is the worst nightmare of all. There are those who are grateful for the variety of human ideals and aspirations that springs from the individuality of different races and peoples; who thank God not that we are unlike other peoples, but that other peoples are unlike us—that there is some room still left for variation from

the dominating type, some scope for other things being placed uppermost in the scale of living than those by which we happen to set most store. Long before Kipling, there was an English poet who had something to say on the Rhodes-Kipling ideals:

> The world is too much with us: late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers

said Wordsworth, thinking of the commercialist absorption of his own time; and he would exclaim today, more fervently than he did then, that he would

> rather be
> A pagan suckled in a creed outworn

than a denizen of a world-empire in which the all-pervading sound was the shrill and deafening note of Anglo-Saxon industrialism.

END OF A HEROIC STRUGGLE

(June 2, 1902)

After a magnificent contest against overwhelming odds, more than two and a half years in duration, the sturdy little Dutch republics of South Africa have succumbed to the power and resources of the British Empire. During the first six months of that period, the attention of all the world was riveted upon a struggle that recalled the days of Thermopylae and Marathon, and made real to the people of this age the deeds of Winkelried's Swiss peasants on the field of Sempach. For a time, it almost seemed as if the impossible were to be accomplished by the little army of undisciplined farmers who repulsed, again and again, the trained soldiery of Buller and Methuen. Even now, one is tempted to speculate on the results that might have followed if Cronje, instead of doggedly entrenching himself in the river bed at Paardeberg, relying on what he imagined to be the limitless ineptitude of the British, had taken counsel of ordinary prudence and escaped before he was hopelessly surrounded. His surrender was a staggering blow, not only through the loss of numbers, but through its moral effect both on the Boers and the British. Yet, after a short period of comparative inactivity, the war was resumed upon the basis of that irregular but wonderfully effective fighting which has given the names of De Wet and Delarey an undying lustre. With small and steadily diminishing numbers, the remains of the Boer army

have been giving the British such trouble as to tax to the utmost the skill, the endurance and the resources of that powerful enemy. What terms they have succeeded in exacting from England is not known at this writing; but there is good reason to believe that they are such as the Boer fighters can look upon as no mean tribute to their still remaining prowess.

That the English will endeavor to conciliate the Boers by a liberal policy may be taken for granted. They will do their utmost to restore tranquility and establish normal conditions. Civil government will be well administered. There will be a vast revival of activity in the gold mines. We shall probably soon be hearing of the wonderful prosperity of the region, and the extreme satisfaction with which the capitalists who own the mines, and the engineers who operate them, and the speculators who traffic in the stocks of them, look upon the substitution of British for Boer control. Possibly even the Boer farmers themselves—as many as are left to reoccupy their desolated homes, and gather together the surviving members of their families—will be having rather more bread to eat, a few years hence, than they were accustomed to in the days before the war. To a considerable class of minds, facts like these will constitute a justification of England's aggression. There are doubtless millions of honest English people who have all along considered England to be in the right chiefly because they thought that the Boers, in their comparatively primitive methods, did not give such opportunities for modern "development" as would come with British rule.

Against such hopeless Philistinism we have no disposition to argue. Here was a people of heroic strain, clinging with unparalleled devotion to the preservation of its own national individuality, presenting such a store of antique virtue and sturdy health, physical and moral, as the world can at the present day ill afford to spare; when it is crushed out of existence, its aspirations cherished during three generations of sacrifice and endurance blotted out, its individuality uprooted by the mammoth machine of modern commercialism, any addition that may thereby be made either to the resources of European wealth or to the merely physical comfort of the Afrikanders themselves counts as mere dust in the balance.

It would not be just to omit a word in recognition of the high qualities shown by the English in the war. Wicked as the war was in its inception, and cruel as were some of the means resorted to in its prosecution, three things stand out conspicuously to their credit. One is the uniform bravery of officers and men throughout the history of the war. Another is the honest publication of the facts in regard to the concentration camps, a publicity which led—through the efforts, to be sure, of fearless home critics of the Government—to a great amelioration of the horrible conditions there. The third is the frank and chivalrous recognition, not only of the splendid fighting qualities, but of the humane conduct, of the Boers, which so many British officers have given. This last consideration, however, serves as a reminder of one of the most melancholy features of the whole tragic story. Before the war

began, and for months after hostilities opened, the British public, and indirectly the world at large, had its mind poisoned with the most outrageous and unfounded stories of Boer barbarism, and the impression thus produced was a powerful factor in creating and preserving the war sentiment. It was long before the truth came out—a truth which is now undisputed. Instead of being cruel, treacherous, or barbarous, the Boers have been exceptionally humane, honorable and considerate in their conduct throughout the war—a showing which, when we consider that they were not disciplined troops, but a general levy of the population, is simply marvelous. The record they have made in this respect will, along with their magnificent feats of courage and military skill, redound to their everlasting honor:

> 'Tis not in mortals to command success,
> But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.

Never were men entitled more proudly to utter this sentiment than are the worn and battered commandoes, with Botha, Delarey and De Wet at their head, who yesterday laid down the standard which they have not been able to carry to victory, but which they have covered with imperishable glory.

THE ETHICS OF INFLATION

(November 10, 1902)

We find in the Springfield Republican the following editorial remarks:

"The United States Treasurer, Ellis H. Roberts, appears to be an inflationist and cheap-money man of the first order. He says in his current annual report, after referring to the recent great increase in the production of gold:

> The mines are thus confirming the gold standard steadily and invincibly. They are creating an inflation of currency, which keeps pace with the enterprise and industry of the country. They are contributing to an advance in prices in general commodities, and add impetus to the prosperity of our people.

"This was precisely what the silver men were aiming at, and for which they were so roundly denounced as repudiators. That the same result has been reached in another way *makes no difference in its essential character.* Depreciation of money is always of course measured by the rise in commodity prices, and there is *as much actual dishonesty* in relation to debts and business contracts about a gold dollar whose purchasing power has been reduced 33 per cent within half a dozen years as there is about any other dollar similarly depreciated. And there can be no moral difference between a public policy which deliberately permits of such a depreciation under a previously established monetary arrangement and one which seeks to change an old arrangement purposely to effect the depreciation." (The italics are ours.)

If this view of the ethics of the free-silver movement had obtained general currency in the days preceding 1896, Bryan would have had a walk-over for the Presidency. That a great number of honest and intelligent persons believed it to be correct is unquestionable, and that these same persons were accused by superficial writers and speakers of being necessarily either knaves or fools is likewise true. But there is a radical difference between the question of the personal honesty of the advocates of a particular policy and that of the intrinsic integrity of the policy itself. That the Springfield Republican should have had its ever-present and ever-active sense of justice aroused to defend honest and intelligent silver men against charges of knavery or imbecility is in no way surprising, but it is a pity that so strong and keen-sighted a paper should itself subscribe (as it has done repeatedly) to a doctrine inherently vicious, a doctrine which upon analysis proves to have no justification in practical ethics, and which, if it obtained general currency, would be incalculably demoralizing. An intellectual oversight which unquestionably was the source of the failure of many intelligent and upright persons to see the wrongfulness of a deliberate change of standard by Governmental action is not surprising in the case of the average citizen; but when it is made by one of the ablest and most influential papers in the country, it seems worth while to point out the fallacy.

To correct the error, it is only necessary to consider what is the nature of the *understood* relationship between Government and the monetary stand-

ard. When a contract is made under which A is to give and B is to receive a certain number of dollars, or pounds sterling, or marks, it has been understood, at any time during the past quarter-century at least, that what B was entitled to at the time of maturity was either a certain weight of fine gold or something which passed current in all business transactions for that amount of gold. That the dollar, or the pound sterling, or the mark, was to be, or to be equivalent to, that amount of gold was the extent of the Government's guarantee, whether tacit or express, in the matter. Nobody ever imagined that the Government of the United States, or of England, or of Germany, would concern itself with the interest of either the debtor or the creditor in the purchasing power of the gold. Fluctuations in that purchasing power are inevitable, under any circumstances that have ever yet existed on this planet; indeed, no way has yet been devised for even measuring such fluctuations with any confidence, not to speak of preventing them. Both parties to the contract understand always that prices may be higher or lower at the time of its maturity than at the time of its creation, through the operation of natural or business causes. If the creditor loses, and the debtor gains, as a consequence of this play of forces perfectly understood to exist from the beginning, there is absolutely no "actual dishonesty" whatever in the matter. It is not an ideal readjustment of the debt on the lines of abstract equity that was contemplated in the bargain; both parties were taking risks, and so long as the Government permits the game to be played out

on the basis upon which it was entered into, the play is fair, and no one has a right to complain.

Far different is the " essential character " of the proceeding when the Government steps in and says that the dollar shall be something else—not something else *in value,* but something else *specifically,* from what it was understood to be when the bargain was made. The dishonesty consists not in the hardship inflicted on either side, but in *altering the terms of the bargain.* The whole of our commercial and financial morality is built up on the feeling of the sanctity of contracts. If we were to attempt to substitute for that feeling a sort of humanitarian regard for the interests of the several parties to a contract, we should be plunged into a bottomless morass. And yet this fundamental departure is made by the Springfield Republican when it finds in a loss sustained by creditors through deliberate Governmental alteration of the monetary standard a proceeding of essentially the same character as a similar loss occasioned by the operation of causes, always known to be in existence, affecting the value of the monetary unit. In the latter case there may be hardship, but there is no dishonesty; in the former case there is dishonesty even if there be no hardship whatever.

Nor is the difference important in its abstract aspect only, important as this is. Practically, the effect of an admission that there is no dishonesty in Governmental interference with the standard would be disastrous to the last degree, for there would be no practical limit to the application of the principle thus established. In the case of the silver

agitation, there was some ground for the proposed change aside from the claim that equity toward debtors demanded the readjustment in question, and furthermore it was contended by many that under free coinage the parity of the silver dollar with the gold dollar would be maintained. But if we were simply to consider a Government readjustment of debts to be of essentially the same character as the readjustment that is taking place every day through natural and scientific and business causes, what would there be to prevent a debasement of the currency at any time that a plausible argument for such a step could be made to secure a popular majority in its favor? If the simple principle were not recognized, and upheld by the overwhelming sentiment of thinking people, that a change of the monetary standard by Governmental fiat is an act of dishonesty, the times and the extent of such changes would become a mere question of the taste and fancy of the majority for the time being. That such a state of things would work its own cure is true enough; but this would come about solely through conditions becoming intolerable, as they did in the days of the French *assignats* or our own Continental currency. Of course, at the present time there is no danger of any departure from sound principles. But the days of free silver, and even those of greenbackism, are not so far behind us as to make us indifferent to the promulgation of a doctrine which was at the bottom of most of the mischief in both those movements.

THE LOGIC OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

(March 21, 1903)

In an address before the Commercial Club of Boston, on Thursday night, Mr. F. A. Vanderlip, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, presented in the striking manner which is habitual with him some of the salient features of the recent industrial and commercial development of the country as a whole, and of various sections of it. The ultimate aim of his address was to impress upon his hearers the idea that, in a future no longer remote, New England will have to look to foreign trade as its chief recourse in the maintenance of a high standing in the industrial and commercial world. Time was when the West and South afforded a clear field for the disposal of the manufactured products of New England enterprise, but the development of manufactures in both those sections has been going on at so rapid a rate that every year shows a notable increase in the range covered by the home industries of those regions, and a corresponding narrowing of the field left open there for the expansion of New England's trade. " The South and the West," said Mr. Vanderlip, " are now in a large degree equipped with the machinery of civilization. They are no longer under tribute for men or products, and in great measure are also becoming financially free, the last few years of prosperity having discharged vast indebtedness. The position which New England held as a manufacturing source to supply the wants

of the West and South has in turn been contested and in large measure lost. The great cities of the West and South have changed their distinctive character as distributing points, and have become manufacturing centres in turn. The remarkable expansion of the cotton industry in the South, the rapid growth of leather manufacture in the West, taking from New England its prominence in both fields, are but two illustrations among many . . . . A development of signal significance to the future prosperity of New England can be found in the rapid expansion all through the West of the manufacture of all sorts of highly finished goods . . . . The lines in which the manufacturers in the East, and particularly New England, had until recently a control approaching to monopoly are now being diffused over the very territory which these factories of yours once almost exclusively supplied."

All this has been said, in various forms, many times within the past few years, but the fact that it is made the central matter of his discourse by a man of Mr. Vanderlip's position, in an address before a leading business organization of Boston, lends the words a special interest. What we desire to draw attention to, however, is not the facts, now so familiar, which were dwelt upon in Mr. Vanderlip's remarks. There is a lesson conveyed in them which is of larger import than the specific application he had in mind. No belief, perhaps, is more widely entertained in America than that which ascribes to the operation of the protective tariff the remarkable change which has taken place in the relations between our country and Europe along industrial lines.

Even those who believe that protection has on the whole been an evil are prone to admit that, whatever wrongs or mischiefs it may have brought about, it must be given the credit of having produced the tremendous growth of manufacturing industry in America. Look at the figures, they say. See where we were ten or twenty or thirty years ago in iron and steel production, and in manufactures generally, and see where we are now. If it isn't the tariff that has brought about the change, what is it?

The answer is ready to our hand, and the only strange thing is that it should be so generally overlooked. What has brought about the change (though we are not denying that in some measure it may have been accelerated by the tariff) in the relations between the United States and Europe is the same thing as has brought about and is bringing about the change in the relations between the South and West on the one hand and New England on the other. It is the natural development of a country tremendously rich in natural resources passing from the stage of agricultural activity and little accumulated capital to the stage in which manufacturing industry with large available capital is added to the agriculture. The South and West are in the same unprotected state, as against New England manufactures, that they always were in; yet, though decade after decade passed in which their industrial development was slight, they have come, in the fullness of time, to that stage so graphically described by Mr. Vanderlip. Change " South and West " into United States " and " New England " into " Eu-

rope," and Mr. Vanderlip's description of the changed relation of things becomes exactly that which protectionists are continually pointing to as demonstrating the marvelous transformation of the status of our country brought about by their tariff legislation. Until the protectionists can point out some legislation "equally as good" which has done the trick for the South and West, free-traders who keep their heads level can afford to smile at the big figures that record the natural industrial evolution of this great country.

ROOSEVELT AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

(April 3, 1903)

Considering President Roosevelt's love for a fight, it is not surprising that he should measure this country's future standing among nations by the size of the club we are able to wield. The club which the President refers to particularly is the United States Navy. And it is in the interest of the Monroe doctrine that we must carry about with us this stout hickory to impress our enemies, according to the best usages of the far-famed Donnybrook fair. President Roosevelt, in his speech in Chicago last night, was so explicit and withal so picturesque on that point that we reproduce his words here:

> I believe in the Monroe doctrine wth all my heart and soul; I am convinced that the immense majority of our fellow-countrymen so believe in it; but I would infinitely prefer to see us abandon it than to see us put it forward and bluster about it, and yet fail to build up the efficient fighting strength which in the last resort can alone make it respected by any strong foreign Power whose interest it may ever happen to be to violate it. There is a homely old adage which runs: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." If the American nation will speak softly, and yet build, and keep at a pitch of the highest training a thoroughly efficient navy, the Monroe doctrine will go far. I ask you to think over this.

To be sure, it is well that President Roosevelt feels his responsibility. But he must pardon others for not feeling so insecure. We should be inclined to smile at the Irishman who would carry his stout black-thorn cudgel through the streets of Baltimore

in order to protect himself from attack. The cowboy in New York city, loaded down with big guns and long rifles, would be an object of tolerant curiosity. Yet either would probably need the "big stick" as badly as America needs an overwhelming naval force today in order to protect itself and the Monroe doctrine. President Roosevelt should not forget that the Monroe doctrine has about eighty years to its credit, and during all of that period it has never been assailed successfully. The United States was a nation of but ten millions of inhabitants when it coolly announced to the world that the nations already here could and would take care of the Western Hemisphere. No big club was prepared in anticipation of this announcement.

And the Monroe doctrine has been tried. France and England once challenged it in concert in connection with Cuban affairs. But the United States was ready and the Europeans did not press the challenge. Louis Napoleon actually broke into our preserve when we were engaged in more important business than enforcing the Monroe doctrine, but when we looked around and found him he moved on. England again talked boldly about what she would do with territory claimed by a weak South American State; but when President Cleveland drew his chalk line, John Bull promptly placed his toes to it. In none of these instances was our "big stick" ready. At the time that President Cleveland issued his Venezuelan message, our navy would have been anything but a terror to "the mistress of the seas."

A mild suggestion on the part of President

Roosevelt was sufficient to stay the mailed fists of England and Germany in their recent assault upon Venezuela. More than that, they gave to the President in that connection the first important European recognition of the Monroe doctrine when "both Powers assured us in explicit terms that there was not the slightest intention on their part to violate the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and this assurance was kept with an honorable good faith which merits full acknowledgment on our part." It was not because of the size of our naval "big stick" that they halted. The combined fleets of these two Powers would have overmatched our sea force five to one. They respected our strength, our resources, our general fighting power—if, indeed, they ever had any designs upon South American territory. As a matter of fact, England has given the United States a hostage for good behavior. Canada is an all-sufficient assurance that Great Britain will cross swords with the United States only in the last extremity. And while Great Britain is our friend no other Power is likely to try conclusions with us. Our resources are so vast that it would be suicidal for any Power whatever to make a wanton attack upon us. It is better that we should never be in position to make a wanton attack upon anybody else—and the "big stick" is always a temptation. Let us have a navy—a strong, respectable, efficient navy—capable of meeting legitimate demands; but if we load ourselves down with a barbarous club bigger than our neighbors can carry, we shall simply handicap ourselves needlessly in the race of civilization.

ONE LESSON FROM THEODOR MOMMSEN

(November 3, 1903)

We habitually conceive of the typical German scholar as a man completely wrapped up in his specialty, a recluse, a devotee who thinks his life well spent if he has "settled hoti's business"; and so far as single-minded devotion to the pursuit of the particular department of learning or science in which he is engaged is concerned, the generally received notion of the German *Gelehrter* is entirely correct. His absorption in his work is complete, sincere, unqualified. He has not one eye on his manuscript or his retorts and the other on the stock market or the doings of "the 400." His personal ambitions, aspirations, hopes, all lie in the field of his vocation. But no mistake would be greater than to suppose that this attitude of mind, so far as individual desires and ambitions are concerned, involves any narrowness of vision or limitation of interest as to the large questions of literature and life, and especially public life. The German scholar, specialist though he be in his work, has plenty of psychic energy to spare for the large concerns of mankind, both in speculative thought and in action. And, best of all, the history of German universities testifies abundantly to the fact that these noble nurseries of learning have also been the stronghold of liberal thought, and furnished the germ of political freedom for their country.

Seldom has the compatibility of enormous learn-

ing and scholarly power with effective and courageous participation in the molding of public sentiment been more signally illustrated than in the case of the great scholar whose death Germany is now mourning as that of her most illustrious citizen. Theodor Mommsen, by common consent first among German scholars, whose productive activity covers no less than thirty-five published works, aggregating more than one hundred volumes relating to the life and laws and languages of antiquity, was not so far removed from the struggles of his own time and of his own people as to fail to do his full share in the work of liberal progress. He threw himself into the revolutionary movement in 1848, and throughout the ascendency of Bismarck he maintained, in face of all the prestige of the man of blood and iron, the principles of political freedom for which he had always stood. He was none the less a firm upholder of the idea of a great German empire, and that his patriotism was not impaired by his resistance to despotic tendencies may safely be inferred from the tribute which the Kaiser yesterday paid to his memory. Last, but by no means least among his public services which call for special mention, we must not overlook the way in which the venerable historian interposed all the prestige of his name and personality between the German people and that mad wave of anti-Semitism which at one time threatened to cover the name of the German nation with the deepest disgrace. It is at such times of unthinking and deluded popular emotion that men of light and leading like Mommsen can be of priceless service to their country and to the world.

It is because of the inestimable value of independent thought and untrammeled expression on the part of those who by their training and position are capable of exercising peculiarly weighty and salutary influence upon their fellow-citizens, that the idea of free speech in universities should be so jealously upheld. In the forced resignation of President Andrews of Brown University on account of his views on the silver question, and in the series of resignations which the authorities of Leland Stanford brought about as a consequence of the free expression of opinions on the part of professors, a large portion of the American press, greatly to its credit, recognized an evil not only serious, but truly dangerous. It is undeniable that, though such gross violation of the principle of free speech as is committed in such cases is rare, yet there prevails in American colleges and universities enough feeling that it is well to be "prudent" and "conservative," to make it an extremely rare thing for our professors to take a bold and commanding position in any public emergency, or upon any great subject of controversy which involves the prerogatives of wealth. A noted German economist, when on a visit to this country, stated that he had been asked by an American publisher to write a work on the labor question in America. The publisher told him that it was impossible to get from an American professor of high standing a thoroughly frank and fearless discussion of the subject. This publisher doubtless went to an extreme in his estimate of the situation, but the fact remains that few American professors, while retaining their academic standing and continuing

their scientific activities, take such part in public discussion as to bring to bear upon it the full weight of bold and independent conviction. Whatever tends to foster among them the spirit of fearless independence should be sedulously cultivated; and whenever an attack is made upon that spirit, such as was so flagrantly made at Leland Stanford University, it should bring down upon the institution guilty of it such punishment as came in that instance—a punishment from the effect of which the Leland Stanford will not recover for years.

HONOR AND THE ARMY

(November 27, 1903)

It has never struck us as peculiarly hard that a man who has had the maximum of incitement to honorable conduct and the minimum of temptation to appropriate to himself money that belonged to the Government he has sworn to serve should suffer the penalty which, every day in the year, is meted out, in severer measure, to human beings who have had none of his advantages and have been subjected to a hundredfold his temptation. It is a painful spectacle, the sight of a man who has worn the honored uniform of the United States Army, and who has enjoyed association with those most highly placed in social and official life, condemned, as Capt. Oberlin M. Carter was, to serve a term of imprisonment in a penitentiary, and doomed to bid farewell forever to all that life had meant for him. But the necessity of such retribution for faithlessness on the part of a trusted officer—its necessity not only for the protection of the Government, but still more for the preservation of the honor that attaches to the name of "an officer and a gentleman"—is too manifest to warrant any indulgence of sentimental weakness in connection with such a case. Failure to convict and to sentence this offender, and to carry out his sentence to the letter, would have been nothing short of a calamity to the army and to the country.

There is, however, one feature connected with

the case of Captain Carter at which one is inclined to wince when it is brought to his attention. This former officer of the army will tomorow be again a free man; but there is one part of his punishment—aside from that which no law can impose and no law can wipe out—which, under the articles of war, will follow him as long as he lives. Under those regulations, no officer of the army is permitted to associate with a man who has been dismissed from the service for fraud, and such an act constitutes scandalous conduct for which the officer is liable to trial by court-martial. There is something of the tragic and the cruel about the idea of this inexorable ostracism from which, with our modern softness in matters of crime and punishment, we are apt to recoil. No one would like, personally, to bear his share in the infliction of this punishment. Every man with a conscience, knowing how much he himself has done that is wrong, must feel that he would shrink from helping to put a stigma upon one who is, after all, a man and a brother. Nevertheless, the army's regulation is eminently right. Nothing that is worth having in this world can be had without sacrifice. The idea that the officers of the army are men of honor and gentlemen is a precious possession of the army and the nation; and, like other possessions, it is one that cannot be preserved unless we are willing to pay the price of its continued existence. If we treat it as merely a pleasant notion, to be adhered to as long as all is smooth sailing, and to be conveniently ignored when its assertion calls for sacrifice of inclination on the part of one and submission to hardship on the part of another, it

will assuredly become as unsubstantial in its essence as we shall have made it ineffective in its demands upon our stern and rigorous allegiance.

Indeed, it is not a relaxation of the army code in its exactions in matters of honor that is wanted, but some approach to similar standards in other fields. Social ostracism in flagrant cases of "high finance" is a weapon that the world stands much in need of, for its defense against the agency which is today more potent for demoralization than any other—one is tempted to say than all others combined. The idea of commercial honor has done more than laws and prisons to preserve honesty and right dealing in business, and to protect each man against the temptations that beset him. The charity—if it *be* charity, and not mere weakness—that would relax the standard in this matter, is the diametrical opposite of charity to the men who have not yet offended; and these are a thousand to one as against those who have actually fallen. The thing which, above all others, protects the trusted official against temptations to betray his trust, and the business man against temptations to dishonorable practice, is the realization that to yield is to forfeit forever the respect of those with whom he has lived his life. Whatever we have of such protection, whether in the army or elsewhere, let us prize as one of the solid results of ages of trial and effort.

THE FIRE

(February 8, 1904)

Since 11 o'clock yesterday morning there has been blotted out of existence in our city an amount of property, in the shape of business buildings, merchandise, and plants, which may safely be estimated at about $50,000,000. The fire is still raging, and it is impossible to state precisely what will be the boundaries of the region that will have been ravaged when it finally subsides. But as to the destruction of property of enormous value, we are warranted in believing that we have come to the end of that. Further extension of the fire, though it may add considerably to the area of the region covered, will, according to all indications, add only a relatively insignificant amount to the aggregate value of the property destroyed. How much of the loss which the destruction covers will fall upon Baltimore owners it is, at this hour, too early to estimate. Incomplete insurance leaves a margin between loss and compensation which, in some cases, is very serious, but there is every reason to believe that the amount to be added to this deficit by failure of insurance companies to meet their liabilities will be but a trifling percentage. The wise practice of distributing insurance among a large number of outside companies so subdivides the burden that in only a very small proportion of the whole amount will any weakness in the underwriting companies be developed by our disaster.

However calmly the field be surveyed, it is impossible for any Baltimorean to contemplate the situation today with feelings other than the most serious. There are, to be sure, two aspects of the disaster which give cause for profound gratitude. First, that the tremendous conflagration has brought with it almost no loss of life; and secondly, that several great buildings on the very edge of the flames, and especially our noble courthouse, have escaped destruction. But the very heart of the great business section of our city has been eaten out. The spring trade, which was just opening, has been cut off, and the resulting disorganization of business connections is a matter of most serious moment. The financial loss comes almost on the heels of the trust-company embarrassments which recently came as so painful a shock to our people. It would be mere hypocrisy to pretend to belittle the magnitude or the gravity of the blow that has fallen upon our city and its business interests. The first feeling of everybody must be a feeling that Baltimore, in being made just at this time the victim of the third, or possibly the second, greatest fire loss in the history of America, is subjected to a terrible blow.

The first feeling, but not the last. Heavy as the loss is, it carries away, after all, but a small part of our total material resources; and it will be of no consequence if it leaves unimpaired the capital that is the real basis of the city's greatness—the spirit of the people. And to suppose that the spirit of our people will not rise to the occasion is to suppose that our people are not genuine Americans. Chicago dates her greatness from the great fire of 1871;

Boston's fire in 1872—more like our own, in that it swept away the most valuable business property in the city—stimulated Boston's improvement and development; even little Galveston, overwhelmed by a flood which seemed calculated to wipe out all hope and courage in that town, rose up after her calamity more vigorous and more aggressive than ever. Baltimore will do likewise. We shall make the fire of 1904 a landmark not of decline but of progress. With the call for aggressive energy so suddenly sounded in our ears, many who have been inclined to let well enough alone will be roused into ambitious enterprise that they otherwise would not have thought of. We must remember that, along with perhaps a score of splendid buildings, there have been destroyed hundreds of mean and incongruous houses which lined our chief thoroughfare and filled up a large portion of the adjacent land. These will be replaced by buildings of a solidity and value corresponding to the natural character of their location. And the spirit and energy which this process will develop is not going to stop at mere building of houses. It will give tone to the whole business life of the town. The vitality and pluck that are demanded by the emergency will remain after the emergency is over, and it will be said ten years hence that along with the flames that swept over Baltimore on that memorable Sunday in February, 1904, another flame was kindled—the flame of enterprise, energy, pride in the ability to overcome obstacles, ambition to stand alongside the best American cities in everything that makes a city strong, attractive, and prosperous. Such are the uses to which adver-

sity has been put by other American cities; such is the use which must be made of it here. And every good Baltimorean must determine today that he will do all that in him lies to bring about this consummation.

QUAY AND AMERICA

(May 30, 1904)

It is not imperatively necessary, upon the occasion of the death of a man like Quay, for a newspaper that has spoken its mind about him during his life to enter upon a minute survey either of his career or his characteristics. His private life is not matter of public concern; his public career has been the subject of comment, from time to time, throughout its duration. To dwell upon personal virtues or attractions, by way of escape from treatment of the nature of his political acts and of those personal doings of his which were connected with politics, would be to confuse counsel. What is of importance to the public is his relations not to his family or his personal friends, but to the government of his State and of the country. If his career is to be reviewed, it must be reviewed from this standpoint. But, as we have said, such a review, though it might be useful, is hardly necessary, in a newspaper whose opinion of the nature of Quay's public career has been frequently and emphatically expressed.

One thing, however, forces itself upon our mind as the word in season upon this occasion. The peculiarity of Quay's career which is of the first importance to Americans is that it is a distinctively American career; and it behooves us all to consider what is the significance of this salient fact. In no other of the great nations of the world that are in the enjoyment of parliamentary institutions would such a

career be possible. Let any one read the obituary notices, and the editorial articles, on Quay that have appeared since his death on Saturday—and it does not matter whether he reads them in his own organ, the Philadelphia Inquirer, or in the paper most opposed to Quay—and he will find that there is not a solitary thing in the record which could, by any conceivable chance, have made him a great figure in England, or France, or Germany. No British politician, no public man in France or Germany, has risen to power or importance except in one of two ways—either conspicuous service in administrative affairs or genuine and open leadership in parliamentary politics. Nobody claims either of these things for Quay. He held no administrative office of importance, and those that he did hold he left under a cloud. He hardly ever made a speech in the Senate. The one achievement in this line that is referred to in the biographical sketches—and it is pointed to with pride by his adherents—was his performance in blocking the course of the Wilson tariff bill by arming himself with Government reports, containing interminable tables of statistics, which he threatened to continue reading so long as the breath remained in his body. Nor is the absence of public utterance the only negative element marking the career of Quay in national politics. It is not claimed that he ever made an impress upon the course of public policy through the propagation in any other way of his own views or opinions upon public questions. His power in the Senate was solely the power of "management" and intrigue.

If this were the whole case, it would be sufficient

to establish the contention we began with—namely, that the ascendancy of a man with a career like Quay's, as a figure of high importance in the public life of the nation, would be utterly impossible in any of the great parliamentary countries of Europe. But it is not the whole case, nor the most conclusive part of it. Long before Quay entered the Senate his name had, in his own State, and in a large part of his own party in the State, been a byword for political corruption and for malfeasance in office. The Philadelphia Press, the leading Republican paper of Pennsylvania, had declared, long before, that if the transactions connected with his occupancy of the State Treasurer's office were laid bare the exposure would be such as to strike Republicans dumb. The facts, or alleged facts, thus referred to were repeatedly published in papers of the highest standing and of the most ample pecuniary responsibility. Quay never sued these papers for libel, nor did he demand an investigation. And this was only one of the many scandals springing from his connection with public office and with banking institutions having dealings with the State Government. Alongside of all this was the system of fraudulent elections which has made the name of Pennsylvania, and especially of Philadelphia, a term of reproach to the institutions of this Republic; and Quay and his machine have persistently refused to permit the passage of laws that would put an end to the rotten election system. As for the franchise steals, the Legislative bribery, the means by which, when in a tight place, Quay managed to win over enough anti-Quay Legislaturemen to secure his re-election to

the Senate—we need not enter into details on any of these points. One of the chief claims made for him—and it may cheerfully be granted—is that he was not a hypocrite; and this, being interpreted, means that he never pretended not to carry on politics in about the way that has been here indicated.

Now, we are not engaged in determining how bad a man Quay may have been, whether others in the same walk of life are better or worse, or whether persons in other walks of life would or would not do as he did if they had a chance. When Dr. Livingstone spoke to a certain African chief about goodness and badness, the noble savage declared that there is no such thing as goodness—that the only persons who are good are those who are not strong enough to be bad. As many as choose to take this view of ethics are welcome to continue in it. We do not propose to go so deep into the mysteries of human life. What we are talking about is a simple matter of fact. Of all the great countries in the world, our own is the only one in which great public eminence could be attained by a man who practically never made a speech in Congress, who never administered an important office, whose name has never been identified with any significant views of public affairs, who has been the centre of a great amount of unrefuted scandal connected with the use of public moneys, and who is absolutely known to be at the head of a great mechanism for the corruption and falsification of elections and the debauching of legislative bodies. This is not an opinion, not a speculation; it is a fact. And it behooves Americans to consider how long they can afford to look upon

this phenomenon with complacency. To do so is to admit that the plane of honor and the plane of intellect upon which our public affairs are conducted is one that we are content to have vastly below that of England, or France, or Germany, or Italy; that our young men are to be told perfunctorily, from time to time, that this sort of thing is very bad, but are to grow up in the belief that it is inevitable; and that they are to adopt this last conclusion in spite of the fact that no such standard as we here permit is for a moment tolerated in any country with which we are willing to place ourselves in comparison. If it be unpatriotic or over-righteous to demand for America as high a standard of honor and as true a criterion of leadership as that which prevails in other countries, we are very willing to bear the brand of over-righteousness and lack of patriotism.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S NOTIFICATION SPEECH

(July 27, 1904)

It is in no spirit of caviling that we find ourselves constrained to pronounce Mr. Roosevelt's speech in reply to the formal notification of his nomination a poor performance. Without the youthful dash that not infrequently enlivens his utterances, it is yet marked by that curious fondness for exaggerated or irresponsible statement which is even more frequently to be found in his utterances. Coming from an ordinary stump-speaker, there would, perhaps, be nothing to censure in the statement with which, after his brief but sweeping introductory laudation of the Republican party, he opens the attack on the Democratic party which forms the staple of his speech; coming from the President of the United States, the case is very different. "In all of this," says Mr. Roosevelt, "we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital." The reckless inaccuracy of this charge is so patent as almost to take away its offensiveness; nobody who stops to think what Mr. Roosevelt means by this assertion can fail to perceive at once that it is a grotesque exaggeration. The only principle on the abandonment of which Mr. Roosevelt can, with any show of reason, pre-

tend that the Democrats appeal for confidence is the principle of bimetallism or free coinage of silver. This is not " every principle "; nor is its abandonment disgraceful. No party can be supposed to fight indefinitely in behalf of an issue which, in the course of events, has been settled; nor is it discreditable for any party to avow its acquiescence in accomplished facts. In the case of the gold question, the pity is only that that avowal was not explicitly made by the Convention in its platform. But, aside from this, why should the President of the United States be so little regardful of the weight that ought to attach to his words as to say " every principle " when he can mean at most one principle? Elsewhere in his speech he refers to the protection question and the Philippine question, and appeals for condemnation of the Democratic party because it has *not* abandoned its principles in these matters; how does this square with the wild charge made at the beginning of his attack?

Similar superficiality and inaccuracy crops up throughout the speech. " In dealing with the great organizations known as trusts," says Mr. Roosevelt, " we do not have to explain why the laws were not enforced, but to point out that they actually have been enforced, and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement." This is a piece of cheap boasting which so strenuous a doer of things as the President should be superior to. If one swallow makes a summer, then perhaps the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company may be regarded as justifying the assertion that the anti-trust laws " actually have been

enforced"; but even in that case the upholders of the last Democratic Administration could show Mr. Roosevelt a Roland for his Oliver by pointing to the institution by Mr. Cleveland's Attorney General of the suit against the Trans-Missouri combination (after the matter had been abandoned by the Harrison Administration) which resulted in the very decision by the Supreme Court that formed the chief precedent for the Government in the Northern Securities case.

Coming to explicit treatment of the money question specifically, Mr. Roosevelt certainly had an easy chance to make effective exposure of the opposing party's weakness without resorting to a particle of distortion or exaggeration. But apparently that sort of thing does not satisfy the requirements of his sanguine temperament. He is not content with saying that the Democrats are unsound on this question, while the Republicans have done well with it; he must claim for his party a degree of merit to which it is notoriously not entitled. "We know what we mean," says Mr. Roosevelt, "when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year." We shall probably all "mean the same thing from year to year" hereafter; at least the indications are that the gold standard will be acknowledged by everybody, before long, as "firmly and irrevocably established"—to use Judge Parker's words. But during the time of trial and trouble, did the Republicans "mean the same thing from year to year"? When Mr. McKinley—not so very long before he became President—denounced Cleveland for striking at one

of our precious metals (something like that was his phrase), did he mean the same thing as Mr. Roosevelt does now? When, in the anxious days of the spring of 1896, after Cleveland had brought the gold standard safe through its worst trial, the country wanted to know where McKinley stood on the question of silver, did his silence mean what Mr. Roosevelt means now? When, in 1890, the Republican Congress passed the famous silver-purchase act whose repeal in the fall of 1893, under Cleveland's leadership, was the first step toward the establishment of sound money, did it mean the same thing as it does now? The Republican party finally slid into its position on the gold question after eighteen years of most discreditable drifting and temporizing; and this is what Mr. Roosevelt describes by saying that on the subject of an honest and stable currency "we mean the same thing from year to year."

Other instances of like character might be cited, and we look in vain for a single utterance of a nature calculated to impress one with a sense of thorough-going thought on the part of the speaker. By this we do not, of course, mean to imply that none of the claims made by the President are sound; more than one is quite justified by the facts. In particular, Mr. Roosevelt points with just satisfaction to the results of our policy in Cuba when he says: "In the Caribbean sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba, and have proved our assertion that our mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement"; and it would, of course, be hypercriticism to find fault with him for making no reference to the cir-

cumstance that the credit of the achievement should be divided between the passage of the Democratic Teller resolution on the one hand and the excellent management of affairs by the Republican Administrations on the other. Nevertheless, it is a fact open to little doubt that, but for the Teller resolution—which was opposed by the Republicans, and especially by McKinley—there would have been no Cuban independence.

Mr. Roosevelt points with equal pride to the Panama canal achievement, but he lays it on pretty thick when he says that "we conducted the negotiation for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run." Nobody will deny the generosity of our payment of $10,000,000 to the over-night little Republic of Panama, but there are quite a number of persons who think they have seen more signal examples of "the nicest and most scrupulous honor" than that furnished by the Colombia-Panama transaction as a whole. But Mr. Roosevelt must be pardoned his superlatives—he cannot think, apparently, in terms of anything less intense. And for one thing we may all be sincerely thankful; neither "strenuous" nor "the weakling" finds a place in the entire production. Those who had come to regard these apparitions in Mr. Roosevelt's speeches as no more escapable than Charles the First in poor Mr. Dick's petitions may take heart of hope and look forward to the possibility of these poor battered words being given a sufficient rest to permit of their once more being placed on the active list in the vocabulary of Americans generally.

DR. OSLER LEAVES US

(August 17, 1904)

To many a man in Baltimore today, professional man and layman, the news that Doctor Osler is to resign the professorship that he has adorned, and to depart from the city which he has done so much to illumine as well as to help by his presence, will eclipse in interest all the other news of the time. World-wide problems are being fought out in the Orient, the campaign for the Presidency is being developed, happenings of important and startling character are being recorded on all sides, and we are all interested in them. But when we are suddenly brought face to face with the loss of a man such as Doctor Osler, those of us who know what he is personally as well as scientifically, not only as physician and teacher and scholar but also as a man among men, are confronted with a keen realization that nothing so comes home to the heart of a man as does the feeling for an individual human being who realizes one's cravings for what is best and most beautiful in character and mind and spirit. To think that Doctor Osler is no longer to be with us is to feel that the light of our Baltimore sky has grown dimmer. Foremost among American physicians, his presence here conferred lustre on the city; but it was not the cold light of mere scientific distinction that he shed about him. His genial and poetic nature, his unfailing and charmingly playful humor, his kindliness and humanity, his utter superiority to

everything that is mean or sordid or selfish, made him, in combination with his intellectual eminence, a unique figure; and the feeling of loss that oppresses hundreds here in Baltimore today—those who have been associated with him professionally, those who have had the benefit of his counsels, those who have in any way been brought into close contact with him—is a feeling to which it would be difficult to do justice in words.

Upon the Johns Hopkins Medical School, whose brilliant success and extraordinary influence on the development of medical education in this country has been in so large a measure due to the presence of Doctor Osler in its faculty, the loss will bear with peculiar weight. Fortunately, the work of the School has now been so long and so firmly established that even this loss is one that it will be able to bear. The staff contains so much admirable material—first and foremost Doctor Welch, who from the beginning has been a tower of strength for the Medical School—and the spirit in which its work is pursued has found such secure lodgment, that we may be well assured it will come as near as possible to going on in the same way as though Doctor Osler had remained. It had been hoped that the services of its great Professor of Medicine might continue with it throughout his active life; and no temptation of a material kind would have served to draw him away from an institution to which he was so deeply attached. But the combination of distinction and charm which the Regius Professorship of Medicine at Oxford must hold out to a man like Osler was naturally irresistible. Though devoting

himself with rare zeal to the welfare of the people among whom he had made his home—most notably, but far from solely, in the warfare against tuberculosis—Doctor Osler had never become a citizen of the United States; and to a man of his scholarly and poetic tastes, as well as of his traditional feeling toward England and all that makes her greatness, the attraction of Oxford must be quite overwhelming. So far as the Johns Hopkins University is concerned, she may feel proud that her great men, though insistently sought after by universities ready to offer the greatest pecuniary inducements, have never been tempted away by them. Osler, like Sylvester before him, leaves Johns Hopkins only for Oxford; our Baltimore university has been exchanged, by the two illustrious Englishmen whom it has honored and been honored by, only for that venerable and noble institution which has been the ideal of a score of generations of English scholars.

In all this, we have been talking of Doctor Osler from the Baltimore point of view. From the point of view of the profession of medicine in the United States, the loss of Doctor Osler will be felt throughout the length and breadth of the country. To be sure, science is cosmopolitan, and the impulses coming from Osler's teachings at Oxford, and from his published writings, will be felt in America also. Nor, let us hope, will his residence at Oxford preclude occasional sojourns of considerable length in the country in which he has spent all of his mature manhood, and especially at the University to which the flower of his years has been devoted. But all this is different from the feeling that he is with us

and of us—part of the national possession. His professional colleagues, North, South, East and West, will feel that a peculiar gap has been made in their circle, a gap which no newcomer can fill. But, after all, it is here at home, in Baltimore and in Maryland, that the feeling of loss will be truly acute. Not only among his compeers in professional rank, but with the humblest country practitioner, Doctor Osler was a stimulating, encouraging, friendly presence. In practice and precept alike, he fulfilled the type of the high-minded and generous physician, the broad and polished scholar, the humane and public-spirited man, the spirited and delightful companion. Wherever he goes, he will be sure of the love as well as the respect and admiration of those among whom his lines are cast; and we wish him Godspeed in his new life at the ancient university that has invited him to take part in her labors.

THE WORK OF SECRETARY HAY

(January 20, 1905)

The part played by the United States in the entire course of the great and history-making developments which have been taking place in the Far East during the past five years is one that must inspire Americans with patriotic pride in the honorable work accomplished by their country. This remarkable record has extended over the administrations of two Presidents, but the presiding genius of it has been one and the same man—Secretary Hay. Equally during the Presidency of Mr. McKinley and that of Mr. Roosevelt, the policy of the United States in reference to China has been marked by such serenity of mind and firmness of grasp, such adherence to a constant purpose and such tact and skill in pursuing it, as must give to Mr. Hay enduring rank among the foremost masters of international statecraft. During the period of terrible uncertainty and ominous unrest brought on by the Boxer troubles, the United States Government alone kept its head, and refused to give unquestioning credence to the repeated tales of annihilation of the foreign missions which had inflamed European sentiment to the point of hysteria; in the subsequent history of that affair it was the United States and Japan that alone set the example of humanity and self-restraint in dealing with the subdued Chinese; and at the close of the episode it was Mr. Hay's diplomacy that secured international recognition for

the open-door policy—a policy which, even if partially conformed to, tends to promote the possibility of a preservation of Chinese territorial integrity. At the opening of the present war between Japan and Russia, it was our Government that addressed the Powers with a view to securing their approval of the proposition that Chinese neutrality should be respected by both belligerents. That this step was taken at the suggestion of Germany does not diminish the credit of it; rather does it testify to the strong position which the United States Government is recognized as holding in relation to the great problem of limiting the area of the war in the Far East, and of preserving the existence of China. The proposition of the United States was assented to by all the Powers, including Japan and Russia, and it cannot be doubted that this has had a powerful moral effect upon the conduct of both belligerents.

The latest step taken by Mr. Hay has been in continuance of the consistent purpose which has animated him throughout, and has been attended, it seems, with the same remarkable success which has in so extraordinary a degree accompanied his efforts all along. Reports had been received by the State Department which indicated that, at the conclusion of the war, whatever the terms made by Japan and Russia as between themselves, the opportunity or pretext was likely to be seized by several of the European Powers to pounce upon a portion of the territory of China, each for itself, by way of preserving the balance of power. The inherent probability of such action was quite sufficient to give

weight to the reports. The European Powers are in a state of constant readiness, and constant eagerness, to grab at such chances as a country like China from time to time affords. A general onslaught of this sort at the close of the present war would mean the beginning of troubles whose duration no man can predict. Mr. Hay proposes to avert this if he can. He has accordingly addressed a circular note to the Powers other than the two belligerents, in which he asks them to give assurances that at the close of the war the integrity of Chinese territory shall be respected. It is stated that favorable answers have been received from the British, French, German and Italian Governments—presumably all the Powers addressed. While it would, of course, be a rose-colored view that should regard this paper defense of Chinese territorial integrity as an impregnable bulwark, there can be no doubt of the importance of the obstacle which it will present to any scheme for the dismemberment of China that may be brewing in the minds of European diplomats. It is infinitely easier to slip into a position of aggression when you have the excuse that you are only doing what you have every reason to suspect your neighbor will do than it is to brazenly assert a claim which you have explicitly renounced in advance, your competitors in the land-grabbing game having done likewise, and the facts having been published to all the world. Mr. Hay has been carefully watching this great world-game, and he seems to have made the right move at the right time all through it. If, through the instrumentality of this latest international assurance, he shall have

prevented the disintegration of China and its parceling out for European exploitation at the close of the Russo-Japanese war, he will have crowned his remarkable career at the head of our foreign relations with a most memorable and historic achievement.

OSLER ON OLD AGE

(February 25, 1905)

It must be matter for sincere regret to the admirers of Doctor Osler that, if he added any statement whatever to the remarks in his recent address on the subject of the potentialities of men above forty or above sixty, the addition should not have taken the shape of a *caveat* against taking his remarks too literally. Instead of this, he assures us that what he said was precisely what he meant; and, in particular, he reiterates without qualification the assertion concerning the little value of what has actually been achieved by men after reaching the age of forty. "Take the sum of human achievement," said the distinguished physician in the passage which he reaffirms, "in action, in science, in art, in literature—subtract the work of the men above forty, and while we should miss great treasures, even priceless treasures, we would practically be where we are today. It is difficult to name a great and far-reaching conquest of the mind which has not been given to the world by a man on whose back the sun was still shining. The effective, moving, vitalizing work of the world is done between the ages of twenty-five and forty." It will be seen that in the leading sentence of this passage human accomplishment is covered in practically its entire range. Whether in the field of action or in that of thought, the work done by men after passing the age of forty might, if we are to take Doctor

Osler's word for it, have been wiped out without seriously affecting the progress or the history of the race. And yet the proposition is one that cannot be seriously considered for a moment without being dismissed as utterly discordant with the facts.

It was on Washington's birthday that Doctor Osler made his speech. At the outbreak of the War of the Revolution, Washington was 43 years old; can any of us be quite sure that the outcome of that epoch-making struggle would have been the same—that the world would be just where it is, as Doctor Osler says—if in the field of action some other than Washington had occupied Washington's place? Nor is this all. The successful termination of the war by no means insured the successful establishment of the American Republic; and it is the judgment of sober historians that it was Washington's wisdom, virtue, foresight, influence over men, which, throughout the six desperately trying years between the end of the war and the adoption of the Constitution, was the great and controlling factor in making the formation of the Union possible. Is it quite certain, again, that, if the active career of Bismarck and of Moltke had closed at the age of forty, the dream of the German Empire would have been realized, and would the world be just where it is now had this been otherwise? Surely, in the domain of "action," the past century and a quarter can show no more lasting results, and at the same time none achieved more distinctly by the commanding superiority of single individuals, than are shown in the record of Washington from the age of 43 to that of 57, of Bismarck from 47 to

58, of Moltke from 66, his age at the time of the Austro-Prussian War, to 70, the time of his life when was fought a war without parallel for superb originality and completeness of direction in all the history of the world. And in the field of action these things are not exceptions; they can be matched by scores of lesser cases. How many instances of equally signal and lasting achievement can be pointed to in the same period as the work of men of action under forty?

In the domain of thought, equally striking illustrations of the error of Doctor Osler's assertion can be pointed out in abundance. It won't do to mention minor things, because the answer would be that these, while precious and important, made no difference in the long run. Let us, then, take one overshadowing instance. If there be a single case in which it can be asserted with confidence that the world is not "just where it would have been," it is the impressive case of the great succession of Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, each the disciple of the preceding. The dominion of Aristotle over men's minds is measured in its duration not by centuries, but by millennia, and the completeness of its sway during a considerable part of that time is something quite without a parallel in the history of Western civilization. Nor will anybody, we believe, deny the vital and vitalizing relation of Socrates to Plato and of Plato to Aristotle. But Socrates was 41 when his disciple Plato was born, and Plato was 45 when Aristotle first saw the light. We fancy that Doctor Osler would be the last to say that it would have made no

serious difference to the world if Socrates had desisted from his activities before Plato was born, and 31 years before the actual close of his own career; if Plato had ceased to think and teach and write before Aristotle was born, and 41 years before his own death; or even if Aristotle had undertaken to make his last contribution to the thought of the world 22 years before the time which actually marked the close of his vast labors.

To these and scores of other instances that might be adduced in the world of intellect the answer may be made that what was meant was something not inconsistent with any of this; that the idea in Doctor Osler's mind was that the initiating impulse, the setting forth along a new line, the vitalizing conception of a great thought, seldom fails to take place in the mind of its originator before he reaches the age of forty; that what is done after that age is almost always in pursuance of some line of thought upon which the mind had fastened at an earlier period. But who would deny such an assertion as this? Reduced to this harmless condition, the assertion would be almost as lacking in novelty as, in its original form, it was wanting in correctness. Doctor Osler, many persons in his audience must have felt, was putting in pointed, piquant, telling, interesting, unguarded form a thing which—so far as it is true—most persons would be ready to admit, but which few persons, perhaps, adequately realize. It is worth while to dwell on the preciousness of the years of bold and enthusiastic and creative intellectual impulse. One consequence of doing so, in the university world, ought to be a better utilization

of the powers of gifted young men for the kind of work which they would seize upon with eagerness, and from which they are too often turned aside to do the work of mere routine. But in the assertion itself there is nothing either novel or startling. It would have been strange, indeed, if Darwin had lived to the age of forty without having taken on the impulse—that of an extremely simple though infinitely prolific idea—which guided the work of his whole life. And, having once become absorbed in that thought, and devoted to it, we require no hypothesis of semi-senility to account for his not having got out some other equally important theory in his later years. The bent of a man's life is determined before forty; he is less apt after that time to start out upon new ways; who has ever doubted this? But while we render unto the young man the things that are the young man's, there is no reason why we should withhold from the older man the things that are his.

There are other things in the world—even in the world of thought—that are great besides scientific discovery; and even in the domain of scientific discovery there are other things that are great besides the original or seminal idea of the discovery. The world is full of mute inglorious Newtons and Darwins as well as Miltons; men who have had the initial thought, the impulsive conception, but have not attained the high mastery, the comprehensive grasp, the lucid and mature judgment, that make the discovery real and substantial. Which of the two endowments is the more precious? The question is as idle as would be the question whether

it is hydrogen or oxygen that is most essential to the composition of water. Darwin thought acutely, at an early age, of the doctrine of the Origin of Species; in his later years he collected, massed and analyzed the vast body of facts which he published in that work (at the age of fifty) and in his subsequent writings. Which of these two parts of his achievement argued the rarer, the more important quality—the quality that made Darwin Darwin? There can be but one answer. And that answer is of itself sufficient to take the bottom out of the statement which Doctor Osler, we regret to see, has put so unqualifiedly, not before a scientific audience, but before a general public which he cannot expect to make the allowances and interpretations that are necessary in order to free his assertion not only from objection but from possibilities of real mischief.

ROOSEVELT ON THE EVE OF HIS SECOND TERM

(March 4, 1905)

It is much to be doubted whether any President has entered upon his term of office, either for the first or the second time, the object of a degree and kind of popular admiration such as that which greets Theodore Roosevelt today. The comparison which most readily suggests itself is that of Andrew Jackson. The hero of New Orleans and of the fight against the Bank of the United States evoked a kind of popular idolatry not unlike that which President Roosevelt commands, and it was very much more intense. But along with it there was an equally intense party and personal feeling directed against him; and his defeated opponent, Henry Clay, was a man who commanded such enthusiastic devotion on the part of his followers and admirers as has probably not been paralleled in the entire history of American politics. Moreover, there was something of a class division there—Clay appealing rather to the intellect and wealth of the country, Jackson to the instincts of the masses. In Roosevelt's case, the remarkable phenomenon is presented of a man born to wealth and high family connections, a scholar and author, first conspicuous nationally as an advocate and promoter of that "aristocratic" measure, civil service reform, who is nevertheless above all a favorite with the great masses of the people, while remaining almost equally a favorite with the class in which he would

himself naturally be placed; and, to complete the picture, he is a man who, while a thorough-going Republican partisan, enters upon his second term with Democratic party feeling against him reduced to such small dimensions as to be almost a negligible factor.

If other comparisons were desired, the first to present itself, going backward in point of time, would be Cleveland. For our own part, we believe that if the popularity of a man could be *weighed* in some authentic way, instead of being merely indicated by *count,* no man in our time—Roosevelt not excepted—has had so great a measure of popularity throughout the country, and irrespective of party, as that commanded by Grover Cleveland from the close of his first to the opening of his second Administration. There was toward him something of the same popular appreciation of simple, sterling and cardinal qualities which forms the basis of Mr. Roosevelt's hold upon the people; and the feeling in Mr. Cleveland's case was more deep-seated, went farther down into the roots of character. But it was not so nearly universal as in Mr. Roosevelt's case, nor was it a feeling so naturally manifested upon the surface. The cases of Grant and Lincoln present, of course, the anomaly of a divided, or recently divided, country, which puts them out of line for a direct comparison. And when we go back to the instance of George Washington, we are confronted with the phenomenon of a feeling wholly different in kind from any that could be evoked by services other than those sublime and immortal works which the Father of His Country devoted

to the making of the nation, in war and in peace. It is true he had bitter enemies and unrestrained maligners; but the feeling toward him on the part of the typical American was a feeling that transcends mere popularity, and has something in it which can hardly be called a personal feeling at all.

The tap-root of the remarkable popularity of Mr. Roosevelt, we feel sure, is the absolute conviction that there is nothing about him that is mean or sordid. All his feats of physical prowess, his Rough Rider exploits, his youthful ardor and effervescence, would be quite unequal to captivating the American people were there not behind these qualities, attractive as they are to the multitude, something that appeals more strongly to the national heart and conscience. The primary thing the people want in a President, before they will give him their hearty applause or liking, is honesty; but that is not sufficient. They wish to feel that he has something about him that will not quietly accommodate itself, in a sordid spirit of comfortable ease, to things as they happen to be. The people feel about Mr. Roosevelt not only that he is honest but—we wish he had not himself so abused the word as to make it almost impossible to use—that he is strenuously honest. They feel that he is ready to assert himself in the face of the forces of plutocracy, so nearly omnipotent in the councils of his own party. They feel that there are other great national questions upon which he is thoroughly in earnest, and in behalf of which he is ever ready to work with energy and enthusiasm. They like him in his capacity as a man, as the head of his own family, as an

exponent of vigorous and youthful Americanism; but all this would not avail to make him the national favorite that he is without the solid foundation of a belief in sterling qualities which place him above the common level of political thought and action.

One reflection that is forcibly suggested by these considerations has a significant bearing upon the status of the national parties. That Mr. Roosevelt was stronger than his party—as well as that Mr. Parker was weaker than his—in the recent election is a proposition hardly open to dispute; but it is perhaps not sufficiently recognized that the reason that he is stronger than his party is by no means wholly a personal one. Mr. Roosevelt's special strength lies largely in that part of him in which he is in marked opposition to the dominant tendency of his own party. The people are not so delighted with the prospect of a millionaire millennium as the Republican magnates have often seemed to imagine. Mere wallowing in prosperity—especially when that prosperity is so peculiarly distributed—does not content all the aspirations of the American nature. Whether wisely and ably, or only vigorously and emphatically, Mr. Roosevelt has certainly entered an energetic protest against a complacent acceptance of things as they are. He has defied the "oh, well" sentiment of Wall Street magnates and their Senatorial representatives. He stands for many of the things which, only a short time ago, when proposed by Mr. Bryan, were howled down as anarchistic. And the people like him the better for it—not only the people who have been clamoring for a change all along, and not only the people

who are beginning to see that something must be done sooner or later, but very many of the people who think Mr. Roosevelt is specifically wrong but believe that the spirit of what he is doing is wholesome. The great god Prosperity is not a god whose worship can be continuously and completely satisfying. A few years of it was quite enough to give soundly constituted people a surfeit of it. Mr. Roosevelt has been supplying something less gross to occupy the attention of the nation, and the nation is thankful for it. The Republican party will either permit itself to be affected by the virus that he has put into it or will find itself less surely in possession of national power than it imagines.

THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFICULTY IN RAIL-ROAD-RATE REGULATION

(December 12, 1905)

However strong may be the reasons in favor of Government regulation of railroad rates, it would be mere blindness to ignore the difficulties it will involve, and especially to ignore the one fundamental difficulty. President Roosevelt, in his message, admits that the difficulties will be formidable, but he does not indicate a realization of the character and the scope of the one central difficulty. He rests content with the assurance that the doctrine of the square deal will be adequate for guidance, and that faith in American courage and in American ability to pull through will be adequate for strength. But before we reach the stage of action upon the lines of the President's recommendation it will be necessary for the satisfaction of rational and responsible men, dealing with a mighty and complex question, that this central difficulty be, at least in some measure, cleared up.

The difficulty to which we have reference lies in the absence of any established principle, or set of principles, for the determination of a reasonable rate. It is quite true that the Inter-State Commerce Commission now has the power, and has exercised the power, of determining that a given rate is unreasonable; but the reasons that guide it in so doing are reasons based upon a comparison of the rate under criticism with other rates that are in force, and the

action taken by the Commission is thus in the nature, one may say, of the correction of some specific departure from a general rule or system that it finds existing, and not in the nature of a determination of that general rule itself. In the prevention of discriminations, either as actually accomplished by the Commission or as contemplated by the law, this character is still more evident. The Commission is guided by an existing state of facts—vaguely defined, to be sure, but still ascertainable with more or less precision—and makes no attempt at a fundamental determination of rate reasonableness.

Before Congress grants to the Inter-State Commerce Commission, or to any administrative body, the power to fix rates, the question ought to be thoroughly considered whether the principles on which such fixing is to be based are sufficiently evident to permit of the application of them by a small set of administrative officers, whether subject to judicial review or not, without grave danger. A most interesting illustration of the kind of discretion that is contemplated was furnished the other day by Attorney General Moody in his annual report, in a suggestion which was approved by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress. This suggestion was that if the power of fixing a maximum rate were conferred upon the Commission, that body would have in its hands a weapon which would be most powerful in the suppression of rebates. The Attorney General stated that the Commission would, in his opinion, not be exceeding the power that it would then have, if it adopted the policy of taking the net rate that it found to be given to any favored

shipper and established it as the maximum rate permissible. Now, this policy would in itself probably be a most excellent one; but is it not evident that so fundamental a point should be settled by legislation, and not by the arbitrary act of an administrative board? It is certainly not self-evident that the rate given to a favored shipper is the maximum reasonable rate; indeed, Mr. Moody himself rests his recommendation not upon this assumption, but upon the salutary preventive effect that he thinks the policy would have. If the lawmakers of the country direct the Commission to embody this rule—a rule not for the scientific determination of a reasonable rate, but for the exemplary punishment of a railroad company guilty of favoritism—well and good; but surely it is contrary to all principles of responsible government that an ad ministrative body should have the power of instituting any such rule.

This, however, is only a curious reminder, in a single sharply defined matter, of a difficulty which is present all along the line when we consider the question of rate-fixing. What are the principles upon which it is to be done? Are they sufficiently evident to make the actual performance of that act a merely administrative duty? If not, is Congress prepared to lay down a set of principles roughly or approximately adequate to the guidance of the administrators? Or are Congress and the people willing, for the sake of making a beginning of some kind, to entrust powers of a non-administrative and non-judicial kind—powers involving the discretionary adjustment of great material interests where no definite

principles exist for general guidance—to an administrative body, whether subject to judicial review or not? These are questions which lie at the threshhold of the railroad-rate inquiry, and which it would not be fitting that intelligent public opinion should ignore.

CARL SCHURZ

(May 14, 1906)

With the death of Carl Schurz there passes away one of the few remaining figures signally associated with the events connected with the great Civil War. His departure from the scene makes an even more striking severance of ties with the past in that it takes away one of the rapidly dwindling number of men who formed part of the revolutionary movement which stirred all Europe in 1848. According to the usual method of reckoning these things, it may be said that two generations have made their entrance upon and their exit from the stage since the time when young Schurz enlisted in the German revolutionary uprising. The nearly three-score years that have passed since then have been years of vast and profound changes, material, intellectual and spiritual. Not the least of these changes is that which has affected the subject-matter of political thought, and the attitude of the world toward political issues. The grapple with the complex problems of economic adjustment has crowded away from the front of the stage those simpler and more ideal strivings which then engaged the thoughts and filled the souls of high-minded men, young and old. Carl Schurz grew up with a firm belief in and an enthusiastic devotion to those principles of human rights and of constitutional liberty which formed the common creed of European liberals and which found their chief embodiment in the doctrines that lay at

the foundation of the institutions of the great young American Republic. When the breakdown of the revolutionary movement in Germany made him an exile from his native land it was natural that he should seek a field for his activities in our country; nor was it surprising that the birth of the Republican party, representing the movement for the prevention of the extension of slavery, and for its ultimate extinction, should have enlisted the ardent interest of the young liberal. His remarkable powers in argument and oratory soon made him one of the prominent figures in that party; and he took his share in the political campaigns preceding the Civil War and served in the Union Army throughout the struggle.

After the war, he made his mark first in journalism and then as one of the foremost members of the United States Senate. Nothing was more remarkable about his course in that body than the quickness with which he perceived the dangers involved in the arbitrary exercise of executive power in the reconstruction days. The unfaltering firmness with which he took his stand against his own party upon this matter was only one manifestation of that absolute devotion to principle which characterized his career from its beginning in the German struggle to its close, when he stood out as one of the leading protestants against the new policy of imperialism; but the magnificent power which he put forth in the speech in the Senate in which he denounced General Sheridan's invasion of the Louisiana Legislature marked perhaps the highest point of his oratorical achievements. His retirement from public office

dates from the close of his term as Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes; but his loyal service to the highest interests of his adopted country continued in the form of journalism, of public speeches, and of weighty written utterances upon momentous subjects of national concern, until near the close of his life. He was one of the two or three men who did most effective service to the cause of honest money, throughout the thirty years' struggle which began with the greenback movement and ended with the collapse of silverism; and probably to no man except the late George William Curtis and the late Edwin L. Godkin did the cause of civil service reform owe so much as to Carl Schurz.

This, however, is not the place for a particularization of the events, or even of the leading features, of Schurz's career. A sketch covering the main lines of his history was given in The News of last Saturday, and from this readers may have gathered the most remarkable points of his life and character. It was a character of singular unity and constancy, a life dominated in a degree rare in our days by a clear and consistent ideal. Though a close thinker and a diligent student, and therefore anything but a man whose activities or whose position can be summed up in any mere formula, the grand underlying principles to which he was faithful throughout his long career form a connecting thread which makes the record, long and complex as it is, a simple whole. Those who, while far from having reached the age at which Schurz died, are old enough to remember the days of those more elemental questions which were to the fore in his prime,

and of that simpler political faith which gave light and guidance to the leaders of that epoch, cannot avoid a feeling of deep sadness at the thought of the passing away of one of the last exemplars of a noble type of thought and action. Spotless in character, ardent and devoted in the pursuit of the highest ends, a keen thinker and a hard fighter, an example at once of the best European culture and of the truest American democracy, he leaves no one behind him to fill the peculiar place that he has occupied in the public mind. But, like our own Wallis in the narrower field which he occupied, Carl Schurz's life has borne precious fruit not only in its direct results upon the causes he served so well, but in the inspiring and bracing influence of his example upon thousands of the men who have grown up in the past two generations.

IBSENISM AND TRUTH

(May 26, 1906)

The death of Ibsen has called forth on all sides the tribute due to one of the greatest of the literary figures of his time. There is in his dramas a titanic power, and in his attitude toward life a mordant intensity which set him apart on a lonely eminence. His influence on the dramatic art of our age, and on literature outside the drama, has been as potent as it has been widespread. In his searching exposures of human weakness and selfishness, of depravity and hypocrisy, he has thrown the light of truth upon the dark places of life. In the conflict of his heroic characters with the compromises upon which the established order of human existence is built, he portrays the tragedy that must result from that naked assertion of the prerogative of individuality which is the centre of his doctrine. Whether depicting feebleness or strength, weak sensualism or heroic striving, selfish greed or noble sacrifice, it is in an atmosphere of gloom that he lives and moves.

There are souls on which this darkness in the life of the present, illumined as it is by the lightning of such a spirit as Ibsen's, has not a depressing but an inspiriting influence. Accepting the picture as a true portrayal of the evil of today, they but see in him who thus bares the truth to their eyes the guide toward a higher and better state of the world. To the great majority of mankind, however—and we believe this is just as true of the most intellectual

as it is of the simplest of Ibsen's readers—Ibsen's dramas produce an effect of unmitigated depression. If the world today is such as he paints it, they cannot console themselves with the belief that any revolt of the human spirit can make it over into a tolerable shape. The only thing that can make such pessimism as Ibsen's endurable is an equally intense optimism; those who find the world of "Ghosts" and "The Pillars of Society" and the rest of the Ibsen dramas a world in which they can continue to be hopeful and active and buoyant are the few whom nature has endowed in an exceptional degree with that elastic and self-confident temper that is the great source of unreasoning optimism. As for the rest of us, if we are to retain our hold upon hope, and cheerfulness, and interest in mankind, we must put Ibsen behind us; in other words, we must reject Ibsen as giving an essentially false view of life and the world.

Is, then, the Ibsen view of life and the world a false view? We are firmly convinced that it is; and we believe that the essence of its untruth lies in its utter failure to take in the beauty and sweetness and goodness that there is in the simple daily acts and thoughts and words and feelings that constitute all but a small fraction of the life of the race. That men and women are imperfect, that "we are all miserable sinners," that we are a bundle of contradictions—all this is as old as written or spoken thought. If we are to look upon humanity as a mass of rottenness because there can be found on every side hollowness and dishonesty and sensuality and unscrupulous greed, or because each one of us

knows in his own person how far he falls short of his own standards of conduct, it needs no genius like Ibsen to bring us to that conclusion. What Ibsen does is to throw the fierce light of his genius so intensely, first on this evil spot and then on that, that we forget to consider how large or how small a space it occupies; we are so fascinated by the exhibit then before us that we overlook the question of its relative importance.

Nor is this the only way in which our sense of the real relations of things is thus blinded. The great mass of mankind—and this is true of learned and unlearned alike—are not engaged in looking into their soul and inquiring whether life gives adequate expansion to its possibilities; and there is no reason in the world why they should. Life is not a mere spiritual exercise; it is a vast and subtle web of relations, the inheritance of ages of human history and development. The simple affections with which we grow up, and which we exercise without analysis or introspection, are worth infinitely more, and constitute an infinitely larger part of life, than all the self-conscious cravings of aggressive individualism. To make a good home for wife and children; to cherish old attachments; to tend your loved ones in sickness and trouble, and to be tended by them in turn; to walk in the fields, and see the green things growing every spring; to watch little children at play; to hear of good and noble deeds done by plain people—and they are done every day without a thought of reward, as is shown at every fire and in every railroad disaster; these and a thousand other simple things make up a part of human

life in comparison with which all that part with which Ibsen deals dwindles into insignificant proportions.

Of all this you feel nothing in Ibsen. And the absence of it constitutes more than a mere ordinary error; it amounts to what may almost be called a logical fallacy. If the radical individualist could make the world over according to his views, we suspect that he would find it far less tolerable than the world as it is, with all its imperfections on its head. For it is upon the unreasoning attachments, and habits, and weaknesses, and prejudices, and conventions which make the web of life what it is that not only the sweetness of life, but also its interest, is dependent. It is highly stimulating to the militant individualist to try to tear the web asunder; but he does not pause to consider the want of interest there would be in the emptiness that would take its place.

THE "TAINTED MONEY" QUESTION

(June 26, 1906)

There have been, within a short time, two very striking cases of testifying by works, not words, against the acceptance of "tainted money." One of these occurred several weeks ago, when the professor of astronomy at Smith College, a woman, resigned her post on account of the College having accepted an addition to its endowment from Mr. Rockefeller. The news of the other comes in to-day's dispatches. While the first was a matter affecting the position of only one individual, the second is concerned with a great sum of money, and concerns a large philanthropic enterprise. Nothing similar to the rejection of an offer of $5,000,000 for the establishment of the work of a "National Juvenile Improvement Association" has yet been recorded in the course of the tained money agitation. What makes it more remarkable is that this was not done as the result of the judgment of one man, or of one particular body, but was brought about by the peremptory refusal of the various individual workers who were to give the movement its start to go on with the work if it was to receive its financial foundation at the hands of the Standard Oil magnate.

On this whole subject there is room for a great deal of difference of opinion. It constitutes one of the most delicate and puzzling questions of applied ethics that have claimed the interest of the public

in our time. There are many persons who dismiss the position of the objectors as nonsensical. If you are doing a good work, they say, what sense is there in refusing help for it? Are not Rockefeller's dollars just as valuable, will they not do just as much good, as any other dollars? And again, if you reject his money, where are you going to draw the line? Have you any assurance that other rich givers are any better than Rockefeller? The only logical position, say these critics of the squeamish, is either to take all money that is offered for a good cause and "no questions asked," or to refuse all money unless it is proved that it was honestly and honorably come by; and this last is of course a *reductio ad absurdum.*

But the matter is not so simple as all this. The question is not as to some ideal taint that attaches to the money, but as to the actual moral effect that may be expected to flow from its acceptance. To appreciate this phase of the matter, it is necessary to turn back a few months, or a year, in our thoughts. The change that has recently taken place in public sentiment toward the great men of the financial world has been so startling that it is difficult to realize the condition of the moral atmosphere in this regard when the "tainted money" agitation was started, short as is the time that has passed since. What gave importance to the protest of Mr. Washington Gladden and the other Congregationalist ministers who objected to the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's money for mission work was the fact that Rockefeller was one of the great figures of the land. The unscrupulous practices, the

remorseless rapacity, upon which the success of the Standard Oil Company had been built up were well known; but they were apt to be thought of in very much the way in which an operation of Nature—an earthquake, or a flood, or a cyclone—is thought of; as a tremendous and more or less appalling phenomenon, but as a thing to which moral considerations are not practically applicable. Now, the objection of the Congregational ministers was a solemn and indignant protest against this attitude. It was a declaration to all the world that those at least in whose custody is placed the cause of religion would not regard with indifference the question of how cruel or lawless may have been the methods by which the greatest fortune in the world had been amassed. Whatever may have been actually in the minds of Dr. Gladden and his associates, the effect upon the world was that of a pronunciamento that between these representatives of religious ideals and a fortune built up as Mr. Rockefeller's had been there could be no association.

So great is the change that has taken place in the atmosphere since that quite recent day, that to reject Mr. Rockefeller's money now actually has an air of hitting a man when he is down. We no longer hear pæans of praise for our "captains of industry"; the whole caste of which Mr. Rockefeller has been one of the most remarkable members is, for the time being, thrust down into a very low place before the people. But no one can say that this mood of the national mind is to be permanent. A succession of buffets has knocked down

idol after idol that had long been the object of popular worship; but there is no telling when they, or others like them, may be set up again. It happens that just at this moment the earnest men and women who have been carrying on work among the poor and degraded in city slums, and who have projected a national organization for improving the condition of the young, are confronted with the question whether they shall found their enterprise upon millions given by Rockefeller, or depend upon their own exertions to raise the necessary funds. They decide upon the sterner and more difficult course, and their decision is based, no doubt, upon the feeling that they cannot go among these poor and ignorant young people and inspire them with right ideals of life if they labor under the consciousness that the means to which they owe the possibility of their work were supplied by a man whose colossal material success was due to the pursuit of ideals which are to them, and which ought to be to everybody, utterly abhorrent. In doing as they have done, they may possibly be making an error of judgment; but who shall say that the example of idealism in conduct which they are setting may not be worth many times what the five million dollars might have accomplished?

PICQUART

(October 29, 1906)

"God's in his Heaven—all's right with the world." To millions of people, in every quarter of the earth, this sentiment of Browning's has, whether consciously or not, been brought home by one wonderful drama of our time as it has not been brought home by anything else that has happened on the world's stage within living memory. There has been many a transaction on an infinitely grander scale, many a change and development involving issues which, measured by ordinary standards, were incomparably bigger than those that entered into the Dreyfus affair; but there has been nothing that has been so clearly a conflict between the higher and the lower elements of human nature and of national life. It was the everlasting struggle between Ormuzd and Ahriman, between the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness. And not only has Ormuzd triumphed, not only have noble souls been found in France to fight the good fight as it has seldom if ever been fought in the whole range of history, but—as though to give the lie to pessimists of every shade who lament that commercialism has drowned out all that is higher and better in life—the whole human race, during all the time the battle was raging, gave to it an absorbed attention, an intensity of interest, such as even the mighty struggle between Japan and Russia hardly aroused. On its face a mere question of justice or injustice to a

single individual—one out of thousands who suffer wrong in the rough course of human law and government every day—some sure, deep instinct in mankind recognized in this case the character that it really had; a test of the soul of France, a trial in which it was to be decided whether a great and proud nation had fallen down to the worship of the lower gods or whether, when probed to her heart's core, she would prove capable of asserting her allegiance to truth and justice. And in the outcome of this trial all the world instinctively recognized that there was wrapped up an issue alongside of which a trial of strength between a hundred Dreadnoughts sinks into insignificance and the building of twenty Panama canals becomes a commonplace affair. It was not a question of armor-plate versus torpedoes, it was the Powers of Darkness against the power of Truth—and the gates of Hell did not prevail against her.

When the complete restoration of Dreyfus to his place in the army was accomplished a few months ago, and Picquart, too, was restored to the rank he had forfeited, it was felt that the last act in this drama of poetic justice had been played. But it has remained for Clemenceau, the remarkable man who is now at the head of the French Ministry, to add another chapter to the story. In making Picquart Minister of War, he has given to the story of the Dreyfus case an ideal completeness such as one does not expect to encounter in the world of working realities. Of all the figures in this extraordinary drama, that of Colonel Picquart shines out pre-eminent, great and noble as were the deeds of

so many other high-souled Frenchmen who acted well their part in it. That the man who quietly sacrificed the ambition of his life, the brilliant future which his splendid abilities clearly held out to him in the profession he loved, should now be placed at the head of the great military establishment whose whole weight, only a few years ago, had been pressed upon him and apparently crushed him to earth forever—this is indeed a spectacle to look upon with the keenest interest and gratification.

Picquart is a man who has occupied no more space in the public eye than was necessary to record his specific acts; he is not a talker or a *poseur;* he has acted and he has suffered in silence. But whenever his figure emerges on the scene, we see always one and the same character—a character of inflexible uprightness, of heroic firmness, of ideal singleness of mind. The first thing that is reported of his conduct as Minister of War is of a piece with all that has gone before. He was the victim of a cruel and deliberate persecution, brought upon him as punishment for his assertion of the truth about Dreyfus; and one of the officers implicated in the conspiracy to banish him to the border of the Sahara comes before Picquart, now the all-powerful superior, to stammer out an explanation. It was unnecessary. "I know only one thing," Picquart tells him, "and that is that you have been an excellent officer. You may be sure that I shall not forget that." From some men this might seem a mere form of words, an outward assumption of superior virtue. But this man calmly sacrificed all that he held dearest in life, not out of love for

Dreyfus, who was distasteful to him, not out of solicitude for the Jews, whom he disliked, but in the simple pursuance of his conception of his plain duty; and it may be counted as certain that he will be as faithful an embodiment of truth and justice now that he has been amazingly vindicated and set in the highest place of the army as he was when he submitted without hesitation to degradation and obloquy rather than swerve a hair's breadth from the path of right. It is a great moral lesson, this of Picquart; the most impressive that has come into the view of this generation; one of the most inspiring that the annals of all history can show.

THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE

(November 21, 1906)

The News is glad to have received from Dr. Samuel J. Barrows, President of the International Prison Congress, the very interesting comment upon its editorial apropos of the sentence of Stensland, the Chicago bank-wrecker, which appears in our correspondence columns today. The subject of the indeterminate sentence is, from every point of view, one of unusual interest. It involves the most fundamental questions both of the theory and the practice of legal punishment. That there is much to be said in favor of it no one can deny. That it is highly desirable to apply it over a large range of cases of criminality few, we believe, will question who have given attention to the arguments advanced by its advocates. But that it should be adopted as a universal principle we are not prepared to admit; and cases like that of Stensland, and in general of unfaithful bank officials or other depositories of important trusts, serve to bring out what, to our mind, is a fundamental defect in the principle of the indeterminate sentence if that principle is designed to cover the whole range of legal punishment. What that fundamental defect is we shall endeavor to point out presently; but first it is necessary to take up some of the specific points made by Mr. Barrows.

In the first place, then, it should be noted that the objection made by The News against the use

of the indeterminate sentence did not rest upon its mildness, but upon its indefiniteness; and moreover, even if we had objected to it simply as too mild, the argument made by Mr. Barrows in reply would still be illogical. It does not in the least follow, as Mr. Barrows appears to imagine, that every time a person objects to a given punishment as too mild for the crime he commits himself to the doctrine that "the severest penalty would be the best deterrent." That position could at once be overthrown by citing, as Mr. Barrows does, the failure of the brutal criminal laws of England prior to the Nineteenth Century; but it would be every bit as logical to say that any man who believes those savage punishments to have been ineffective is thereby committed to the doctrine that the less the punishment the more effective, as to say that any man who thinks some very mild punishment to be ineffective is thereby committed to the opposite dogma. The thing is not a matter of a simple arithmetical proportion, but of such wisdom and judgment as experience and native good sense can furnish. A second fallacy that runs through Mr. Barrow's letter is the notion that you can tell, for instance, what the effect of a judge's sentence in a given case may be by watching the statistics of crime in the next two or three weeks or months; for this is the utmost basis that we can imagine Mr. Barrows to have for the statetment he makes about the failure of an occasional exemplary sentence to repress stealing. And thirdly, we object entirely to the drawing of any inference from what we said upon the question either of probation, at one end of the

criminal line, or, at the other end, of the treatment of habitual or professional criminals; an inference that could only be justified if we had made an argument against the indeterminate sentence in general, which we were far from doing or wishing to do.

The fundamental defect in the indeterminate-sentence principle, if that principle be advanced as covering the whole range of crime, is one that goes deeper than any question of immediate effect. It reaches down into the very foundation of the feelings of mankind in regard to crime and punishment. If it came to be the habitual feeling of men and women that the object of imprisonment was nothing more than, on the one hand, the protection of society from the particular criminal during the term of his confinement, and, on the other hand, his reformation, the feeling of the solemn and awful nature of a conviction for crime would be in danger of being fatally undermined. The deterrent effect of punishment does not come about only, or chiefly, through a cold-blooded calculation of the nature of that punishment; it comes about, most of all, through the feeling that when the judge sentences a man to prison he is placing upon him the brand of society as a man who has incurred the penalty of the law, and who must, in justice, suffer that penalty—not merely be kept out of harm's way, not merely be given a chance to reform, but must undergo a degree of suffering which, according to some kind of rough arithmetic, expresses in a manner the measure of his guilt. You may dispense with this idea in a great many cases, in a great many classes of cases; but if you dispense with it

altogether, you take away the very prop upon which rests the moral effectiveness of punishment as a deterrent. It is the moral impressiveness, vastly more than the actual severity, of a punishment that is the efficient agent in making it fruitful for the repression of criminal instincts. The motive of legal punishment is not vengeance; it is prevention. But you cannot serve the ends of prevention without keeping alive the idea that it is not only defense and not only protection, but also the meting out of justice, which presides over the administration of the criminal law.

THE STRAIN ON THE CONSTITUTION

(January 7, 1907)

The Constitution of the United States is being tugged at nowadays in a way that has not been paralleled since the great struggle of the Civil War. The question how far the Federal Government can go in the regulation of the industrial, commerical and transportation interests of the country, as a consequence of the "inter-State commerce clause" of the Constitution, is constantly to the front. This has, indeed, been the case ever since the passing of the inter-State commerce law in 1887, and of the anti-trust law in 1890; but never has it occupied a position of anything like the prominence, or anything like the urgency, that now characterize it. That this is so is due not only to the active exertions of political leaders like Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt, but even more, of course, to the stupendous expansion of our great corporations, the menace of monopoly, and those amazing exhibitions of one-man power of which the disclosures concerning Mr. Harriman's operations furnish the latest example. In the face of a situation so wholly unlike anything that the framers of the Constitution could possibly have contemplated, and in view of the obvious fact that it is a situation with which the separate States are inherently unable to cope, it is not surprising that the effort has been made to exploit to the utmost such power as the Constitution of the United States places in the

hands of the Federal Government to deal with the pressing questions of our present economic life.

The basis of all the inter-State commerce legislation of the United States is to be found in just four words of the Constitution. Among the powers granted to Congress by that instrument is included the power " to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." The original inter-State commerce law, the anti-trust law, the recently enacted railroad-rate law, the pure-food law, and all the rest of our Federal legislation affecting conditions of manufacture, trade and transportation stand upon this foundation. Just how much weight it can be made to carry must depend on the decision of the United States courts, if we assume a disposition on the part of Congress and the President to press its possibilities to the utmost. At the present moment a most interesting stage has been reached in the determination of this most critical issue. On the one hand, the Senate has under consideration Senator Beveridge's bill prohibiting the inter-State transportation of any goods in the manufacture of which the labor of children under fourteen years of age has been employed—a bill which manifestly extends the scope of the inter-State commerce clause far beyond any previous application; and on the other hand, two United States District judges have independently declared the Employers' Liability act recently passed by Congress unconstitutional. If the decisions of these judges are sustained, on appeal, by the Supreme Court, this event will mark the drawing of the line very much on the

hither side of legislation of the character of the Beveridge bill; if, on the other hand, the constitutionality of the Employers' Liability act is sustained by the Supreme Court, and if at any time in the near future such a bill as that of Senator Beveridge shall be passed by Congress, it would be impossible to assign any limits to the extension of Federal power, not simply under cover of those four pregnant words of the inter-State commerce clause, but under cover of any of a dozen other phrases in the Constitution.

In his opinion holding the Employers' Liability act unconstitutional, Judge Evans said:

> A most patient consideration of the question in this instance has led to the conclusion—we think to the inevitable conclusion—that the act of June 11, 1906, only creates and imposes liability upon certain common carriers to their employees and in no way prescribes rules for carrying on traffic or commerce among the States, and consequently in no way regulates such commerce. If the operation of the act could in any way affect commerce among the States, it would do so in a manner so remote, incidental and contingent as in no proper sense to afford a factor of any value in determining the question now in contention.

The last sentence here quoted puts the crux of the matter in a nutshell. It is a matter of common sense and statesmanlike sagacity to decide just how far "incidental and contingent" effects are to be taken into account in interpreting Constitutional powers. It has been a wholesome, and even a necessary, practice on the part of our courts not to rule out such effects, and to give them a wide and reasonable consideration; but if they are to be regarded as forming a factor in the case no matter how re-

motely and by how strained a construction they enter into it, the limitations of the Constitution might as well be wiped out altogether. It is all, to be sure, a question of degree; but when you ignore all limits in questions of degree you have, to all intents and purposes, made a difference in kind and not in degree.

Take, for example, such a proposition as that contained in the Beveridge bill. To prohibit the transportation, in inter-State commerce, of goods in the making of which child labor has entered is to use the power over inter-State commerce simply as a weapon of coercion in the regulation of conditions of industry in the several States. The purpose may be ever so laudable, but the point is that it is a purpose having none but the most accidental—incidental is not a strong enough word—and far-fetched connection with inter-State commerce, or commerce of any kind. If the power to regulate inter-State commerce be held to justify an application so remote, what is to hinder its being used to prohibit the transportation of goods of any kind from a State in which child labor is allowed, or in which the sale of alcoholic liquors is permitted, or which does not maintain a State university? It may be that between the Beveridge proposal and such fantastic propositions as we have here imagined there is a wide gulf; but the point is that unless it be recognized that the power to regulate inter-State commerce is to be construed as having such limitations as a reasonable attitude toward the meaning of written language would impose, we are landed in a situation in which the power of the

Federal Government to coerce the separate States upon any point of internal policy would be practically without limit. And even if it be admitted that the necessity of a great stretching of Federal power in industrial and commercial matters is a necessity of the times, it should be borne in mind that the process of changing the Constitution by orderly amendment is open to the nation. That this process is only a paper possibility, but is in practice out of the question, is a belief widely entertained, but it is in reality little better than a superstition. It is high time the question were being seriously considered whether the unlimited stretching of the Constitution can be justified by the unwarranted assumption that legal amendment of that instrument is an impossibility.

HIGH INTEREST RATES AND THE GOLD SUPPLY

(January 22, 1907)

Since the publication of Mr. J. J. Hill's recent letter to the Governor of Minnesota, pointing out the diminished rate of construction of new track by the railroad companies of this country, and declaring that more than five billion dollars ought to be expended on new track and terminals during the next five years, there has been a great deal of discussion as to the underlying causes of the present congestion in railroad facilities and of other analogous features of the economic situation. That the agitation directed toward a more severe regulation of railways has done something to diminish the amount of capital that would otherwise have gone into railroad construction can hardly be doubted, but, as we pointed out when Mr. Hill's letter appeared, it is impossible to accept this as an explanation, or the chief part of an explanation, of what has taken place, seeing that unprecedentedly large masses of capital have actually been put into other railroad improvements during the very years in which the trackage has undergone so little increase. But, without going into this particular question, the facts stand out prominently that the demands on railroad resources have been growing at a tremendous rate, and that the increase of their facilities for meeting them has not kept pace with the growth of the demands. There is in this, one would say, nothing astonishing; it is but a natural

part of the situation in all the leading lines of activity during the past few years, a "boom" period probably unparalleled in economic history. Still, in the case of railroads, the question of the possibility of raising money on securities at acceptable terms enters more seriously into the situation than in the case of ordinary industrial enterprises, and thus the problem is brought into connection with that of the long-prevailing tightness of money and the rise in the rate of interest, the world over.

There are doubtless many causes that contribute to the creation of an economic situation in which the leading features are an intense strain on industrial and transportation capacity, a sharp demand for money, and high interest rates. But there is one cause which, we feel sure, is more fundamental and pervading than any other—the increased supply of gold. It may seem at first blush absurd to assert that an increasing supply of the money metal causes the rate of interest to go up and makes it difficult for the supply of money to keep pace with the demand. But it must be remembered that the first effect of the increasing supply of gold is a rise of prices. The enormous output of the world's gold mines in the past few years has resulted in an extraordinary rise of prices from year to year. When prices are rising in this way, the men of enterprise, the great industrial producers, profit by it. Whatever they bought in the way of raw materials a year ago would cost decidedly more to replace now, and the price they can get for their finished product corresponds to the price of the raw material today, not the price of a year ago. If wages are rising,

as we all know they are, in response to the rise in the cost of living, the labor-cost put into the product is also a source of profit upon the same principle. And finally, in the repayment of money raised on credit for the enterpise, its owners have only to give back a definite number of dollars, or pounds, or francs, which means a smaller actual amount, measured in their product, than it did when the money was borrowed. In all these ways, the profits of enterprise are swollen beyond their normal amount during a period of rapidly rising prices. How can this help raising the rate of interest? The increased profit stimulates enterprise and makes an increased demand for money; and, on the other hand, the man who has the money to lend sees all around him opportunities for investing it profitably in other ways than lending, at a time when not only is business enterprise profitable, but when almost anything he puts his money into will, in the mere process of time, become worth a greater number of dollars than he paid for it. Thus a rapidly increasing gold supply brings about, other things being equal, abnormal profits for enterprise, a heightened demand for money, a certain degree of indisposition to lend—and hence naturally higher rates of interest and a tight money market.

Another aspect of a situation like this is that which has relation to the question of panic and general disaster. It is idle to prophesy anything in regard to the probability of such a thing at any particular time. But the abnormal stimulation of industry through a factitious cause such as is furnished by the steady fall in the value of gold—or,

what is the same thing, the steady rise of prices—undoubtedly contains within it the germs of this danger. Up to a very high limit, it is possible for this kind of prosperity, factitious though it be, to feed upon itself. The fact that you count more dollars at the end of the year than you had at the beginning would mean nothing if it happened to all persons alike, reflecting a uniform rise of prices and a uniform increase of mere nominal wealth. But such is not the case. It is, as we have explained, the men of enterprise—who, by the way, are the real "debtor class," though they are not what the silver agitators used to mean by that term—that reap the big money profits coming from the fall in the value of gold; the increase in the amount of money, or of the money-value of possessions of various kinds, is not spread about uniformly; the lion's share of it falls to the men who carry on great business undertakings. Now, this is a state of things which has much greater significance than a mere taking from one man's pocket to put into another's; it means a heightened activity in the whole productive energy of the country. It means more complete employment of labor, more intense utilization of every resource of nature and invention. Thus it actually increases production, and it is through this increase of production that the real gain—the general prosperity—is realized and maintained. But evidently this process of stimulation of actual production is not capable of indefinite continuance at an arbitrary rate. A constant rise of prices such as we have been witnessing, if continued sufficiently long and at a suffi-

ciently rapid rate, ultimately tends, by the stimulus of abnormal profits, to stretch enterprise and credit to the breaking point. And then, if past experience may serve as a guide, we may expect the old phenomena of panic and commercial depression.

THE AMERICAN HOTEL MEN AND THEIR HOTELS

(May 17, 1907)

The phrase "ancient and honorable," as applied to various time-honored organizations, has become a mere conventionality and is often used in ridicule. But it certainly applies in all seriousness to the vocation which the Hotel Men's Association represents. The ancient and honorable calling of the inn-keeper may well challenge comparison with any other that exists as to the value of its contribution to human happiness. "There is nothing," says Dr. Johnson, with that tone of finality which is one of his chief attractions—"there is nothing which has yet been contrived by man by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn." It ought to be a peculiar satisfaction to the men who carry on any business that the measure of their success is at the same time a measure of the comfort, and cheerfulness, and happiness, of those whom that business serves. Of what other calling could anything be said at all similar to what the good Doctor says about the work of the innkeeper?

Dr. Johnson, to be sure, was not talking about American hotels. Boswell records this fine dictum as having been delivered, as it happens, in the year 1776, the birth-year of our nation. Had he seen, in his mind's eye, hotels with a thousand rooms and twenty stories high, flooded with a tremendous glare of electric light, and removed as far as pos-

sible from the notion of simplicity and coziness, he might have made an addition to his dictum of a very different character. In spite of all this, it still continues true that the hotel, the well-managed hotel, plays a most important part in promoting the world's happiness. As for American hotel-keepers, they are a fine body of men, and show in a remarkable degree the cordiality and bigness of spirit that properly belongs to the inn-keeper's calling. They are enterprising, generous in expenditure, and energetic in keeping up their standards, and they have made the material comforts and luxuries of American hotels a standard for the whole world.

But, while our hotel-keepers are first-rate men in carrying on the business as it has come to be understood in this country, there must be thousands, and tens of thousands, of persons in America who long for the recognition of a wholly different ideal of hotel-keeping from that which our hostelries aim at. An opportunity, of indefinite scope, exists for the man who will aim at quiet and unobtrusive excellence rather than showy profusion, at coziness and the sense of privacy and personal care rather than wholesale magnificence and the glare of publicity. To cite only one simple instance: Nobody is benefited by having twice as much electric light as there is any need of; everybody would feel much more comfortable and more restful with a careful adjustment of light to actual needs. But this is symbolic of the whole idea of the American hotel—provide everything in overwhelming abundance, and let the consequences take care of themselves. Perhaps

this principle is inseparable from the running of enormous hotels; but, if so, why should there not be a number of small hotels which, instead of trying to ape the big ones, would make their strong point in careful attention to details, personal solicitude for the tastes of guests, the providing of an attractive place of inn-like comfort? Europe is covered with such hotels, and more than half the charm of European travel for a large proportion of our tourists consists in the pleasure of the sojourn at these inns. You can't become a Rockefeller or a Carnegie by carrying on a hotel of that kind, but there is a very pretty income in it for the man or woman that knows how and will take the trouble. Indeed, with our American tendency to big expenditures, there is doubtless room for a number of hotels of moderate size and unobtrusive character which, having established a reputation for exceptional excellence, could command prices higher than those of the Waldorf-Astoria or the St. Regis, and whose proprietors would make a fortune. But what we are vastly more interested in is the idea of a hotel at moderate prices, with little show but with solid merit, which would carry on the honest old tradition of genuine inn-keeping. We are a traveling people. We knock around a great deal. We are all apt to need all the comfort and solace we can get in the process. And there are many of us who look wistfully for the kind of inn of which Shenstone's famous and pathetic lines were written:

> Whoe'er has traveled life's dull round,
>   Where'er his stages may have been,
> May sigh to think he still has found
>   His warmest welcome at an inn.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE MASS

(November 16, 1907)

What has become of the doctrine that the world has got beyond the stage where single individuals count for much? Ten and twenty years ago, no notion was more frequently aired, or met with more general acceptance among people—and their name is legion—who are ready to believe that the world can be made over in a generation or so. Time was, so the story went, when a man of remarkable powers towered so high above the general level that he filled the public eye and dominated the national landscape, or, it might be, the world-scene; but that was long ago, before the days when the railway and the trolley and the telephone had penetrated into the remotest corners of the earth, when public education had raised the standard of the common intelligence to unheard-of heights, and when the penny newspaper and the cheap magazine had converted almost into a practical reality the idea that all men are equal. No longer was was there that enormous difference which formerly existed between the big man and the average man; and such as it was, the difference was no longer magnified into awe-inspiring dimensions by the glamour that surrounds the unknown. The time when single personal figures would play a part of overshadowing importance in the world's affairs, either practical or ideal, was past.

Such was the legend of the new earth, so familiar

a few years ago. What has become of it? Who ever hears of it now? Did ever a widespread notion get so sudden and complete an eclipse? The fact is, there was never any reason to believe any such thing. The possible potency of an individual has not been affected in the least by the changes that modern science and invention have brought about. Time was when it was a great feat to be able to read; now that everybody can read, it is no feat at all, and the ability to do so does not in the slightest lessen the difference between the ordinary man and a Helmholtz or a Darwin; it is just as great as the like difference was in the days of Newton or of Aristotle. But there are always periods when highly notable personalities do not emerge into great conspicuousness; and it happened that, such a period coinciding with an enormous development of modern conveniences and improvements, those who are prone to forget the depth of the deeper things of life jumped to the conclusion that the day of the great man, or the big man, was past. But then came a series of years in which, for one reason or other, it can almost be said that the world got to talking about individuals and nothing else; and the idea of the new earth in which the average man was everything and the exceptional man simply did a little more than the ordinary man to help things along has quietly disappeared.

How general this change has been it is almost laughable to notice. In our own country, the air has been so full of Roosevelt that one might think that there was no room for another; and yet the

forces other than Roosevelt that have had to be reckoned with have also been personal forces. The phenomenon of William J. Bryan is, in some ways, indeed, even more remarkable than that of Roosevelt; the staying power of a prestige that can stand an unbroken record of defeats and still keep its possessor far and away the biggest figure in his party for twelve successive years is something that it would be very difficult to match. Even the case of Hearst is a contribution to the same story; here is a man outside all parties—except that which has been personally organized by himself—and who yet has to be dealt with as a formidable political power. As for the growth of Governor Hughes into a great national figure by sheer force of character and ability quietly manifested in the work that came to his hand, the significance of Governor Johnson of Minnesota or of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, and other things that might be mentioned, it is too early to say just what they will amount to on a national scale; but certainly all these things emphasize the possibilities of the power and importance of the individual.

And the story is the same across the water. Not only has the German Emperor for many years been a figure of absorbing interest to the entire European world, but the interest in President Roosevelt and the feeling of his importance have been, everything considered, far more striking in Europe than even in his own country. Nor is that all; for no sooner did King Edward ascend the throne than it began to be perceived that even this quiet elderly gentleman, with a past anything but impressive, and with

abilities by no means commanding, was going to exercise, through the possession of personal qualities peculiar to himself, a highly important influence on international relations in Europe. And he has done so. Moreover, before and after that time there was for a number of years a phenomenon which, in its way, illustrated the same thesis of the possibilities of personal power even more strikingly—the phenomenon of Kipling. Finally, not to make too long a tale, and to wind up with that which points the moral more strongly than any other instance, there is the story of the Dreyfus case. Had not this man stood out with Roman firmness for his vindication; had not his devoted wife and her friends consecrated themselves to the task; had not a few heroic individuals—Scheurer-Kestner, Zola, Picquart—thrown themselves with uncalculating self-sacrifice and undismayed ardor into what seemed an impossible undertaking;—had any one of these personal acts been wanting, the world would have not gone through the most intensely dramatic episode of recent times, and the history of France in the Twentieth Century would have been different from what it has been and is to be.

GOVERNMENT BY CRUSADE

(February 1, 1908)

Nothing is easier than to dispose of President Roosevelt's extraordinary message to Congress yesterday, if you are either his loyal follower or his bitter opponent. For the essence of the message is the essence of Rooseveltism, and the details, from the point of view either of staunch adherence or of settled enmity, are of absolutely no consequence. If the way to attack the evils of the time is to start crusade after crusade, and carry the entrenchments of the enemy by the force of an irresistible wave of vague public opinion, and if the function of the President of the United States is to make himself the head and front of the agitation out of which all this commotion proceeds, then this message of Mr. Roosevelt's is the strongest thing that he has ever done; for into no previous utterance has he infused the fiery zeal or the rhetorical power with which this flaming appeal is filled. If, on the other hand, the business of the President of the United States is to promote careful and maturely-thought-out schemes of improvement in government, and to commend them to Congress and the people by discussions and recommendations which, however forcible, are marked by the restraint and dignity traditional with the office, then yesterday's message was the greatest violation of sound method the President has yet committed.

It is not necessary, however, to view this extraor-

dinary phenomenon of Theodore Roosevelt exclusively from either of these standpoints; and some minds, indeed, are so constituted that they cannot help taking in both aspects of the case. Put yourself, for the moment at least, into that attitude; what do you see as to the past achievement of President Roosevelt, and what as to the prospect of the future? The first and most undeniable fact in the whole situation is that President Roosevelt has brought about a radical change, and a most wholesome change, in the attitude of the people of the United States toward wealth as a political power. It is almost literally true that six years ago no proposition to which the great corporation interests of the country were strongly opposed was looked upon as having any practical chance of being realized—so long at least as the Republican party remained in power, and that seemed a practically endless period. The killing or maiming or stifling of bills of this kind in committee was a foregone conclusion and the only answer to protests was Tweed's old query "What are you going to do about it?" Mr. Roosevelt has changed all that. He has driven into Congress the idea that measures behind which can be massed a powerful public sentiment can be forced through Congress by a resolute President. And the moral effect of this political emancipation has been far more important than its political or economic effect; it has, throughout the country, strengthened the conviction that the right or the wrong of a proposition, and not the power of the purse, is what must decide its fate in the last resort. For the courage and

power which Mr. Roosevelt has manifested in bringing about this change he is entitled to the profound gratitude of the nation.

But many questions remain, and chiefly these two: At what cost has this gain been purchased? To what future does the country tend if these methods are to be accepted as normal, are to receive the unqualified sanction of the people, and are to be continued in coming Administrations? Mr. Roosevelt, however high his aims, has shown in a hundred ways his lack of scruple as to means; his impatience of legal and traditional restraints, his intemperateness of language, his inaccuracy of statement, his unrelenting injustice to individuals are things that can be passed over only at the cost of throwing away standards of criticism which, rightly or wrongly, have been held to be an indispensable element in the conduct of Constitutional government as long as such government has existed in the world. Nor is this all, or the worst. The greatest danger in the Roosevelt method lies in the unchecked appeal it makes to the emotions. It does not depend on an examination of facts or of consequences, but rests its case almost exclusively on the emotional sympathy it is calculated to arouse. It could be used with equal effect to advocate a law fixing a minimum wage, a law to provide work for the unemployed, a law for old-age pensions, a law for any project of socialistic change. And what is more, it will be. Suppose that all the reforms the President has now in hand were to be accomplished tomorrow; we should still not have the millennium, the President himself

would not claim that. There would still be rich and poor, and the poor would still suffer hardships—aye, and hardships that would not seem one whit the less because there had been a change in the law concerning injunctions. The prophets and the saints would still be abroad in the land denouncing the selfishness of the rich and crying out against the oppression of the poor; and if there is to be no difference between the function of a revivalist exhorter and that of a President of the United States, there would be as much room for a blast from a Rooseveltian President at every stage of the game as there is today. In other words, whatever the merits of the Roosevelt method in arousing the nation from lethargy, its establishment as a normal agency of government would be disastrous to those standards of conservative action which constitute the chief bulwark of the individualist régime against the onslaughts of sentimental socialism.

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