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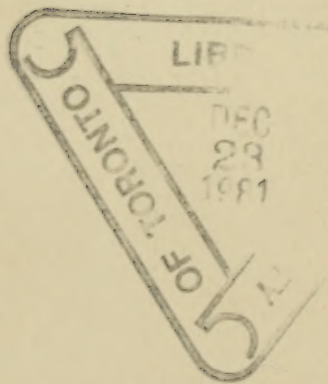
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# The Forum.

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SEPTEMBER, 1887.

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## THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

THE political dogmatism which asserts that suffrage is a natural right, and that government rests upon consent, has naturally led to a vigorous demand for the enfranchisement of woman. If the premises are granted the argument is conclusive. If voting is a natural right, then everybody has the same right to vote that he has to exist, and the disfranchisement of women, minors, aliens, paupers, and polygamists is indefensible tyranny. If government rests upon the consent of the governed, then all who are governed are entitled to express their assent or dissent, by the ballot, upon questions affecting liberty, property, or life.

But if suffrage is a privilege conferred from considerations of expediency, and if government rests primarily and ultimately upon force, then there is a rational and satisfactory explanation of the universal exclusion by all nations of women, children, and other dependent classes from participation in legislation and politics. It is not a question of intelligence or morals. There are infants of twenty years who could vote more wisely and with greater advantage to the state than many registered electors of half a century. Multitudes of educated and patriotic women could be more safely intrusted with the ballot than the bloody thugs, repeaters, and assassins who have for a generation made elections in the South, and in Baltimore, Chicago, Cincin-

nati, New York, and other great cities, shameless and brutal parodies, and have built intolerable despotisms upon the ruins of public liberty.

But the supreme crisis in the life of the state comes when its laws are violated and its energies assailed by combinations too formidable to be overcome by pacific agencies. Then only the final appeal to force remains; the beak, the talon, and the thunderbolt, which are the emblems of national authority. And thus the state has always confided the control and direction of its powers to those who can enforce its decrees. The most passionate pleader for female suffrage has never affirmed that women would make valuable judges, public executioners, guards, jailers, policemen, militia, or regular soldiers. The contention is that they should be permitted to enact laws and formulate policies, whose enforcement, if resisted, should be left entirely to the other sex, against whose judgment they may have been decided at the polls.

The dogma that suffrage is a natural right has no support either in reason or experience. Suffrage is a privilege, conditioned upon age, sex, birth, property, or intelligence, conferred by the state upon such citizens as are considered most likely to aid in the accomplishment of the fundamental objects for which government is established: the diffusion of civil rights and political equality, with efficient and vigorous guarantees for the protection of life, the security of property, and the preservation of personal liberty. The decision is necessarily arbitrary, and not susceptible of accurate definition. It expresses the ultimate judgment, and reflects the final convictions of the state as a political entity, upon the essential conditions of its own existence.

Thomas Jefferson, the father of modern democracy, borrowed his ideas of the social contract from Rousseau and the French philosophers, who believed that the state of nature was the ideal condition of man, and that numbers would ultimately prevail against intelligence, duty, and justice. His dreamy imagination was captivated by their vague phrases and imperfect generalizations. He had no conception of the moral forces which give a nation strength, duration, and grandeur. He failed to

comprehend the supreme obligation of law as the bond which unites society, superior to the will of individuals and the discontent of minorities, capable of executing its statutes, repressing injustice, and preserving its autonomy. The rule of action for states, as for men, is obedience to law. The doctrine that just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, in the Jeffersonian phraseology, is an imperfect statement of fact. It is the truth, but not the whole truth and nothing but the truth. In the last analysis all governments, the just and the unjust, rest, not upon consent, but upon force. So long as individuals submit to the laws, and minorities consent to the decision of majorities, so long government rests upon consent, but no longer. If the citizen violates no edict or ordinance he consents to be governed; but if he commits murder, or refuses to pay taxes, behind the law stands the sheriff, the posse, the militia, the army and navy of the United States.

The South, in 1861, endeavored to act upon the theory that government rests upon the consent of the governed. Dissatisfied with the lawful expression of the will of the majority at the polls, they refused to consent to the administration of the government by the Republican party under the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. They were logical, but the reverberating thunder of the guns of Grant at Donelson, Vicksburg, and Appomattox refuted their fatal syllogism, and the Proclamation of Emancipation disposed of the fallacious rhetoric of the composer of the Declaration of Independence. Had this government rested upon the consent of the governed, slavery would not have been abolished, nor would the eleven seceded States have returned to the Union. Like the kingdom of heaven, the Union suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. No Confederate leader has ever admitted that slavery was wrong, or that the Calhoun interpretation of the Constitution was incorrect. The most penitent of the prodigal sons appeases his conscience by the guarded admission that "the South accepts in good faith the results of the war."

Politics is the metaphysics of force. The rule of the majority is still the rule of the strongest. But modern society has agreed to determine the question of supremacy by counting instead of

by fighting. Mathematics has been substituted for muscle; computation for war. We count yea on one side and nay on the other, and call it suffrage. But the same principle underlies the ballot-box and the battle-field. The appeal from the ballot to the bullet remains. The North had much greater reason to be dissatisfied with the election of Cleveland in 1884 than the South with that of Lincoln in 1860. There were more imminent dangers of bloodshed and civil war in the disputed election of 1876 than have ever been disclosed. The principal actors in that tragedy have been silent, and its secret history has never been written. Had the seat of government been in New York instead of Washington, and a less resolute Executive than Grant been commander-in-chief, the final verdict of the Electoral Commission might not have been recorded.

In considering the wisdom or expediency of enlarging the voting classes in this country by compelling all the States peremptorily to confer suffrage upon all women, under penalty of forfeiting representation in Congress and the Electoral College, as is proposed by the champions of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, it is not necessary to affirm nor to imply that woman is incompetent or disqualified for the ballot by reason of moral or intellectual infirmity. The intellect of woman may be weaker or stronger than that of man, but it is not the same. It may be higher or lower, but it is essentially different. There have been women with masculine traits, as there have been men with feminine characteristics, but between the mental functions and activities of the sexes there is a great gulf fixed, bridged only by the sentiments, the emotions, and the passions. In her own dominion woman is invincible, but if she abdicates, and invites competition with man upon equal terms, in his province, she always has been, and always will be, vanquished. It is impossible to conceive of a female Blackstone, Webster, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Gladstone, or Bacon. Many women may have been greater and wiser than these, but none have been able to do the work that these have performed. Women have made no important contribution to any of those great subjects of thought with which the science and practice of government are concerned: finance, diplomacy, international law, the

tariff, war, the regulation of commerce, internal improvements. Opportunity and capacity have not been wanting, but inclination and disposition have been absent.

It cannot be claimed that the faculties of woman are under duress, for the tendency from subordination to equality has been irresistible, and her emancipation has long been complete. The fatalities of sex and the obstacles of temperament are the only obstructions to her unrestrained competition with man in every field of physical or mental action. Christianity, co-operating with the spirit of the age, has abolished injustice, and removed the degrading servitudes imposed upon her by the ignorance and prejudice of mankind. She can practice law or medicine, preach the gospel, engage in the pursuits of commerce and business, participate in politics, write books, edit newspapers, paint pictures, carve statues, build railroads, cultivate the soil, toil in the field, the quarry, and the mine if she will. The world is hospitable to her thoughts and to her labors.

The question of suffrage belongs, under the Constitution, exclusively to the States. Congress has no power to confer or limit suffrage except in the Territories and the District of Columbia. Each State now has the right to grant full suffrage to women whenever a majority of its electors desire. No amendment to the Constitution is necessary, nor could it have any other effect except to force the enfranchisement of women upon reluctant States that are not prepared for it, and do not wish for it, under the penalty of a reduction of representation in Congress and the Electoral College. Why the proponents of equal suffrage appeal to Congress, rather than to the State legislatures, by whom alone the appeal can be made effectual, is not clearly perceptible. Their reply to this interrogation is that woman has as much right to the ballot as the negro. Nothing could be more irrational than this pretext. The fifteenth amendment was as much a war measure as the draft, or the legal tender act. The negro was enfranchised by the States and not by Congress. The alternative made the process compulsory for obvious reasons; but those who pretend that there is any similarity between the present condition of American women and the status of the freedmen at the close of the war are either ignorant or insincere.

The abolition of slavery by the thirteenth amendment, in 1865, was apparently unaccompanied by any purpose to interfere with the control of suffrage by the States. The congressional debates disclose no such intention. This amendment was the ratification, by the people, of the Emancipation Proclamations of September 22, 1862, and January 1, 1863. The enfranchisement of the freedmen was not then contemplated. The idea was repugnant even to the radical element in the dominant party, which had been rendered homogeneous by the destruction of slavery. But the intelligent and wealthy classes in the South, who had exclusively held the political power of that section till the close of the rebellion, were reluctant to surrender their prerogatives, and it soon became obvious that the rights of the negro were not to be adequately protected in the conquered States. It was also evident that the liberation of the slaves would increase the political power of the South unless the negroes were made citizens and voters. These convictions led to the adoption of the fourteenth amendment in 1868, and the fifteenth amendment in 1870, which, with the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, coerced the seceding States into negro suffrage as a condition precedent for their restoration to the Union. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were incident to the war. Their advocates were consistent and logical. But there is no logic in politics except the logic of events, and, judging by events, it must be admitted that thus far the experiment of negro suffrage in the South under the constitutional amendments has been an absolute and unqualified failure. None of the anticipations of its promoters have been realized. This declaration does not imply that the negro is not competent to vote, nor that he should not vote. But the South, having obtained thirty-eight additional members of the lower House of Congress, and an equal increment in the Electoral College, by the operation of the fourteenth amendment, has practically nullified the fifteenth amendment, and neither educates the negro nor permits him to vote. Political power in that part of the republic is as exclusively in the hands of the whites as it was in 1860, and the indications are that it will so continue for an indefinite period in the future. The national authority has been ex-



hausted, and nothing remains but the final appeal to the national conscience. So formidable has the danger become, that the most active champions of equal suffrage for women are also the most ardent supporters of the recent measures for national aid to common schools, whose avowed purpose is the education of the colored voters of the South, at the expense of the public treasury, upon the ground that their ignorance is an instant and constant menace to constitutional government and civil liberty. Under their cogent appeals the Senate of the United States passed a bill appropriating seventy-seven million dollars for this purpose, and there is little doubt that it would have passed the House of Representatives had it not been for the obstructive parliamentary tactics of its enemies in both political parties.

By the statistics of the tenth census, we are informed that the colored males in the United States above the age of twenty-one, who were unable to write, numbered 1,022,151, or  $68\frac{7}{10}$  per cent. of the entire class. The white males similarly disqualified were 886,659, or  $7\frac{8}{10}$  per cent. of the voting population. It is an appalling reflection that, in a government theoretically based upon intelligent citizenship, such an enormous proportion of the electors are destitute of the rudiments of education. The adoption of the proposed sixteenth amendment would add to this stupendous mass of illiteracy, colored females 1,125,749, or  $77\frac{6}{10}$  per cent. of those who would be enfranchised, and white females 1,169,804, being 11 per cent. of those who would be entitled to the ballot; a grand total of nearly twenty-three hundred thousand illiterate and disqualified electors, in addition to the existing millions whose condition is a confessed menace to the perpetuity and stability of free popular government. Those, therefore, who contend that there should be a sixteenth amendment because there was a fifteenth, and that all women should be allowed to vote because the liberated slaves were enfranchised, are not felicitous in their argument.

Suffrage, under our political system, has been extended to the extreme limit consistent with national safety. We have reached the danger line. It is too late to cure the evils and correct the mistakes of the past. They are irremediable and irreparable. The cowards and the demagogues of all political par-

ties have been emulous in obsequious subserviency to the most dangerous and destructive elements in our civilization. The total number of immigrants from foreign countries for the twelve months ending June 30, 1887, at the six principal ports of the United States, was 483,116. The arrivals not reported would swell this number to more than five hundred thousand, or nearly fourteen hundred for every day in the year. This exceeded the arrivals of the preceding year more than forty per cent. Many of these were unskilled laborers, imported by corporations, to destroy the intelligent industry of American artisans by their degraded competition. Myriads, like the Poles, Finns, Italians, and Hungarians in the mines of Colorado, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, are only restrained by armed force from arson and massacre. Paupers, criminals, fugitives, malcontents, outlaws, connecting links between the savage and the beast, the feculence of decaying nations, the sediment and exuvixæ of humanity, are discharged like sewage upon the continent. The emissaries of anarchy, the re-enforcements for the brutal army of ruin, whose war-cry is the destruction of organized government and social order, whose weapons are the torch and the bomb, are welcomed upon the strand with tumultuous waving of the star-spangled banner, with perpetual Fourth of July, with continuous "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia, Happy Land," with the tender of the ballot and a quarter section of the public domain, before they can speak the language, or distinguish the difference between the Constitution of the United States and the Proverbs of Solomon.

By the close of the present century, and perhaps earlier, there will not be an acre of the public domain upon which corn and wheat can be raised without irrigation, subject to preemption or homestead entry within the present limits of the United States. Real estate will increase enormously in value. Our surplus population, no longer having the fertile area of free land over which to diffuse itself, will accumulate in cities. The rich will become richer and the poor will become poorer. The middle class will gradually disappear, as the struggle for existence becomes fierce and relentless. A dim consciousness of impending peril has already penetrated the public mind, and in obedi-

ence to its admonitions the Chinese have been excluded with barbarous rigor, in violation of treaties, and notwithstanding the sonorous manifesto of 1868, that "expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people," and that any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the government which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions this right, is "inconsistent with the principles of this government." In obedience to the same impulse the acquisition of real estate by aliens has been rigidly limited by act of Congress. The demand for further legislation in the same direction is imperative, and cannot be disregarded. The sophistication of the national suffrage by the unrestrained admission to citizenship of assisted paupers, fugitive felons, and the avowed enemies of the social contract, must cease. Our capacity for assimilation is exhausted. More than one million skilled and unskilled laborers are now unemployed, or employed at wages inadequate for the support of themselves and their families. Trade and industry are menaced by unlawful combinations that resort to the destruction of life and property to accomplish their designs, and the hour is approaching when the active coalition of the conservative forces of the country will be necessary to prevent destructive organic changes in our social and political system. The constant infusion of fresh blood is essential to national health, but there is no blood poison so fatal as adulteration of race. We are no longer homogeneous. Unity of purpose and interest does not exist. The hordes of socialism and anarchy are openly organized under the red flag, drilled and armed, inflamed by incendiary appeals, denouncing property as robbery, and openly declaring war against all social institutions. The atrocious murder of policemen in Chicago found its apologists, and so feeble was the force of public opinion that at the next municipal election it required the co-operation of both political parties to prevent the capture of the city government by these execrable malefactors, whose insolent challenge should have been met by the bayonet and the gallows. And so strong is the sympathy among the hitherto unsuspected classes that it is doubtful whether the felons who were convicted by a courageous jury do not escape the penalty of their boasted crimes, through the intrigues of

pusillanimous politicians, or the inevitable conservatism of an elective judiciary.

To these portentous perils the advocates of the sixteenth amendment would add the unknown element of unrestricted female suffrage, with the certain, but unknown, elements of ignorance, degradation, inexperience, and corruptibility that would accompany the experiment. The reply to this suggestion is that the vote of women would purify politics and constitute a safeguard against the evils which all admit and deplore.

But this theory that all women, or a majority of them, would always vote for the purification of politics and society, has been practically tested in Utah. The legislature of that Territory gave women the ballot. The efforts of Congress to elevate women by the extirpation of the crime of polygamy have been strenuously resisted by the Mormons. The revolting practice destroyed the purity, delicacy, and refinement of woman, the sacredness of sex, the sanctions of society. For the family it substituted the herd; for the home it substituted the sty. Here, if ever, was the place and the time for the instincts of woman to exhibit their highest and noblest activity. But either from choice or by compulsion, instead of co-operating with the law they thwarted and baffled it by their votes at every election. The women of Utah became the strong tower of defense of polygamy at the polls. They voted for their continued degradation and for the corruption of society, so that Congress was compelled at its last session, by the twentieth section of the Anti-polygamy Act, to disfranchise them absolutely, and to annul the territorial enactments providing for the registration and voting of females.

The silence of the champions of the sixteenth amendment concerning this act of congressional tyranny is like the stillness of the sepulchre. Possibly it has escaped their attention. But if voting be a natural right, then the women of Utah have suffered redoubled injustice, for they have been deprived by national authority of a prerogative conferred both by nature and by law. If just government rests upon the consent of the governed, then the Edmunds statute is the quintessence of concentrated despotism. If woman suffrage be the panacea that is

to cure the ills of society and purify politics, the intervention of Congress was superfluous, and polygamy should have perished in the house of its friends. The truth is, that good women are better than the best men, and bad women are worse than the worst men, but in politics the virtues of women would do more harm than their vices. The strongest evidence of their capacity for suffrage is the admitted fact that they do not want it. No one doubts that whenever women desire to vote, the ballot will be given to them. The insurmountable obstacle to the sixteenth amendment will be found, not in the hostility of men, but in the indifference and aversion of women. There is not a State, county, nor township in the United States in which the proposition, if submitted to the decision of the wives, mothers, and daughters resident therein, would not be rejected by an unmistakable majority.

The agitation is not new. Nearly a century ago the French metaphysician Condorcet published his celebrated plea for the enfranchisement of woman. A little later New Jersey tried the experiment for several years, and then abandoned it, with the concurrence of both sexes. The first National Woman's Rights Convention was held in 1850, and for more than twenty years Congress has been annually petitioned upon the subject of woman suffrage. The question has been respectfully treated, and its advocates have been accorded courteous consideration. In many States qualified suffrage has been granted to women in school and municipal affairs, with interesting and significant results. The statistics in Massachusetts are most minute and accessible. The national movement began there, and the agitation has been most vigorous and persistent. Its ablest orators have not ceased for nearly half a century to assure the women of that commonwealth that they were in bondage, and that the ballot would make them free. Frequent conventions have been held, bureaus established, newspapers ably edited, to organize and direct public opinion. The opponents of the measure have been held up to scorn and derision, as cowards who were afraid to allow women to vote. Those who have ventured upon the right of private judgment have been denounced as intellectual felons, punishable by outlawry. Pro-

fessional agitators, male and female, have devoted long lives and respectable talents to the presentation of the arguments in favor of equal suffrage, to committees of the legislature and to the people. And they would not for a while, but afterward, like the unjust judge, they said within themselves: "Because this widow troubleth us we will avenge her, lest by her continued coming she weary us." So in 1879 the School Suffrage Bill was passed. It was hailed by the suffragists as the dawn of a new era for woman. Hope elevated and joy brightened the crests of the reformers. It was not doubted that the unshackled and liberated women of the Bay State would flock to the polling-places like doves to their windows. But it resembled the acoustic experiment, when the philosophers declared that if all the inhabitants of the earth would shout simultaneously they could attract the attention of the man in the moon. The arrangements were made, and when the moment arrived everybody was so anxious to hear the tremendous uproar that nobody shouted except an old deaf woman in Pekin; and thus, instead of an unprecedented din, there was an unusual and embarrassing silence.

The women of Massachusetts have betrayed an insensibility and indifference to their enfranchisement which is shocking to the philanthropist and discouraging to the patriot. There are 347 cities and towns in the State. In 170 of these, from 1879 to 1886 not one woman has ever registered, or voted. In 200, or more than one-half, no woman has ever voted, though in 30 of these a few have occasionally registered. By the State Census of 1885 there were 442,616 male voters and 486,310 female voters, and of these, in 1886, there were 4,219 who registered and 1,911 who voted, or less than 50 per cent. of those who registered, and 1 in 254 of those who were eligible. The population in the interval from 1880 to 1885 increased nearly 200,000, while the female vote increased 234. In New Hampshire women have been eligible to office and authorized to vote in school district affairs since 1879. The same apathy has prevailed in the Granite State. In Concord, where there are 3,000 female voters, since the novelty of the first meeting not 25 have attended. The experiment has had the same result in Vermont and elsewhere. The collapse has been complete. Like the seed

which fell in stony places, where they had not much earth, these ideas have sprung up, but when the sun came up they were scorched, and because they had not root they withered away. It is another case of leading the horse to water. It shows the futility of attempting to manufacture reforms, hoping that they will be called for. In explanation of these embarrassing statistics the champions of the sixteenth amendment affirm that school and municipal affairs are too paltry and trivial to attract the attention of women, but if they are allowed to vote for the President, and for members of the Legislature and of Congress, their response will be immediate and universal. There is a slight discrepancy between this depreciation of school and municipal suffrage, and the exulting acclaim with which their enactment was hailed. Half a loaf is popularly supposed to be better than no bread, but partial suffrage is worse than none. If the women of Massachusetts had been active and zealous in the exercise of school suffrage when the opportunity was afforded them, it would have been a powerful, an unanswerable, argument in favor of their advancement to absolute equality with men in the obligations and responsibilities of American citizenship. "Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord!"

Social and political institutions are a growth and development to meet the requirements of some antecedent and pre-existing aspirations of the human soul. Whenever woman wants the ballot and society needs her enfranchisement, then the sixteenth amendment will be adopted. Till then they labor in vain that build it. There is no legislation that can annul the ordinances of nature, or abrogate the statutes of the Almighty.

JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

## IS CANADA MISGOVERNED ?

It is sincerely to be hoped that the readers of the FORUM have not taken as serious the hysterical attack upon the Canadian Government and Canadian institutions which appeared in the July number, from the pen of Mr. David A. Poe. We are not unfamiliar with that style of criticism in Canada. Having just emerged from the turmoil of a general election, we may be said to be at this moment specially familiar with it. But that statements which have been again and again refuted should be used to prejudice the country in the minds of the educated people of the United States, was somewhat of a surprise. Citizens of the United States are not specially interested in the party controversies of Canada, and if, in the present paper, these are referred to, the importance of some reply being made to Mr. Poe's attack must be accepted as my apology.

It is charged against the Canadian Government that since the union of the provinces its policy has been one of bribery through the medium of public works; that it has, as a consequence, largely increased the public expenditure and the public debt, and that it has thus imposed upon the people heavy burdens for practically unremunerative investments. The construction of the Intercolonial and Pacific Railways and the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals are given as illustrations of this policy. They are referred to, sneeringly, as "those investments in patriotism which were such an important part of the terms of confederation." The people of Canada have no objection to their public works being described as "investments in patriotism;" they have been undertaken for the development of the country; they have resulted in its development, and have thus been the outcome of the best form of patriotism. Without them a united Canada would have been an impossible achievement. They are not, or rather, they were not, in their inception,



questions of party controversy, both the great political parties being responsible for them. The Intercolonial Railway was regarded as a work of importance before confederation was seriously talked of as an event of the very near future. The public men of the old provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, some years before confederation, and acting under imperial guidance, had arranged terms for the construction of this railway as an imperative condition of their existence as independent communities owing allegiance to the British crown. Under the arrangement then made, Canada was to assume five-twelfths, and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia jointly seven-twelfths, of the cost of the railway, and the imperial government was to guarantee, and subsequently did guarantee, the colonial securities issued for its construction. When the conference which settled the terms of confederation met at Quebec, that was the position of this enterprise. It was, therefore, a most natural arrangement that the provinces united should undertake, as the condition of union, an enterprise which it had already been agreed should be conducted by them separately, but at their joint expense. That is, in brief, the history of the Intercolonial Railway, and it is difficult to see in what way its construction under the circumstances can justify the attack made upon it by Mr. Poe.

The enlargement of the canals requires no defense with intelligent American readers. Long before the union of the provinces was dreamed of, as a practical question; long before even the old union of Upper and Lower Canada was accomplished, these canals were undertaken as a great commercial necessity. Canada possesses in the St. Lawrence River one of the most magnificent means of inland water communication in the world. The Niagara Falls and River, connecting lakes Erie and Ontario, the Cedars, the Longue Sault, and the Lachine rapids on the St. Lawrence, presented physical impediments to the use of our inland waters as a great commercial highway; and these had to be overcome by the construction of canals. To undertake this work may be sneered at as an "investment in patriotism," but the business community on both sides of the line will recognize it as a most wise investment. The canals, as originally constructed, soon proved to be unequal to the requirements of the trade. Some of

them were enlarged nearly forty years ago ; but that enlargement soon proved insufficient, so rapid has been the progress of the country watered by the great lakes. When confederation took place, it was made a part of the compact that a further enlargement should be made as soon as the condition of the finances would permit. The enlargement of the Lachine Canal, and the building of magnificent basins at its mouth, at the port of Montreal, was the first work undertaken in fulfillment of this agreement. The enlargement of the Welland Canal followed, being commenced and carried on under Mr. Mackenzie's administration, the only reform administration that has held power since confederation. He proposed to deepen the locks to twelve feet on the miter-sills ; but with a wise prevision he so carried on the work that, should the requirements of trade demand it, an additional two feet of water could be obtained by building up the walls of the locks. It has been found necessary already to make this addition, and the further enlargement is now approaching completion. The same depth of water is required for the St. Lawrence canals, and at this moment the commercial organizations of the great cities are urging this work upon the government.

This great work, carried on by the Government of Canada, simply in the interest of the commerce and carrying trade of the Dominion, is denounced as an "investment in patriotism," and the cost of the work is described as money spent "most unprofitably." The American people have not so regarded it. In the negotiations which resulted in the Washington treaty, the use of these canals by citizens of the United States on the same terms as by those of Canada was considered sufficiently important to be embodied as one of the stipulations of the treaty. When the late Honorable George Brown went to Washington in 1874, and, with Sir Edward Thornton, then British Minister, entered into negotiations with the United States Government for a treaty of reciprocal trade, the possession of these canals by Canada was regarded as sufficiently important to justify their becoming an important factor in the negotiations, and their enlargement by the year 1880 was one of the stipulations agreed upon. As great interprovincial, as well as in a sense international, works, they could only be undertaken by the Government of Canada ; and

that they have been so far carried to completion is an achievement of which any people may well be proud.

The last of these "investments in patriotism" upon which Mr. Poe is pleased to bestow his sneer is the Canadian Pacific Railway. But that work was a necessity of the position of Canada as a practically independent community upon this North American continent. The hope of the statesmen of Canada who brought about the union of the provinces in 1867 was a united British America. That was not the hope of one party in the state, but, with very few exceptions, of both parties. One of the most eloquent of the defenders of the union; one of the most earnest of the advocates for its extension from ocean to ocean, was the late George Brown, at the time the leader of the Liberal party in Canada. The acquisition of the great northwest Territories, extending from Lake Superior to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, was accomplished by the direct action, it is true, of the Conservative party, but with the acquiescence and in accordance with the policy of the Liberal party. And the addition of British Columbia, giving to the confederacy a Pacific as well as an Atlantic seaboard, was a matter of tremendous consequence for the future of the Dominion. To secure that addition the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was a necessity. In this age of railway development, when, in fact, the railway has taken the place of the old coach road, a continued political connection between the portions of the Dominion so far removed from each other would have been impossible without railway communication, and the commercial intercourse which follows in its wake.

The union of British Columbia with Canada was regarded by all parties as essential both for imperial and Canadian interests. The difference of opinion arose, not so much upon the value of railway communication, as upon the condition that the railway should be commenced at once, and completed within ten years. But it was felt that there should be a limit which would insure the prompt commencement and the honest and constant prosecution of the work to completion. The British Columbia delegates who negotiated the terms of union accepted the time-limit in that sense. Upon one point, however, there was practically no differ-

ence of opinion, namely, that the road should be built by a company, aided by such subsidies in land and money as might be necessary to secure its construction. A resolution to that effect was passed unanimously by Parliament, after the opposition had been defeated in an effort to induce the House of Commons to insert the words "and not otherwise." The first company formed, under the presidency of the late Sir Hugh Allan, failed to raise the necessary money and had to surrender its contract. During the five years that the reform government of Mr. Mackenzie was in office, there was a standing offer upon the statute-book to any company to undertake the work upon terms which have been considered by many persons as more liberal than those given to the company which actually completed the railway. But the offer found no takers. Mr. Mackenzie, in the meantime, prosecuted surveys at great cost, and let contracts for the construction of portions of the line as a government work. On the return of Sir John A. Macdonald to office, he renewed his efforts to induce capitalists to undertake the work, and in 1880 was fortunate enough to make the contract which has secured the completion of the railway in the incredibly short space of five years; within three years of the ten years' limit in the terms of union with British Columbia, and five years before the time fixed by the terms of the contract with the company.

But we are told that all this has involved an enormous increase of public debt and of public expenditure. I would not ignore in any way that important fact. The question which is really important, however, is this, Has the increased expenditure brought an adequate return to the people? The results of investments in public works must not be estimated solely by the return in money which they bring to the treasury. Take, as an illustration, the action of the people of the State of New York in resolving to make free from tolls the Erie Canal. The cold balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure will, as a result of this action, show a balance on the wrong side, and economists like Mr. Poe will denounce the expenditure as, though perhaps "an investment in patriotism," a "most unprofitable" spending of money. But the merchants and business men who realize that, after all, the people pay all charges upon transportation, and that

the freeing of that transportation from such charges is the best form of economy, will only smile at his simplicity, and go on in their career of commercial development. It is thus with these "investments in patriotism" in Canada. As a result of railway development, consequent largely upon the spirited policy of the Government of Canada in aiding railway construction, the passengers and freight carried on Canadian railways during the past year, measured by the charges which prevailed ten years ago, show a saving about equal to the entire interest upon the public debt of the country.

Now what is the amount of the public debt? Mr. Poe states it thus :

"The gross debt of Canada in 1868 was ninety-four millions of dollars ; it has increased until it now amounts to about two hundred and ninety millions. The yearly expenditure has risen from thirteen millions in 1868 to thirty-nine millions in 1886. In 1867 the total population was 3,375,000 ; it is now not more than four and a half millions."

And upon these statements, not one of which can be described as other than disingenuous, Mr. Poe bases his attack upon the Canadian Government. First, as to the debt. The last authentic statement on this subject is the public account for the year ending June 30, 1886. The gross public debt on that date, and it has not materially increased since, was \$272,164,341, not two hundred and ninety millions ; and the gross debt in 1868 was \$96,893,666, not ninety-four millions, as stated by Mr. Poe. An error of over twenty millions of dollars in a matter of this kind, where ordinary care would have prevented it, is certainly sufficient to discredit all Mr. Poe's statements. But in fairness it is with the net debt of the country that we should deal. There are interest-bearing investments which must be deducted. When it is remembered that while the rate of interest paid on the gross public debt is 3.71 per cent., and the interest received on investments is 4.59 per cent., it will at once be admitted that the net debt alone should be considered in dealing with the burdens of the people arising from the public debt. The net debt of 1868 was \$75,757,134, and in 1886 it was \$223,159,107, an increase since confederation of \$147,401,973.

Of this increase it should be stated that no less than \$30,-

743,392 represent allowances to the provinces. When the union was effected, in 1867, each of the four provinces was allowed a certain sum on account of the debts theretofore incurred by them, which the Dominion Government assumed. These allowances represent the sum which is stated as the Dominion debt in 1868. The old Province of Canada, however, had incurred a debt considerably in excess of the amount thus allowed, and in 1873 this excess was assumed by the Dominion of Canada, an equivalent being given to the other provinces. Then, since 1868, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia have been admitted to the confederacy, each being allowed a sum representing the debts of the other provinces. This sum, therefore, of over thirty millions, was not a debt incurred by Canada for public works, but may be regarded simply as a matter of account between the provinces and the Dominion. The actual net debt increase for public works, for these "investments in patriotism" which so greatly trouble economists of Mr. Poe's school, since confederation, is \$116,758,681. What has Canada to show for this? The Intercolonial Railway cost \$31,226,348; the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals represents an expenditure of \$32,132,280; and there has been expended on the Canadian Pacific Railway, including those portions built by the government, as well as the subsidies given to the company, including also \$10,189,521, which is represented by lands returned to the country by the company, the sum of \$71,053,951, not eighty-seven millions, as carelessly stated by Mr. Poe. These three great public works alone represent an expenditure of \$17,753,898 in excess of the entire increase to the public debt on account of public works since confederation! And during that time large expenditures have been made in the erection of public buildings, in the deepening and improving of our great St. Lawrence, in the creation of harbors of refuge on our great lakes, in the erection of lighthouses and fog-signals on the gulf and river St. Lawrence and on our coast, in the building of graving and other docks for the accommodation of our shipping, in aid to railway enterprises bringing the remote districts into communication with the great trunk systems of railway, and in various other ways, representing an aggregate expenditure equal

to about fifty millions of dollars in excess of the net increase of the public debt.

There is, however, one feature of the debt discussion which ought not to be overlooked. The measure of the burden of the debt is the annual charge which it imposes upon the people. Now, deducting the interest received upon investments (and these do not include public works), the net interest charge in 1868 was \$4,593,992, and in 1886 it was \$7,837,930, an increase of \$3,243,938, or about 70 per cent. The net debt, as already stated, increased, including the allowances to the provinces, \$147,401,963 during the same period, or about 194 per cent. Another way to determine the increased burden of this debt is by the *per capita* charge for interest. In 1868, the interest-charge upon the net public debt was \$1.29 *per capita* of the population. In 1878 it had increased to \$1.59 *per capita*. In 1886 it had further increased to \$1.63 *per capita*. During this last period practically all the expenditures upon the Canadian Pacific Railway have been made, the further enlargement of the Welland Canal has been carried on, and important public works of a minor character have been prosecuted; and yet the interest-charge upon the public debt has only increased four cents *per capita* of the population, so marked has been the improvement in the credit of the country.

Mr. Poe is equally disingenuous when dealing with the public expenditure of the Dominion. It is quite true, as stated by him, that the expenditure has increased from thirteen millions in 1868 to thirty-nine millions in 1886, but the bald figures convey an utterly false impression. Canada in 1868 included four provinces, viz., Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario; to-day it includes three additional provinces, viz., Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, besides the great northwest Territories, whose government, and the maintenance of law and order within which, devolve, as to the cost, upon the central government. Again, the thirty-nine millions, stated as the expenditure of 1886, include four millions spent in the suppression of the Indian and half-breed outbreak in the Northwest, and is an utterly abnormal expenditure. The finance minister, in his budget speech in 1886, dealt with this subject, and it is

worth while, in order to an understanding of the reason for this apparently large increase in the public expenditure, to refer to his argument.

He accounted for \$19,558,411 in this way. The increase in the gross interest-charge was \$4,917,914. There was spent in the construction and repairs of public works \$2,423,300 in excess of the expenditure in 1867-68, when, in fact, as the government was chiefly engaged in putting the machinery of the new confederacy in motion, no public works were undertaken. The cost of working the Intercolonial Railway and the increased cost of working the canals reached \$2,840,745. The railway was not even commenced to be built in 1867-68. The enlargement of the postal facilities of the Dominion involved an additional cost of \$1,871,513. The subsidies to new provinces amounted to \$1,205,360. The increased charge for sinking-fund, discounts, and exchange reached \$1,207,963. Immigration, quarantine, and charges connected with the Northwest involved an increased charge of \$717,836. There was paid in fishing bounties, the policy having been adopted only in 1882, \$250,000. The mounted police, annuities to and maintenance of Indians, and charges connected with Dominion lands, entirely new charges arising out of the acquisition of the great northwest Territories, cost \$2,331,929. And there was charged in that year, on account of the expenses of the Indian outbreak, \$1,791,851. Deducting these sums, which can certainly hardly be counted in a candid comparison of the cost of government in the two periods, we have this result: That for civil government, legislation, administration of justice, the maintenance of the penitentiaries, the collection of customs and excise, the militia and defense of the country, the maintenance of lights, buoys, and fog-alarms, marine hospitals, distressed seamen, steamboat and insurance inspection, pensions, management of the public debt, miscellaneous services and contingencies, the increased cost has been rather under two millions of dollars for a country ten times as large as the Canada of 1867-68. With this plain statement of facts, as drawn from the official records of the Dominion, the readers of the FORUM can be left to judge of the unfairness of Mr. Poe's criticisms.

The increased expenditure of Canada has thus been due to



the growth of the country and to the new responsibilities, such as the care of the Indians, and the maintenance of law and order in the Northwest, the carrying on of public works and the cost of their maintenance, which the growth of the country has imposed upon its government. Every dollar of the debt of Canada has been incurred in the creation of public works. They are not remunerative, if by that term is to be understood the return to the treasury of revenue sufficient to meet the interest upon their cost. But, with the exception of the public buildings erected for carrying on the business of the country, they are all remunerative in the sense of creating facilities for, and reducing the cost of, transportation, and thus adding to the commercial and industrial growth of the people. Mr. Poe and his school of economists, who either cannot or do not look further than the bald figures of the public accounts, and from their pessimistic retreats brood over the story which these apparently tell, see in those figures nothing but disaster. With as much wisdom might the farmer who has added farm to farm, building to building, who has gone on clearing and underdraining his land to add to its productiveness, who has been compelled to invest largely in labor-saving machinery, complain that his accounts show a far larger expenditure than when, a young man, he entered upon his first venture.

It is charged against the Canadian Government that the expenditures upon public works have been used as a weapon of corruption, and Mr. Poe's most trenchant sentences are employed in denunciation of the policy. There is no doubt that this expenditure has secured for the government a large measure of popular support; but that is surely not inconsistent with the honest adoption of the policy and the honest acceptance and approval of it by the people. The people of Canada possess a magnificent heritage in the country which has been given them, and they recognize the duty of developing it to the fullest extent. They find themselves surrounded by conditions which render absolutely necessary for that development the creation of public works, railways, canals, harbors, lighthouses, and so on, and they believe these improvements should be undertaken, or at the least assisted, by the public treasury. It may be an unwise policy, but it cannot be called a dishonest or corrupt policy. The people

have shown their appreciation of it by their own direct action as well as by the support they have given at the polls to the party which has come to be known as "the party of progress." Upward of twenty millions of dollars has been voted by the people in their several counties as bonuses to railways, recognizing as they do that the decrease in the cost of transportation of their produce more than compensates for the increased taxation. The way in which the government aids what may be called local railways, is a direct encouragement to the spirit of self-help. Parliament, at the suggestion of the government, grants \$3,200 a mile as aid to those railways. That, it is estimated, is about sufficient to procure the rails, leaving the grading and other work to be done by the companies themselves, for which in many cases they secure further aid from the local governments, the municipalities, or both. But the money is not paid by the government until the several sections, usually of ten miles each, have been completed and accepted by the government Chief Engineer of Railways.

Mr. Poe has committed the folly of descending, in one case at least, to particulars in his arraignment of the Canadian Government. "The assets of the country," he says, "its lands, minerals, and timber, have been scattered with a lavish hand amongst the politicians, particularly amongst those who are the pledged representatives of the people." That is a very serious charge, but unfounded. Canada possessed, in Manitoba and the northwest Territories, land, timber, and minerals which were to be disposed of. The government framed regulations for this purpose. It would be too much to ask for the space to discuss fully these regulations, but those relating to timber may be stated. The manner of obtaining what was known as a timber berth, comprising usually fifty square miles, was this: The person desiring it made his application to the Department of the Interior, indicating in general terms the locality. An order of the Governor-General in Council then passed, authorizing the minister to issue a license, on compliance by the applicant with the terms. The first year's ground-rent was then paid, being five dollars a square mile. The applicant, at his own expense, had then to make a survey of the limit, depositing the plan and notes with the department, when the

license was issued. Within a year from that date he had to erect a mill of a capacity stated in the regulations, and to pay to the department a royalty of five per cent. upon the value, at the mill, of the lumber cut. Where two or more persons applied for the same berth they were invited to compete by sealed tender for it, and the one giving the highest bonus received the berth. So with lands and minerals. There were regulations embodied in the laws enacted by Parliament and in orders of the Department of the Interior, for their disposal. These were open to the public, and any one desiring to invest in either land or minerals could do so in accordance with them. In Parliament, on the platform, and in the press, the challenge has been given to name a single person who ever obtained a concession in connection with these resources of the country, except in accordance with these regulations, or on conditions that were open to the whole people. That challenge remains unanswered to this day.

It was perhaps hardly to be expected that in such an arraignment of Canadian institutions as that under consideration, what has come to be regarded in some quarters as an element of weakness for Canada would pass without remark. When it is stated, as it is by Mr. Poe, that "in the past no administration has been able to secure the support of the French Canadian members of the House of Commons, save by yielding to their prejudices and granting concessions in money to their province," a cruel insult is offered to a high-spirited and chivalrous race. The French Canadians have supported the Conservative party in Canada, because, as to the great majority of them, they are conservative from conviction and by tradition. They love their nationality, and are jealous of their religious rights. "Our religion, our institutions, and our language," has been with them a rallying cry; but no portion of the Canadian people has been more loyal to the crown, and more earnest in the defense of the Constitution. To say that they have been bribed, by grants of money to their province, into supporting the government of the day, is to say that which has not a particle of justification in fact. No province of the Dominion has had so little federal expenditure on what may be called local works. The St. Lawrence, from the Coteau rapids to the Gulf, passes through the province, and the

large expenditures for its improvement have therefore been made within the Province of Quebec. But those expenditures have been essentially in the interests of the commerce of the country, which is chiefly in the hands of the British inhabitants. Mr. Poe charges that the French Canadians had to be bribed into supporting an extremely important measure by "a grant of millions to their province." As a matter of fact, they simply asked that their province should be treated as the adjoining Province of Ontario had been. When the Canadian Pacific Railway was projected, it was to start from Callander station, near Lake Nepessing, and proceed to the Pacific Ocean. The task of tapping it was to be left to the efforts of railway companies in old Canada or of the provinces. The Quebec government honestly set about building their part of this connection, by the construction, as a public work, of a railway from Quebec, passing through Montreal, and connecting with the Canada Central at Ottawa. But the federal government subsidized the Canada Central for a large portion of its distance to join the Pacific Railway at Callander; and it also subsidized a railway from Gravenhurst to connect the city of Toronto with the Pacific Railway, the subsidies in each case being \$12,000 a mile. The Quebec members only asked that their province should be similarly treated, in respect of the railway they had assumed the responsibility of building at the cost of the province.

It would be quite possible to deal with every statement made by Mr. Poe, and to show, in respect of it, how utterly disingenuous has been his treatment of the position of Canada. But this paper has already, I fear, reached its allotted length. It may be of interest, however, to the readers of the FORUM to learn something of the practical results of the policy of the Canadian Government. Since 1868 the deposits by the people in the chartered banks of Canada have increased from \$32,808,104 to \$103,583,950. The deposits in the savings banks of Canada have increased from \$4,360,692 to \$45,072,886. The discounts given by the chartered banks, a fair measure of the business of the country, have increased from \$50,500,310 to \$165,044,608. The imports have increased from \$73,459,644 to \$104,424,561, and the exports from \$57,567,888 to \$85,251,314. An analysis of their trade

returns would show how great has been the development of the manufacturing interests of the country, imports of manufactured goods being largely replaced by imports of raw material, reducing the apparent bulk of the import trade, but adding enormously to the wealth of the country. There were but 2,522 miles of railway in Canada in 1868; in 1886 there were in operation 11,618 miles. The freight carried on railways in 1876, previous to which time we have no returns, was 6,331,757 tons, and in 1886, 15,608,128 tons; or, in other words, the freight carried in 1876 represented 1.60 tons per inhabitant, and in 1886, 3.25 tons. The life insurance business in Canada, which is an admirable test of the prosperity of the people, increased from \$35,680,082 in 1869, to \$171,309,688 in 1886. Fire insurance increased from \$188,359,809 in 1869, to \$611,794,479 in 1886. The consumption of coal in the Dominion, which may be regarded as a fair test of industrial progress, increased from 714,893 tons in 1868 to 3,515,769 tons in 1886. These, it will be admitted, are rather satisfactory comparisons; and the "investments in patriotism" which have produced them need no apology at the hands of the Canadian people.

I have not dealt with the constitutional difficulties which Mr. Poe regards as threatening the future of Canada. Our constitutional system, like all human institutions, has its defects which, it may be, time will remedy. But the constitutional tinker who is constantly watching for defects and insisting upon their remedy, is neither a wise statesman nor a very useful citizen. In the distribution of powers between the central and provincial authorities some friction has arisen, but the courts are supplementing the written letter by authoritative interpretations, and these questions are thus solving themselves. They would have created no friction—would, in fact, have been regarded as the natural outcome of a complex system of government, and of the necessity of obtaining judicial decisions in respect of the powers conferred by it—but for the fact that the bitterness of party strife, and the absence of other grounds of party difference, have caused a party in the state to exaggerate their disputes into matters of political controversy. There can be no encroachment of the federal upon the provincial authority under our system of government, except by the exercise

of the power of disallowance, which must be exercised subject to the responsibility of the advisers of His Excellency the Governor-General, to a Parliament in which all the provinces are represented. The Quebec conference which framed the resolutions upon which the Act of Union was based, met about the time of the close of the great civil war in the United States. The defects in the United States Constitution, the absence especially of power in the central government, had been very apparent; and in laying the foundations for a new nationality, the conference, composed of the leading public men of both political parties, were careful to avoid that defect; and hence the power of disallowance was given to the central government. It has been exercised only in the most exceptional cases, and then only when the paramount interests of the whole Dominion demanded it. Not one in a hundred of the measures passed by local legislatures has been interfered with, although, under the Constitution, every Act is subject to revision by the central government.

That there are elements of weakness in the position of Canada may be quite true, but its greatest danger springs from the spirit of pessimism, of which the paper contributed to the FORUM by Mr. Poe may be pronounced an embodiment. It has been said that, by agreement among half a dozen people, the healthiest man may be sent to bed seriously ill. They have only to make up their minds that, at intervals of five or ten minutes, each will tell their friend, with increasing earnestness and apparent alarm, how wretchedly ill he looks—and the thing is done. There are now in Canada a good many people who are engaged in this pleasant occupation. At three general elections they have been defeated at the polls, and in their desperation they are turning their batteries against the country and the people whose confidence they have failed to win. But the people go on in their daily toil, witnessing with self-satisfaction the prosperity that surrounds them, and answering, from their own inner consciousness, the gloomy jeremiads of the detractors of their country.

THOMAS WHITE.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

WE read of the late Colonel Newcome that when he took up his abode in that famous mansion, 120 Fitzroy Square, he had a vague hope that he might renew his youth, and live on quite familiar terms with the generation below him. Accordingly, he had occasional gatherings to which he invited his juniors, Mr. Pendennis, Mr. Warrington, and such as they, who were born when the worthy colonel had already arrived at middle life, and were to him but as striplings. Poor Colonel Newcome found that he was not at his ease. Between him and his guests there was a chasm: they could not, somehow, shake hands across it, and he grew sad. It slowly dawned upon him that the old and the young cannot hope to enjoy perfect sympathy. Love, veneration, esteem, may exist on the one side or the other, but there is a point at which entire communion is necessarily interrupted; the man of sixty and the man of thirty can never have the same point of view.

Now, I have passed my sixtieth year; how much I have passed it I decline to say. I have a painful suspicion that the young fellows in the twenties or the thirties hardly understand what this admission implies. I was not brought up as you were, my respected friends. I did not even eat and drink the same things that you did when you were boys, still less was I taught as you were. To begin with, we were supposed to know Latin by instinct fifty years ago in England. There was, indeed, a translation of the Latin rules at the end of the Latin grammar, but there was none at the end of the Greek grammar; for, by the time a boy began Greek, he was presumed to have no need of anything in the shape of a "crib."

The only dictionaries we had was a thing called "Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary," which might have been better; and another thing called "Schrevelius' Greek Lexicon," which could hardly

have been worse. Schrevelius was a Dutchman, who published his meager volume in the eighteenth century, and, until some fifty years ago, it was absolutely the only help which English schoolboys had to enable them to acquire any knowledge of Greek. But Schrevelius had not a word of English in it: we learnt our Greek fifty years ago through the mediation of Latin, and when we "looked up" a word in the lexicon, we got the Latin equivalent and that alone. It is literally true that I do not remember the time when I did not know Latin; and one of my earliest recollections is that of having got a prize in my ninth year for repeating from memory nearly seven hundred lines of Ovid better than a dozen other urchins who competed for the same prize, and whom I distanced, to the joy of my proud parents. This was—well! it was more than fifty years ago.

As far as I can remember, schoolboys in those days never had any English reading-books except "The Boy's Own Book" and "Robinson Crusoe." Sir Walter Scott was alive, or, at any rate, he had not been dead long, but the Waverley Novels were a great deal too dear to allow of a boy reading them except in the holidays. The first of them that I remember devouring were "The Black Dwarf" and "The Talisman." But there was one English book which we all were expected to "get up" before we were "called to construe," and that book was the first volume which exercised a really powerful and permanent influence upon me in my early boyhood: that too was a dictionary, to wit, "Lempriere's Classical Dictionary." There is no such thing as a classical dictionary now. It has given place to the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography," forsooth, and that means about the very dullest and dreariest collection of articles on biography and mythology which the severest learned pundits can be induced to compile for the cultivation of the critical faculty, at the expense of everything else in the minds of boys and girls. But "Lempriere's Dictionary" was about as different from your modern dictionary of classical biography and mythology (and as superior, from the literary standpoint) as a plum pudding is superior to a dog biscuit. Dr. Lempriere was a merry old scholar who had been brought up upon Ovid and Virgil and Homer and Herodotus, and upon very little else. He believed all the stories



in Greek and Roman literature as a respectable and conscientious old Tory should believe them. All your new-fangled skepticism and your rubbishy science of mythology—these were as unknown to him as the history of the Hittites. “Romulus and Remus,” sir—not believe in them? Why! you’ll try and persuade me that Balaam’s ass never talked next! Pyramus and Thisbe only myths? Why! a man must be a born idiot to gabble such stuff!”

The longest article in “Lempriere” was one on Hercules. A murrain on the innovators who could not be content with that old name, but have changed it to Heracles! We had none of your Zeus and Heré and Ares and the rest of them—mere counterfeits! but good old Jupiter and Juno and Mars and Venus, rollicking about as gods should; such as they were painted, muscular, rotund, burly, and shameless; not namby-pamby, finicking things of beauty, that were all grace and smoothness. In our “Lempriere” the gods never glided, they bounced, as Rubens painted them; and we made no mistakes about them, or it went hard with us. Hercules was in those days to me a model of what a real hero ought to be. Lempriere’s article on Alexander the Great, too, had a great hold upon me, and was a prime favorite. But Hercules! he *was* a man, and Alexander was but a very feeble imitator of the other. The labors of Hercules were all set down in detail; all the twelve religiously numbered.

“Lempriere’s Classical Dictionary” had a great deal to do in the making of me in those boyish days. My imagination was trained, stimulated, appealed to. I was not turned into a prig and a skeptic too early. I had a world of heroes and demigods about me night and day. I admired greatly; I had my horrors, my dreams, my superstitions; I was swathed about with a grand and ennobling credulity. I believed in a past where virtue and bravery and adventure and self-sacrifice were no rarities. History was made to appear to us as a veracious record of the prowess of the strong and the valiant. We had not yet arrived at assuming that to believe anything outside the range of our narrow experience is a superstition. And thus I am sure that “Lempriere’s Dictionary” was one of the most potent, as it certainly was one of the earliest, factors which contributed to the formation of my mind at that period when our minds are in their

most plastic state, and when the molding of them goes on so strangely and so rapidly that it is not always easy for us to recollect when they acquired their shaping, or how the pressure of the guiding hand was applied here or there.

Meanwhile, at school and in holiday-time I devoured whatever came in my way that was printed, it did not matter much what. We rarely spent more than nine or ten weeks of the year under our parents' roofs in those days, and a boy who, during the holidays, read anything more than he could help, was looked upon by his fellows, when the holidays were over, as a bit of a sneak—a "smug" we used to call him. At home, however, I used to read a great deal. One vacation I was greatly attracted by Harriet Martineau's "Illustrations of Political Economy." They were to me wonderfully interesting stories, and gave me my first suspicion that a man or woman might actually be a reformer, even a radical, and yet be virtuous and capable of salvation. But my interest in economics and politics lasted very little over one summer vacation; for one day, behold! a school-fellow brought back in his box a copy of "Marmion," and, more wonderful still, somebody put into my box a copy of "Monk" Lewis's "Tales of Wonder." The world has forgotten Lewis, but I am not likely to forget him, and very much less likely to forget "Alonzo the brave and the fair Imogene." "Marmion" I must soon have known by heart, but I am not sure that the "Tales of Wonder" were not even more to me than "Marmion;" and to this day I hesitate to pronounce which I consider most thrilling, the death of Marmion, or the weird adventures of the heroic King Jamie, that pearl of knightly courtesy,

" When in there came a grisly ghost  
Loud stamping on the floor !"

The years that followed this period were remarkable for my first becoming acquainted with Chaucer and Spenser. I could only get extracts of the former, and found him too hard, but the "Faerie Queene" I read through from end to end, as I certainly did the "Paradise Lost" and the "Paradise Regained." Milton was the first English poet I was *made* to read, for my father took me in hand during the holidays and insisted on my learning a

certain number of lines by heart and saying them to him. I am bound to explain that these holiday tasks were a penance imposed upon me for the sin of having "Tom Jones" under my pillow. I forget how my sin was found out. It was, however, no severe punishment, and I got to love Milton greatly, and learned much more than I was ordered to learn.

It was just after I left school, and before I went up to the university, that the first great crisis in my intellectual life occurred. I was introduced to the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. I do not, of course, refer to the poetical works, but to that entirely unique collection of theologico-philosophical dogmatism, of profoundly suggestive hints and speculations, of hybrid mysticism, of subtle and pregnant criticism, of dreams and lightning flashes of genius to be found in the prose writings of the Highgate sage. To me, as to many another young man at that time (1844), the "Aids to Reflection" came as a new revelation. I cannot stop to explain how it was so, but the book took such hold of me that for years I rarely passed a week without reading out of it. It followed almost as a matter of course that at this period I should surrender myself to the influence of Southey and Wordsworth. Southey's larger poems, "Thalaba," "The Curse of Kehama," and especially "Roderick," seemed to me then the great epics of the age. I am not at all certain that I gave them too high a place in my admiration, and as I write I cannot remember any English epic that I have been able to read through since I read "Roderick," not even "Festus" or "Orion."

At this period, too, I was given over to Carlyle's "Heroes" and his "French Revolution," and to Shelley and Charles Lamb. My father had known Lamb personally, and was on intimate terms with Talfourd, Shelley's counsel, and from my boyhood I had heard a great deal of both one and the other; but it was not until about 1844 or 1845 that they became the gods of my idolatry. Shelley, however, was not for long my idol. He so often seems to be singing in a falsetto voice; and when a man does that, he is pretty sure to shriek when he gets excited. But Lamb: who can only admire Lamb? He is and will forever be more than a mere author to those that know him. He

is a presence, a presiding genius ; he goes in and out with you, haunts you in the kindest, gentlest way.

It was in 1845 that I first saw Tennyson's poems. How I could have lived without knowing them till then I cannot understand. I shall never forget hearing the "Morte d'Arthur" read to me by a friend for the first time.

It was while I was under the domination of Coleridge that the time came when I was compelled to turn my mind to theological reading ; and it was while I was thinking seriously of preparing myself to take holy orders in the Church of England that my tutor (with whom I had gone through a great many Greek plays, a great many Greek orations, and a great deal else in Greek and Latin literature which it is not worth while to particularize) said to me once, "Before you begin cramming divinity, do read one more term with me and we'll go through the 'Gorgias' of Plato." Plato was not an unknown author to me, but the "Gorgias" was quite unknown. The reading of that dialogue, under the guidance of a man of real genius, thoughtfulness, and earnestness, was another (I am not sure that it was not the greatest) crisis of my intellectual life. I don't see how a young man of any enthusiasm could possibly read the last twenty pages of the "Gorgias" for the first time without feeling that somehow—somehow—he had caught a glimpse of a new world.

At this time, too, I was a great reader of Jeremy Taylor, especially of the "Holy Living," and I made the acquaintance of St. Augustine's "Confessions," which has been one of my pocket books ever since. The last of the great writers who, at this period, contributed to make a man of me was Dr. Donne. They who wish to know who Dr. Donne was must read his biography in the "Lives" of Isaac Walton ; and when they do read it, let them be duly grateful to whosoever may have first introduced them to the most exquisite biography in the English language. Be it understood, I do not expect many people will take to Dr. Donne's writings ; I can only tell them that I owe a great deal to them myself, though how I owe it and what I owe I have not space here to explain.

It will be seen from the above only too brief sketch of my

boyish studies that my mental culture did not proceed quite in the common groove that others of my generation traveled along. There were reasons for this which the world will hardly care to know; let them pass. But my mind was, I believe, one of unusually slow development, as my body was; and when I have carried my readers thus far, I must needs add that I have brought them only to the threshold of my life, to the time of my early manhood, when the world was all before me—all the doubts and perplexities, all the horror of feeling the ground under my feet going from me, all the wonder and amazement which startled me as my horizon widened; or when, in utter loneliness of spirit, the daylight was blotted out for an hour, no sun was in the heavens, and yet, as I waited, lo! from the blackness there shone out God's stars. I believe that if it had not been for Coleridge and Tennyson I should have had no eyes to see those stars. I should have cried, "They are no stars at all, only Jack o' lanterns; believe them not, my brethren!"

The time came when I began my ministerial life in a little English village. If I had not been a student during those years, and had not taken a genuine delight in my clerical work, I think I must have solaced myself with drink and "gone to the bad." It was a tiny little place with about a hundred and fifty people in it; the country was hideous; "the water was naught and the ground barren;" the roads were straight as a line and level as a billiard-table; there was not a hill within five miles of us, and if we wanted to see a stream that a boy could not jump over, we had to go another five miles to look at it. Neighbors outside the parish we had none, and we were as poor as rats. I say "we," for a real princess had stooped so low as to marry me, and we two knew no more of the world than a schoolboy and school-girl, to whom life, however, was all *couleur de rose*. We were twenty-four years old, and at this mature age I projected a great edition of the works of Doctor Donne, the princess helping me. In course of this labor I was driven to make my first acquaintance with mediæval literature; and while so employed I came across another of the great books to which I owe so much, viz., Maitland's "Essays on the Dark Ages." Reading it now, with wider knowledge and a wider horizon, I still regard this de-

lightful volume as one of the most precious books in my library, and one of the most original and suggestive books that a young man can read. It is quite *sui generis*. I am not going to criticise it or give anything like an analysis of its contents, but I never knew any one to whom I have recommended it who has not expressed himself enthusiastically grateful for the knowledge of it, or who did not regard it as one of his most precious possessions. I had always been a great reader of history. I read through Hallam's "History of the Middle Ages" religiously when it was really quite beyond me, because I used to meet Hallam now and then at dinner when I was a lad. I forget when I first heard of Prescott, but I devoured his works as most young fellows devour a new novel; but now my Donne labors drove me *pari passu* into two lines of historical study; first, into the history of the seventeenth century; and secondly, into mediævalism; and I dare say, if I had kept to that kind of thing for some years, exclusively, it might have ended in my turning out a blear-eyed Dryasdust.

One day some being from a higher sphere brought us a new book, Ruskin's "Modern Painters," the first two volumes. That was another epoch in my life. We used to drive about the dull roads to the nearest market town in a little pony gig in those days; we always had a book with us. As surely as the pony gig came to the door, so surely did a volume of Ruskin accompany us on our travels, the princess reading all the while, and if any one could have heard our exclamations of delight and our discussions and questionings in those long drives, I think he would have thought we were as queer a pair of young folks as he had seen for many a day. We were fairly mad upon Ruskin, and we were all the better for it!

If young Americans and young Englishmen do not read Ruskin's "Modern Painters" now, they ought to read it; and if they cannot read all the volumes, let them at least read that most precious and incomparable second volume, which constitutes the third part of the work, and deals with the imaginative and theoretic faculties. What I owe to John Ruskin's writings I shall never be able to set down in black and white. The only harm that I think they ever did me was, that coming upon me, as they did for the first time, when I was deep in my mediæval

researches, they occasioned me an impatient distaste for any book written in a slip-slop style; and, whereas I formerly never cared much *how* an author told his story provided he had a story to tell, I found myself suddenly growing over-fastidious as to the manner of a writer, and I became more and more exacting as to the form, and less curious as to the matter, of a book than I had been.

There are three books which I must needs name before I quite take leave of my readers, because they have, each in its own peculiar way, had a wholly incalculable influence upon my mind, and left upon me an impression so deep and lasting that I should find it impossible to exaggerate the effect produced. One of these books was Mr. Browning's "Paracelsus;" another, John Stuart Mill's book on "Liberty;" and the third, Mr. Lowell's "Biglow Papers." If I had the space at my disposal, I could easily show that the incongruity which may appear on the surface in bracketing these three books together is not really so great as it may seem at first sight. This only I know, that with the single exception of the Bible, there is no book in any language that, during the last twenty years of my life, has been so much to me, has been so suggestive, so ever-present with me, so much quoted by me, so much "leaned upon," as the "Biglow Papers." Americans tell me that the book has almost "gone out." It may be so; but if it be so, I am at a loss to think what literary masterpiece in America can ever hope for imperishable fame.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

## CONCERNING MEN.

I HAVE been asked to write one of two papers conveying the opinions of a man upon women, and a woman upon men, the reason urged for this being "that a woman who has for the purposes of literary art analyzed the minds of men and women, must have reached valuable conclusions as to the mutual limitations of each sex, and its supplementation by the other."

It may be so. One cannot have written novels for forty years without much study and observation of human character, to say nothing of the inevitable experience which a long life brings. And yet I have hesitated. We all know ourselves better than outsiders do, and I am conscious of having lived, in a sense, out of the world; a quiet, happy, domestic existence, which never brought me in contact with really bad men. Consequently, pessimistic or Zolaesque studies of them had no charm for me; and I have shared with many other female writers the accusation that all my men are "women's men;" *i. e.*, men painted, not as they are, but after the ideal—a woman's ideal—of what they ought to be. Perhaps we might retort how very little men know of us, and how unlike to real women are the heroines of many male novelists. The difference seems to be, that a woman's man is generally gifted with impossible virtues, while a man's woman, if not enchantingly wicked, is often so tame and weak, even silly—like Thackeray's Amelia and a dozen more I could name—that the best of her sex would be ashamed to own her. Be that as it may, I will not argue the question. I have been asked to say my say, and I say it, without dogmatism, but also without fear.

I may as well premise, however, that all my observations and experience of life have confirmed me in one belief: that while, as a rule, the average woman is superior to the average man—more estimable, lovable, nay, often more capable and reliable—there



are exceptional men nobler than any woman ; for the simple reason that the masculine nature is larger and stronger, with wider possibilities for both evil and good.

“All thy passions, match'd with mine,  
Are as moonlight unto sunlight and as water unto wine,”

is a truth affirmed by a wise man, which should never be ignored in a woman's judgment of men.

Also, though we find continual exceptions—women as strong as many a man, and men tenderer than most women—still the creed that “woman is the lesser man” does, in the main, hold good, intellectually as well as physically. Morally, I doubt. In purity, single-mindedness, unselfishness, faithfulness, the ordinary man is distinctly below the ordinary woman. You would have but to look in, Asmodeus-like, upon any fifty households of your acquaintance, comparing the husbands with the wives, the brothers with the sisters, in their internal domestic, not their outside society life, to be pretty sure that such is the case. But, as I shall presently show, this is mainly the woman's fault.

It is better to bow before an unseen divinity than to adore the fish-bone fetich of a South Sea Islander ; therefore, if I judge severely men as they are, it is because I have never swerved from my belief in what they are capable of, or my early ideal of what they ought to be.

Much as had been said about the equality of the sexes, and great as is the indignation of some of us at being considered “the weaker sex,” I am afraid that absolute equality between men and women is impossible. Nature herself sets her face against it by the inherent desire implanted in most women's breasts, to look up to some one greater than themselves physically and mentally ; to whom they can cling, on whom they can rely, without any sense of inferiority. Not merely to love, but to worship, to make herself a mat for the man's feet to walk over, to believe everything he does and says is right, to be ready to live for him or die for him, and merge her own identity completely in his : this, I think, is the instinct of woman, or at least the noblest half of womankind. It is nature ; and nature, we may allow, is occasionally right

Nature, too, lays down limits beyond which women, in the aggregate, cannot pass. She means them to be not men, or, rather, imitation men, but the mothers of men. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that every girl's education, mental, moral, physical, ought to be primarily with a view to wifehood and motherhood, the highest and happiest destiny to which any woman can attain. But when Fate denies them this chiefest blessing, as, considering the large surplus female population in the world, must often be the case, she still leaves them the possibility of being the spiritual mothers of a new generation. While sufficient to themselves, able to do their own work in the world, solitary but strong, unmarried women may still keep up, as many an old maid does keep up, the natural maternal instinct, by befriending or helping all helpless creatures, and becoming an ennobling influence to mankind in the aggregate, if not to the individual man.

This abstract universal mother impulse, absent in men (a man loves his own children, but seldom any other man's), is, I believe, the key-note of feminine nature, and has its roots in psychological and physiological laws distinct from those which belong to the other sex. Man is made of muscle and brains: by them he has to govern the world. His very selfishness—or say selfism—his hardness and masterfulness, are, in one sense, a necessity; else he would never be able to fight his way, and protect those whom he is bound to protect. But woman's kingdom is the heart. A woman without tenderness, without gentleness, without the power of self-suppression to an almost infinite degree, is a creature so anomalous that she cannot fail to do enormous harm, both to her own sex and to the other. She ceases to be the guardian angel she was meant to be, and becomes a devil in disguise, working woe wherever she appears.

One often hears girls, and very good girls too, declaring that "they like men far better than women," and putting in them a sublime, impossible trust, which if the other sex justified we should have no "strong-minded" women. It is the reaction after loss, the unfaith which follows on broken idols, which makes a great many foolish women join in the howl against men. They begin by being blind worshipers, and end either as

rebels or slaves. Only very few have courage to take the medium course, and, while refusing either to adore or condemn, content themselves with simply loving—a wise, open-eyed love, which sees faults, not only in others but itself, and steadily tries to amend them in both.

For many of men's errors women have themselves to blame, First, their viciousness and coarseness; women being either too ignorant or too cowardly to exact from men the same standard of virtue which men expect from them. Secondly, their tyranny; because the laws and customs of many generations have placed women far too much in the power of men, and even were it not so, their own warm affections make them slaves. Thirdly, for the selfishness which—doubtless with righteous reason—is so deeply implanted in the masculine breast that a thoroughly unselfish man is almost a *lusus naturæ*. And no wonder, since from his cradle his womankind have adored him. Mothers, nurses, sisters, all join in the sweet flattery, the perpetual love-servitude, which makes a man think far too much of himself. Then, perhaps, comes a period of innocent tyranny from his sweetheart, which he soon repays by tyrannizing over his wife. Thus, except that brief season when love has

“Struck the chord of Self, which, trembling, passed in music out of sight,”

there is, for the ordinary man—I do not say the ideal man, or even the specially good man—no time in his life when he is not bolstered up in his only too natural egotism by the foolish subservience of the women about him.

Loving and serving is a woman's destiny; but it should be done in a right way. To yield to a man when you know he is in the wrong; to teach others that he must be yielded to, whether right or wrong, is to place him on a pedestal where not one man in twenty thousand could stand steady. The unspoken creed of many a household, especially in the last generation, that the girls must always give in to the boys; that endless money should be spent on the boys' education and career in the world, while the girls must shift for themselves: this it is, I believe, which has brought about that painful reaction, in which women are gradually unsexing themselves, trying to do a multitude of things

which nature never meant them to do, and losing sight of that which she did, viz., that they should be first the wives and mothers, and failing that, not so much the rivals as the friends, consolers, and helpers of men.

This they can be, in a hundred ways, without attempting the impossible, and without controverting the supposed Christian doctrine that the man is the head of the woman—as he ought to be, if he deserves it; but which, when truly deserving, he will seldom obnoxiously claim to be. It is a curious fact which I have noticed throughout my life, that the strongest, noblest, wisest men are those least afraid of granting to women all the “rights” they could possibly desire, and the most generous in allowing them all the high qualities, so often dormant through neglected education, which they undoubtedly possess in common with men.

One of these, strange as it may appear, is the “business faculty,” usually attributed to men only, except in France, where, especially among the *bourgeoisie*, “Madame” does the business of the family, which prospers accordingly. Despite her revolutions there is no richer, more economical, nor more thriving country than France, and none where women do more work, or are more highly regarded. “I would never let my daughter marry an Englishman,” said to me once a French lady, a better “business woman” and doing daily more practical work than most men; “*vos maris Anglais sont toujours tyrans.*” I hope not; but I think both English and American husbands and fathers would do more wisely, instead of saying contemptuously that “women never understand business,” to teach their womankind to understand it. This would lighten their own hands amazingly, and take from them half the worries which convert them into supposed “tyrants,” besides being an incalculable advantage to the women themselves.

Men, from that large Ego, doubtless implanted in them for useful purposes, have a tendency to see things solely from their own point of view, and to judge things, not as they are, but as the world will look at them, with reference to their individual selves. Their sense of order, their power and inclination to take trouble, are rarely equal to a woman's. Her very narrowness

makes her more conscientious and reliable in matters of minute detail. A man's horizon is wider, his vision larger, his physical and intellectual strength generally greater than a woman's; but he is as a rule less prudent, less careful, less able to throw himself out of himself, and into the interest of other people, than a woman is. Granted a capable woman, and one that has had even a tithe of the practical education that all men have or are supposed to have, she will do a matter of business, say an executorship, secretaryship, etc., as well as any man, or even better than most men, because she will take more pains.

Did girls get from childhood the same business training as boys, and were it clearly understood in all families that it is not a credit but a discredit for women to be idle, to hang helpless on the men instead of doing their own work, and, if necessary, earning their own living, I believe society would be not the worse but the better for the change. Men would find out that the more they elevate women the greater use they get out of them. If, instead of a man working himself to death for his unmarried daughters, and then leaving them ignominiously dependent upon male relations, he educated them to independence, made them able both to maintain and to protect themselves, it would save him and them a world of unhappiness. They would cease to be either the rivals—a very hopeless rivalry—or the playthings first and then the slaves of men, and become, as was originally intended, their co-mates, equal and yet different, each sex supplying the other's deficiencies, and therefore fitted to work together, not apart, for the good of the world.

What this work should be, individual capacity alone must decide. There are so many things which women cannot do, that I think men would be wise as well as just in letting them do whatever they can do. As clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, poor law guardians, superintendents of hospitals and similar institutions, they would, if properly trained, be quite as capable as men. The oft-repeated cry that thereby they lower the rate of wages and take the bread out of men's mouths, is only that of feeble fear. Women must either be maintained by men, or maintain themselves. It is no injury but a relief to men when those to whom Providence has not given the blessed duties of wives

and mothers, do maintain themselves, in any lawful and possible way.

So many ways are to them absolutely impossible. They cannot be soldiers, sailors, or enter on any profession which entails violent physical exertion or endurance. Mentally, too, their powers are limited; and I believe the average young woman would never go through the curriculum of our public schools and colleges without serious harm, especially to that nervous organization which is far more delicate than that of the average young man, and to the physical health which is so important not only to herself but to the next generation. "Send me," wrote a colonial bishop in want of missionary help, "a cargo of capable old maids." But any career for young maidens which is likely to unfit them for their natural destiny, as mothers of the men and women to be, must be harmful to the future of the world.

Therefore, in one profession where men have exceedingly resented our entrance, great caution is required that it should be entered solely by exceptional women, gifted not only with masculine aspirations, but masculine strength, mental and physical: I mean the medical profession. Whether women could ever make as good doctors as men, *i. e.*, general practitioners, consulting physicians, surgeons, or scientists, is very doubtful; but there is one branch of the profession which, in modern times only, men have appropriated to themselves, and which women would do well to take back again into their own hands. Obstetric practice ought exclusively to belong to capable, carefully trained, and experienced medical women. No medical man, with his many daily cases of ordinary illness—often infectious illness—and his very limited time, ought to have anything to do with that crisis which requires patience, caution, prudence, and, above all, no hurry or worry. I believe the number of women, especially poor women, who have been actually murdered through having male attendance in their hour of need, must, if known, incite our sex to hold its own, and to stand by one another, and educate a phalanx of capable *accoucheuses* who should control this branch of the medical profession, leaving to men all the rest.

Small, at best, will be the number of women who have brains, will, and physical stamina enough to compete with men in the arena of the world; still fewer will have any wish to do it. Half of us would rather stay at home and do our work—domestic work; the other, inferior, half prefer to let the men work, while they run about and enjoy themselves. But such rare women as have masculine aspirations and masculine capacities may safely be allowed to use the one and gratify the other. There will always be enough of us left who are content to be mere daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers, willing to merge ourselves in the men we love, to spend and be spent for them, often with small thanks and no reward, except the comfort of knowing that they could not well do without us, and that, after all, it does not much matter which does the work of life, so that it is done.

That, as a whole, men do it better than we, is, I think, a mistake. Their labors are seen, ours unseen. Their aims are larger, perhaps nobler; but they are less persistent than we; more prone to get “weary of well doing.” In physical courage they excel us, but in moral courage I think very few men are equal to women.\* Arrant cowards as many of us are, in the matter of our affections, ready to do anything rather than contradict a bad-tempered husband or vex a disagreeable brother, when it comes to any great moral heroism, or that endurance which is often greater than heroism, there are few men so strong and brave as a woman. It is well known, in the statistics of lunatic asylums, that the largest proportion of male patients have been driven mad by worldly misfortunes. Not so with us. We can endure almost any amount of external suffering; stand on our feet and support others. The thing which breaks our hearts and turns our brains is, as statistics also prove, inward anguish. We can endure life and face death; but our one vulnerable point is our affections.

It seems as if this paper “concerning men” were drifting into an essay upon women; yet both are so inevitably mixed up together that it is difficult to divide them. But there is one

\* The reader must pardon this continual repetition of “I think” and “I believe;” necessary in some way to neutralize the sweeping dogmatism which is at once so odious and so difficult to avoid.

point of difference between men and women which I ought not quite to pass over, and yet shall not dilate upon, for I believe no woman is capable of fairly judging it. Mercifully for the world, very few women can in the least understand that side of men's nature in which the senses predominate over, or are perpetually fighting with, the soul, so that an originally noble human being can sink down to the level of Calypso's swine. I question if even an ordinary woman, being a good woman, can realize the state of mind which results in a man's making some wretched *mésalliance*, or sinking under the unlawful thralldom of a Cleopatra, an Aspasia, or a Phryne. Such things are, but most of us women can hardly comprehend them. We may, under some extraordinary self-delusion, fall in love with a bad man, and cling to him, from duty or tenderness, long after love has departed; but we seldom plunge, as a man does, open-eyed, into the nets spread by a bad woman, whom he knows to be a bad woman, and yet cannot help himself. The story of Samson and Delilah, repeated age after age among men, is not often told of us women.

Nor is it common in lesser forms of folly or guilt. If we sin, it is generally through self-deception; but they do it with their eyes open. I remember once at a dinner-party hearing my host piteously lamenting over his gout, because of which his doctor had prohibited wine. Immediately afterward I saw him toss off a bumper of champagne. "Why do you do that?" I asked. "Oh, because"—he hesitated—"because I can't help it." He is dead now, but before his death his splendid fortune had all melted away, and his wife and children were earning hardly their daily bread. And why? Because of that miserable, contemptible "can't help it." Now, if there is one thing in which the average woman is superior to the average man, it is because she generally *can* "help it."

But, I repeat, some, nay, many men are found, nobler than the very noblest of women. One, perhaps, toils all his life at a calling he hates, yet which happens to be the only one in which he can earn the family bread. Another resigns silently all the lawful pleasures of existence, intellectual and social, to that same cruel necessity of providing for his dear ones. A third, year after year, endures with sublime patience the fretfulness of an



invalid wife, or the sin and misery of a drunken one. A fourth—less wretched than these, yet still most unfortunate—having married from gratitude or impulse, year after year, honorably and faithfully, puts up with the companionship of a woman who is no companion at all, with whom he has not the slightest sympathy, whom he either never loved rightly, or has long ceased to love; yet for a whole lifetime he hides this fact and its consequences in his own bosom, without ever letting the world find out, or guess that he himself has found out, what he now knows to have been a terrible mistake. Such instances, not rare, are enough to prove, even to the most virulent of his feminine detractors, that man, “made in the image of God,” has something godlike about him still; something that we women are justified in admiring and adoring, devoting, nay sacrificing ourselves to him; as I am afraid we shall do to the end of the chapter.

But the sacrifice ought to be a just and right one, else it is worse than useless—sinful. Any self-devotion which makes its object selfish and conceited—as a man can scarcely fail to be with a circle of women blindly worshiping him; any foolish tenderness which, instead of strengthening, weakens him; any slavish fear which rouses all his dormant love of power into positive tyranny—these things are, in us women, not virtues but vices. A certain novel lately published, entitled “This Man’s Wife,” in which a “pattern” woman believes blindly for about twenty years in a villain of a husband, sacrificing to him her father and mother, her child, two faithful friends, once lovers, and herself, is a picture that outrages all one’s notions of common sense and justice; and when the woman dies at last, one is inclined to say, not “What a martyr!” but “What a fool!”

The relation between men and women ought to be as equal and as righteous as their love; also as clear-sighted, that by means of it each may educate and elevate the other; both looking beyond each other to that absolute right and perfect love, without which all human love must surely, soon or late, melt away in disenchantment, distaste, or even actual dislike. For love can die; there is no truth more certain and more terrible; and each human being that lives carries within himself or herself the possibility of being its murderer.

It will be seen that throughout this paper I have held a medium course, because, to me, at least, this appears the only one possible. Neither sex can benefit by over-exalting or lowering the other. They are meant to work together, side by side, for mutual help and comfort, each tacitly supplying the other's deficiencies, without recriminations concerning what qualities are or are not possessed by either. The instant they begin to fight about their separate rights they are almost sure to forget their mutual duties, which are much more important to the conservation of society.

For, let them argue as they will, neither can do without the other; and though, as I remember once hearing or reading, it is most true that only at one special time of life are they absolutely essential each to each; that after the heyday of youth has gone, most men prefer the society of men, and women of women (unless of the one, if ever found, who is their other half, "their spirit's mate, compassionate and wise"), still, in most lives, and above all, the married lives, a man is to a woman and a woman to a man, even when all passion has died out, a stronghold, a completeness, such as no two women or two men ever can be to one another.

To sum up all: I fear that, argue as we may, we shall never arrive at any clearer elucidation of this great mystery than the eminently practical one conveyed in most perfect poetry by one of the wisest of our century, whose serene old age will only confirm the belief of his ardent youth, that women and men are

“ Not like to like, but like in difference,  
 Yet in the long years liker they must grow :  
 The man be more of woman, she of man ;  
 He gain in sweetness and in moral height,  
 Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world :  
 She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,  
 Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind.  
 Till at the last she set herself to man,  
 Like perfect music unto noble words.”

THE AUTHOR OF “JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN.”

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE ?

It is a truism to assert that the object of life which men desire to pursue, both consciously and unconsciously, is their own happiness. But it is also true that little is asserted thereby, for since the conditions of men's happiness are varied in the extreme, the objects to which they devote their lives are correspondingly diverse. The man of unsympathetic temperament finds his happiness principally in himself, while the sympathetic man is more or less dependent on the happiness of others for his peace of mind. Then, what men actually do seek, and what their larger happiness would require them to seek, are often different things. In the present essay I shall endeavor to state what appear to me to be worthy, nay, necessary, objects of living. And the criterion of worth or of good shall be "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." And I will also consider incidentally to what extent life is worth living to those who are unable to pursue what they may suppose to be their greatest happiness. From the nature of the subject I shall be compelled to utter a good many truisms, and I shall consider myself fortunate if some of these do not approach dangerously near to being platitudes.

"The greatest happiness of the greatest number" is not always subserved by sympathetic or altruistic actions. The path of life activities is already marked out for men in the necessity by which their physical being demands food and protection from the forces of surrounding nature. The activities required by this situation form the back-bone of human life, and the sympathetic actions are its ameliorations and adornments. No advantages to the race in general could arise from a permanent escape from the exercise of the faculties necessary for support and protection. The sympathetic temperament which would do this for men is only profitable as the function of a special class or sex. But the doing of good to one's fellow-beings is so inter-

woven with our own happiness that we cannot separate them. It is this fact that justifies the belief in the utilitarian or "selfish" theory of morals. Whether there be any absolutely unselfish acts it is not now worth while to consider, excepting so far as to remark that such are to be found, if at all, in generous acts done for the first time, when the consequent gratification has not been experienced. But most of these will have been performed in obedience to an instinct or sentiment of generosity which is happy in the act, and which feels its accompanying pleasure in anticipation. In any case, if the object of life is to subserve the greatest good of the greatest number, we must reap some benefit from the general happiness which this implies.

The relations of life may be considered under two aspects ; viz., in the relation of human life to the universe in general, and in its relation to the present existence on the earth. The relation to the cosmos involves life as a phenomenon transcending the present human existence, and as, therefore, existent beyond it, both antecedently and subsequently. This point of view has an importance of its own, but I cannot discuss it in this essay. I therefore confine myself to the earthly life.

Objects of terrestrial life are pursued either from necessity or from choice. A large part of human acts are performed in consequence of our relations to the physical basis. The greatest freedom from this necessity is enjoyed by the rich, but even to them liberty is only partial. I therefore consider the subject under two divisions, the necessary and the voluntary objects of pursuit in life.

For completeness' sake I must here refer to good health and good physical tone as essentials of happiness. The intimate connection between the two things is well enough known to many people, but too many others do not seem to have a sufficient appreciation of this important fact. A certain surplus of vital energy is apparently devoted exclusively to the production of "good spirits" and cheerfulness. If this energy is dissipated in large quantities, periods of depression are sure to follow. A permanent state of such depression is naturally to be dreaded. Much evil follows from it: faith is less easy, since fear is ever lurking in the mind ; suspicion is more easy,

since suspicion is allied to melancholy. They who are depressed through dissipation are sure to suffer from physical unhappiness, and to become more or less criminal at such times. And nervous depression, from whatever cause, is a source of unhappiness without justification, and the parent of many forms of pain, especially of jealousy, the meanest of all the emotions, with its plentiful crop of murders and suicides. To sustain this physical basis of cheerfulness is, then, one of the most important objects of our efforts in life. Failure to understand or to do this is the basis of a very large percentage of the pessimism in the world. Let it be remembered also that physical pleasure is not a permanent mental acquisition. It can never be truly revived in memory. The only real building is performed by purely mental processes, either emotional or rational. The use of pleasure is that of a relief or counter-irritant to the stress of labor, and it is the reasonably employed laborer who most enjoys it.

The necessary objects of life come under two primary heads, viz., the necessities imposed upon us by our dependence on food and shelter for our existence, and those imposed by our bisexual organization. Both of these interests involve us in further labors, which have protection from enemies as their object. Both departments of life involve co-operation with other human beings, the first mentioned chiefly between men, the second chiefly between men and women. It is this interaction which instructs us as to the nature of our fellow-beings, or of man in general, and which shows us, sooner or later, that in the most important respects the human race is one. The most important practical result of this information is the further knowledge that mankind is necessarily happiest in observing the rule, that they shall not do to others what they would not have others do to them. When this rule is observed, antagonistic passions do not arise, and the various consequent perils to affection, to person, and to property, are avoided. Under such circumstances life is enjoyable, and is worth living, for there is a pleasure in human society to which few persons are insensible.

But the exercise of the faculties necessary for protection and defense is pleasurable in healthy persons. This is to be inferred from the preference for their own specialty which most

workers display. The brain-worker does not envy the laborer, and the laborer is glad to escape the effort attendant on brain-work. Above all, work in the open air develops agreeable physical sensations. The pleasure of repose is known only to those who work, and who are not overworked. The pleasure of work has, of course, its limits ; and excess in this, as in all other directions, brings with it its equivalent suffering. Those who, for various reasons, do not find pleasure in their work, must seek it elsewhere. The field of social enjoyment is often open to the laborer. He has greater chances of securing it than the non-producer. The family is better protected by the common interest which requires common exertion. Employment gives fewer opportunities for vice, and health gives to social life a hue and zest far different from that which it has for the inactive. The greatest pleasure in life is obtained through contrast. The man who has congenial labor and congenial social relations fulfills the conditions of the greatest happiness. When the one palls, he turns to the other ; or, better, each one is ever new after the temporary forgetfulness caused by the other.

To our social natures we owe the intenser forms of pleasures and pains. The first indications of social affections and passions are to be observed in the mutual relations of the sexes, and in the parental instincts of animals pretty low in the scale. Which appeared first in time is not easily ascertainable. Darwin supposes these affections to have their origin in agreeable physical sensations, an hypothesis which is entirely reasonable. But in man and in many of the mammalia this consideration is now left quite out of sight by the extraordinary force of the purely mental passions, which present themselves under the two phases mentioned. This result must be ascribed to the usual one, development by use. From these centers have radiated, so to speak, the milder sentiments of friendship and benevolence. To all forms of social affection, admiration for the qualities of its objects lends additional force.

The great utility of the affections of family must be conceded, not only from their intrinsic importance, but from what they represent in evolution. The sex relation has been, and is still, at the foundation of a great deal of development. While

the interests of the members of the same sex often bring them into collision with each other, those of opposite sex cannot normally do so. While the contests of members of the one sex are the active agent in evolution by rivalry and force, the relations of opposite sex furnish the inducement to progress offered by mutual admiration and pleasure. Among men, the necessity of pleasing, and of inspiring the respect of the opposite sex, has a great deal to do with the becoming pleasant and respectable. The mental pleasure which persons of opposite sex can give each other is well worth all the labor it costs, and would be alone an object worth living for, were there nothing else. The pleasure which children give to their parents is worth the little trouble they give, and parents whose children do them credit consider themselves well rewarded.

But it is possible to escape all the pleasures derivable from human intercourse in direct proportion as one element of character is wanting. That quality is faith. "Faith begets faith" is a well-known German saying, and its opposite, "Suspicion begets suspicion," is equally true. No amount of human affection can endure continued suspicion of motives, whether moral or personal. In fact, the real fall of man takes place when faith dies, and suspicion takes its place. Could we imagine a community constituted on the basis of such feeling as this, we might safely conclude that the principal element of human happiness was wanting, and that the utmost prosperity in other respects would scarcely make life worth living. To maintain mutual faith between men is, then, one of the highest aims of the philanthropist. Now, the basis of faith is honesty.

Some lives may be cast in surroundings which are altogether unpleasant to them. Their work may be uncongenial, their family relations unpleasant. But it is within the range of possibility for such persons to change these relations. No obstacles should be placed in the way of amelioration in these respects by other persons. It should be possible for every person to secure, without let or hindrance, that share of happiness which may be obtained in this world without injury to others. It is not necessary to seek for or to cherish unhappiness that can be morally avoided, for there will always be enough suffering that is un-

avoidable. But to such as derive no happiness from their environment may come the higher pleasure of improving their environment by their voluntary efforts. Hence I come to the next source of happiness, viz., voluntary objects of life.

To contribute to the sum of human happiness, apart from one's own immediate enjoyment, is a well-known source of happiness. Here the truly altruistic faculties come into play, and the sympathetic nature finds exercise. Passive excellence, as beauty, gives pleasure to others, but the active forms of benevolence are the most highly valued by their recipients.

Work for others may be classed under three heads: (1) the supplying of physical necessities; (2) the satisfying of mental needs; (3) the cultivation of ethical methods in the community.

The supply of the physical necessities of others comes under the two heads already mentioned. It may be done also for persons of the same family, or for persons not of the family. The latter is the form to which the term benevolence is usually applied. It requires to be practiced with judgment, since the support of paupers is not useful to the community. Common humanity, on the other hand, calls for our effective aid to the laboring classes when work cannot be obtained, and to all persons who unavoidably suffer for want of physical necessities.

The supply of mental necessities is a service of great importance, and one not sufficiently appreciated. We can consider the satisfaction of the affections first, and of the intellect afterward. The satisfaction of the affections should be within the reach of every person. It is an inalienable right of man to have this, even more than to possess the earth; and there can be no advantage to society in refusing to grant it. Of course, its acquisition is contingent on good conduct, or harmonious interaction, as well as on general compatibility of character between human beings. Men can render each other material assistance in this direction. This may be often derived from aids furnished to clear thinking. Intellect and affections so constantly interact that all human conduct is a resultant of the two. The affections furnish the leading motives, the intellect the *modus operandi*. This *modus*, however, extends, in minds capable of generaliza-



tion, to the modus of happiness in general. So it often happens that the understanding furnishes a "rule and line of faith and practice." Hence the importance of knowing the truth. Thus is the importance of science to human practice vindicated, quite apart from its utilitarian aspects as usually understood. The discovery of the laws of creation cannot fail to be of the utmost importance to men. If the order of the universe is good, we are blessed in knowing it; if it is bad, we must know this also, so as to be able to provide against the evil. But the system is probably good, since, in the long run, the good only is permanent. But we must find out what is this good in all its parts, otherwise we may misdirect our lives. Hence, knowledge is good.

The third field of benevolent labor is that of ethical cultivation. In this department we produce the most immediate effect on human conduct. To teach men faith in each other, and to teach men to deserve that faith by being honest, is the most immediately beneficial of human enterprises. We could better do without any other form of benevolence. It is a special work, requiring special mental qualifications. Its successful pursuit is a source of the most elevated pleasure of which man is capable, both to beneficiary and to benefactor. The laborer is endeavoring to bring order out of disorder, harmony out of discord. He is a creator and a sustainer of social organization, and of all the happiness that flows from it. Such service to men deserves much reward, but in most instances it carries with it the recompense of conscious utility, rather than one of a more material character.

There is one form of ethical culture in which a sense of its importance will compel us to take part, and that is the forcible resistance to evil. The world is not yet in a condition which will enable us to "resist not evil" under all circumstances. The law, and the conflicts which its enforcement involves, have slowly evolved the moral sense of man, so that the present century finds this faculty well developed in a great many individuals of our race. The process has been one of relentless severity, and thousands, yes, millions, of men have been sacrificed in accomplishing the result. Millions have learned what is ethically right, and they are in the habit of doing it more or less of the

time. Other millions have not yet learned what is right in various respects, and their practice is, therefore, the less satisfactory. Under the circumstances, we cannot yet cease to "resist evil," and give up the police and the courts, as Count Tolstoi would have us do. But Christ did not hesitate on account of the condition of the world to introduce a pure ethical system. He knew that men had found the natural system a severe one, and he told them that if they would all follow his method they would "find rest unto their souls," which is undoubtedly true. So we must regard the world as in a condition of transition from a "state of law" to a "state of grace;" that is, as making the passage from under a "law of conflict" to a "law of harmony." Since this growth is not yet completed, we are compelled to resist evil.

This resistance, in every-day life, is to many not a pleasurable service. To others it may be the excuse for the gratification of a combative, or even a sanguinary, disposition. There is a wide ethical contrast between the conduct of a man who refuses to accept a drink of alcohol when he feels that he does not need it, and the man that joins a party of lynchers on pretense of doing justice, but in reality to commit murder without fear of consequences. It is in this field that moral courage has its opportunity, and it is here that moral cowardice is so frequently displayed. It is here, also, that the ethical critic will have to draw the line between just indignation against wrong and the indulgence of vindictive anger. If resistance to evil were more general the world would be better. Those who do not condemn themselves for omissions in this respect may feel a satisfaction in believing that the world is better for their having lived in it.

I have endeavored to summarize briefly the very numerous methods of enjoying life which lie open to man, and wish now to add the further remark that many of these avenues of happiness are not sufficiently occupied. The prevalence of the insane idea that an expensive manner of living and a display of wealth constitute the basis of human happiness is at the bottom of much of this. However much we Americans may imagine that we have improved in our political ideas over the country from which most of us have drawn much of our blood, we have not entirely

rid ourselves of the one fault of the English character. I refer to that stratification of the mind, that moral strabismus in the vertical plane, which prevents that people in large part from viewing mankind in a horizontal relation, but which estimates them according to a scale of quantity of money, or of supposed quality of blood. To these Molochs we may partly ascribe the slow progress made by the pure sciences and the fine arts at the hands of native Americans. It is only the old worship of force, supplemented by the Semitic idea "that gain is godliness."

Science owes many of her lights to the church, through the earnestness and love of truth which she inculcates. But having sown the seed, she has generally endeavored to suppress the growth of the vigorous plant. Her practice generally has been to teach what men ought not to do, but she often fails to teach what men ought to do. She teaches general ethics, it is true, but omits to set forth clearly the practical occupations of ethical life, especially as applied to those persons who are independent of their personal labors for their support. When a man has acquired a competence it is a practical problem how he shall spend his time. The church says, generally, "Work for the church or in the church;" and for what? Suppose more independent persons are, through their exertions, added to the church, what shall they do? Work for the church again, I suppose. And so human society would pursue an endless circle, beyond which it would never rise. In the previous pages I have endeavored to define some of the objects of life, which may occupy the time which many men and women have at their disposal. Without occupation there is no happiness. And that occupation should not be an unvarying routine, a continued circle, but a spiral, in which every necessary return of unavoidable activities should find us a stage beyond our last one in the ascent to greater light and more permanent happiness.

E. D. COPE.

## THE MANNERS OF CRITICS.

IN a recent number of "Harper's Magazine" (in the part of it I always read first) Mr. Howells touched on some delightful questions: What is the use of critics? What is the use of criticism? What should be the manners of critics? Here are topics on which every critic or reviewer would like to say his say. "We have all a reason for existing, we and our works," as Mr. Matthew Arnold once admitted in a candid hour. But what is the reason for the existence of us critics? The answer, if the answer can be found, will be independent of many other questions about reviewers. Yet even on these problems, on our manners and customs as a tribe, a word or two may be expended. Mr. Howells finds (he is talking of American critics) that the critical tone is sometimes ruffianly, though "perhaps one ought to add that it might not be consciously so." Critics are beset by temptations "to be personal, to be vulgar, to be arrogant." These charges may well make each critic examine his own conscience. Who among us can deny to himself that he has occasionally (or often) been, if not "ruffianly" or "personal" (those large, manifest reefs it is not so hard to shun), at least arrogant and flippant? *Mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*, one is obliged to exclaim, and only the absence of a large round stone prevents me, at this moment, from imitating the example of St. Jerome, and beating my breast, like the saint in early art. What critic who reviews the mass of current novels and essays and verses, "those he gives his daily dreadful line to," but is conscious of often being flippant and arrogant? "Before a man of taste gives pain, think how much he has suffered," says Lessing. The critic suffers a good deal. The temptation to mock is often very great, though it should not be insuperable. The critic, if he is only a man of moderate intelligence and education, is so superior to the common majority of novelists and poets that he

cannot help feeling it and showing it. He ought to overcome this deadly sin, *superbia*; but she is always there, always whispering her counsels of contempt for the grammar, the ideas, the plots, the rhymes, the sentiment, the humor, that are too often presented for his consideration. Now the practice of reviewing—daily, weekly, and monthly—begets the habit of *ὑβρις*, of “wanton violence.” Therefore, when a book of merit, or modesty, or value comes before the critic—filled with virulence as he becomes from the study of trash—he is apt to be disrespectful to his betters. This is all quite true. I admit it, for one, with unfeigned penitence. But I don’t admit that any critic is necessarily, and *ex officio*, a meaner being than the person criticised. Mr. Howells talks respectfully of “the work of people who actually produce something.” But the critic actually produces something—his article or review. Now, that review may be a “something” so infinitely more amusing, learned, and interesting than the something which gave it occasion, that one sometimes thinks the ordinary author’s *raison d’être* is to supply stuff for the reviewer. Nobody will deny that many essays of Théophile Gautier and Paul de St. Victor are of much more permanent value, are much more actually “something,” than the forgotten plays about which they were nominally written. In the same way, on a much smaller scale, one has been diverted by reviews of novels which, themselves, could have diverted no rational being.

The mention of two considerable French critics, men of genius condemned to cut blocks with a razor for their daily bread, reminds me that Mr. Howells traces the iniquities of American criticism to the parent errors of the English reviewer. Naturally, inevitably, if American criticism has faults, they are an example of atavism. They “throw back” to the ancestral English stock or model; it cannot be otherwise while English is the language of American literature, and while the blood of English literature, from Beowulf to Bunyan, runs in her veins. If our modern literature has faults, too (and of course she has hundreds), their example must be of evil influence, especially as English books are admitted to the States without prohibitive tariff, and, indeed, are to be purchased rather cheap. Had the

Irish people been the European parent of American literature, the faults and merits of Celtic literature would have been present in that of America, and the same rule applies to French or German. Now, I am not denying that modern English criticism has faults. "As I know them most intimately, so I might denounce them most severely," as Alcibiades said about his countrymen. The criticism of writers in the daily press is often, and unavoidably, hurried. Indeed, perhaps it should rather be regarded as "news" about new books, or "special reports" of their contents, than as a judgment of manner and matter. This is the case, above all, when a reviewer has to write something in a column and a quarter, on half a dozen books; say, on a novel, a book of African travel, a work on "The Origin of Printing," another on "The Origin of the Family," a fifth on "The Art of Tying Salmon Flies," and a sixth on "The Fathers of Congregationalism." You can hardly secure a judge who has devoted a lifetime to each of these topics. The reviewer tries to make his column entertaining, and to give his readers an idea of their chance of being amused or instructed by the books noticed. That is nearly the most he can do.

This is not criticism at all, it is a branch of reporting. "News," too, not criticism, is the *compte rendu* (partly with scissors) of a big book, a biography, perhaps, published on the day of producing the article. If we are to discuss the use of criticism, and the demerits of English and American criticism, all these snippets of "short notices" may be swept aside. We may as well disregard, also, the brawls of gentry who swagger into the journals as Shakespeare's bully swaggered into a tavern, laying his sword on the table, and praying heaven to send no need of it. The paragraphs of these gentry are bludgeonly vaporings, so to speak; they are not, they do not affect to be, criticism. "What, in the name of the Bodleian, has the general public to do with literature?" asks the author of "Obiter Dicta." These writers of personalities about every man of letters whose name is known, have nothing to do with literature, and cannot be called critics. We are in no way concerned here with *their* manners, any more than with the manners of Sir William Harcourt. Why should any man of letters read the newspaper tattle

about himself and his doings? What on earth does it signify? These brawlers need no bad example, and will not soon be reformed, except by public disdain.

What one means here by criticism, is the deliberately and publicly expressed opinion as to the merits of a book. You can see, in reading a review, whether the reviewer has put his heart into it; whether he is saying something that he really wants to say about a book. He may do it well or ill, in good or bad temper, but we suppose that he does it sincerely, that he does it with interest. That, for the nonce, may be regarded as criticism. Now, I am not blind to the demerits of our English criticism, or, indeed, of our overtaken, out-worn people in general. But I can hardly agree with Mr. Howells that our criticism is much worse than that of other European peoples, and is a more perilous example to America. Mr. Howells asks for what I sincerely hope he may get, "a little courtesy, or a good deal; a constant perception of the fact that a book is not a misdemeanor; a decent self-respect that must forbid the civilized man the savage pleasure of wounding." If these qualities are present in American criticism, they will "at least approach it to the Continental attitude, and remove it from the British."

On reading this, and more about "the false theory and bad manners of the English school," \* I felt another of the pangs with which an English patriot has long been familiar. At home, abroad, everywhere, we blunder, I know, and (when we are permitted) plunder. But is it absolutely fair to speak of "the false theory and bad manners of the English school" of criticism? Are we sinners beyond other men? Is there an "English school" at all? Have we not courteous and discourteous, impartial and partial, learned and ignorant critics, and are not other nations even as ourselves in all these things? One may hope so, and may also hint an opinion that sweeping charges against the manners of a nation, indictments against a whole people, will not really conduce to general urbanity. We are all really pretty much on a level, all we civilized people. Critics in every land are a crowd, not a "school." Human nature being what it is,

\* I never knew an English critical writer call an author "The ideal cad." This was a transatlantic amenity!

the few are just, sober, learned; the majority are hasty, petulant, prejudiced, and by no means free from that survival, "the savage pleasure of wounding." I have read with disgust, in England, criticisms of American authors which were mere explosions of spleen. But these exhibitions of temper do not make an "English school."

I doubt if there is an "English school" at all, and if there be, I doubt if it is more misguided and discourteous than its neighbors. In this respect we think there has been an improvement. When we had a strong literature—Scott, Byron, Coleridge, Keats, Wordsworth—we had a violent school of criticism, writing on savage political impulses, writing with a frantic disregard of anything but inflicting torture on poets presumed to be of hostile politics. Lockhart, Southey, even Wilson, wrote some deplorable reviews. Now we have a weaker literature, but are more anxious (in poetry and fiction) to see things as they are. The crowd of hasty critics, here as all over the world, write often under the stress of passion, of personal and exclusive tastes, of anger at contradiction, of desire to make the hostile and captive author dance at the torture stake. In America, perhaps, these errors are not unknown. An American novelist and poet certainly danced at the torture stake, and reviled his tormentors like a courageous brave, a few months ago. Nor are we incapable of Iroquois emotions. The natural man within me is hungering for the scalps of several poets, British and foreign, at this moment.

But the American excesses may all be the result of the bad English example! Let American reviewers "approach criticism to the Continental attitude," and how will they behave? Why, one novelist and critic may write of other novelists like this: "Mr. X. has invented and patented an ideal pomade, a sentimental syrup. He is Tompkins and water, as Tompkins is Jenkins and water." Or again (let me choose English names at random, as equivalents for the French names), one critic and novelist, adopting a Continental attitude, will say: "Mr. Besant and Mr. Black are broken down and played out." Or he will remark (he is a producer, a creator, as well as a critic): "Nobody speaks of Mr. Wilkie Collins; I know not if



he is writing still;" or, "Mr. Rider Haggard sells well, it is true. So do spelling-books and prayer-books. I prefer 'Hop o' My Thumb.'"\* Or again: "The works of Alexandre Dumas are a rubbish heap of old volumes, which nobody can read, and which will soon be rat's-meat."

My American brethren, have we, have you, a distinguished and popular novelist and critic, who, avoiding English errors, adopts this Continental attitude, who rails at his contemporaries, discusses the sale of their works, and prophesies a public of rats for our beloved master and friend, the creator of Porthos, Athos, and Aramis? No, this attitude is exclusively Continental, and, substituting English names for French, I have translated the passages quoted from the collated criticism of M. Émile Zola.†

It may be answered that M. Zola (whose genius I sincerely admire, with qualifications) is an exception, a wild man, not a fair specimen of the foreign critic. There is a good deal of truth in that, but did the ordinary run of French critics (fellows like us reviewers in England) maintain a Continental attitude that was dignified, and worthy of being an example to America? No, they arose up, and called M. Zola "a plumber." Why a plumber? I know not; it is too Continental a joke. They also said (the other critics) that M. Zola purposely tried to lower the sale of books which his publishers did not bring out. M. Zola remarks that the other critics want to assassinate him, and "*mes feuilletons amenaient toute la critique autour de moi, avec des haussements d'épaules, des rires, et des sifflets.*" What a collection of Continental attitudes!

Of course I do not mean that Continental criticism is always like this. There is plenty of fair, urbane, delicate criticism. But read M. Robert de Bonnières on M. Schérer. You may laugh; it is, indeed, excessively funny, but is it not cruel? Read M. Jules Lemaitre on M. Ohnet: "As a rule I treat of literature; to-day, by way of exception, I touch on M. Ohnet's novels." Is there none of the fierce humor of the Iroquois there, and in all that follows?

\* There are few works of fiction to which I, personally, do not prefer "Hop o' My Thumb," but that is not the question.

† "Les Romanciers Naturalistes," Paris, 1881, pp. 349, 363.

I prefer French criticism to any: the French write better about books, at present, than any other people. But even the people who write best do not invariably set, as we have shown, the example that Mr. Howells desires. As for the ordinary crowd of newspaper notice writers, even if they do not positively deserve all that M. Zola says of them in "Mes Haines" and "Le Roman Expérimental," they scarcely seem so very much better than even the English school. For example, let us look at this week's "Academy." One has seen wild things in the "Academy." There was one review of an excellent novel of Mr. Howells's, that looked like the work of a critic hardly fit to be trusted with edged weapons, such as pens. Presently this odd reviewer called Victor Hugo "the most notorious of nobodies." If the English school of criticism followed such examples, then, indeed, all would be over. But I look at the latest number of this English critical paper, in which, by the way, the reviews are signed, and there is no editorial "we," or very little of him. It is quite consoling to see how fair and urbane, on the whole, is the criticism. It is much like what one finds, for example, in the "Nation." Both journals adopt an excellent attitude. First, in the "Academy," one reads an extremely candid, clear, and courteous review of Mr. Gardiner's "Great Civil War," by Professor Seeley. One finds a review of Mr. Lewis Morris's "Songs of Britain," which illustrates the vulgar weakness of coincidence-hunting, but displays, at least, every desire to be fair. Seven novels are treated, briefly, but kindly and carefully, except in two cases, where, it appears, the less said the better. Some studies of "The Invention of Printing" have been severe, almost personal, but I have heard that the critic is not an Englishman! Finally, Professor Sayce, instead of jumping on and crowing over Captain Cowden's "Hittite Inscriptions," reviews the book with studied moderation and urbanity. Compare the anthology of German amenities which the "Revue Critique" lately collected from a learned Teutonic journal. Some professor was "dancing" another specialist—an old pupil, too—accusing him of most literary sins, and finally cutting him off without a shilling, and dismissing him, with a professional curse, into the wilderness.

What moral does one draw? Simply that all critics, of all countries, should follow the good and reject the bad examples of their foreign contemporaries. There is a bad and a good Continental attitude, just as there is a good as well as a bad attitude in English or American criticism. The besetting crimes of critics are many. First, there is what the French call (not in very good French) *exclusivisme*. A critic has his pet likes and dislikes; he makes them a canon. He says: "Let us have no fiction but romantic fiction, all the rest is dull word-spinning." Or he says: "Down with romance, give us competition with nature." He therefore reviles all romances, or all novels of minute analysis, as the case may be. Scott was better advised when he said that, though he could do "the big bow-wow style very well," he had the highest admiration of Miss Austen's delicate and humorous pictures of character. Whoever sets up the banner of one method or style inevitably forces other men to "peal the banner-cry" of something else,\* and the criticism is lost sight of in the smoke and stir of battle about private preferences. Again, the critic has a besetting sin of quarreling with an author for not having done something other than what he has done. The poet brings a romance of Arcady or an idyl of Syracuse. "You go and write ballads of the slums, of the palpitating present," says the critic. The poet brings a ballad of the slums. "You be off, and write on scenes untouched with the horror of modern life," cries the critic. "Not here, O Apollo! are haunts meet for thee." Finally, there are no haunts left for Apollo at all. Homer says (perhaps when his Iliad had become a little *passé*), "Men love best the newest songs." Theocritus says that every one cried, "None of your new songs, Homer is enough for all of us."

Such is human nature, discontented, hard to please; and such, above all, is the nature of the critic, who is nothing if not critical. Not only is the critic apt to be exclusive, and apt to ask for something always different from what is given him, but he becomes horribly ill-tempered. He snaps if another critic, of another tribe, attacks his domestic institutions or assails his favorite authors, and then there is a critic fight, and the garden of the

\* "Hell" in the original passage of "The Lady of the Lake."

Muses becomes a bear-garden. Critics! men, my brothers (and ladies, my sisters), let us try to keep our tempers! If an American brother throws the tomahawk at our dukes (poor evanescent survivals), let us with roses crown his "bosses," his civic aldermen, his Judge Lynch! If our transatlantic kinsman lifts the hair of our novelists dead and gone, and wears it with his wampum, let not us hunt the scalps of his native braves. The value of their work is not altered for the worse because one of their chiefs unburies the tomahawk, and starts on the war-trail among our local sachems. Why does the young Induna of the Kukuanas hurl the assegai at the Jossakeed of the Great Smoky Mountain? Wherefore is the pot of the Ama-hagger made hot for the head of the Medai Man of the Undiscovered Country? Let us be more easily pleased, and not seek spots in the sun. Even Sir Walter can be long-winded, and there is no doubt that his grammar *laisse à désirer*. I have found a dread "and which" in "The Heart of Mid Lothian." Shall I lift my hand against our magician? No; let us be more easy-going, let us swap stories round the camp-fires of the magazines, and smoke the calumet of peace. The clouds float up fragrant to the Great Manitou. The old braves are with him—Hawthorne and Cooper, Thackeray and Scott, Poe and Washington Irving. Pityingly they look down on us, and on these wars and jars of their children, the story-tellers and the listeners of England and America.

ANDREW LANG.

## AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

It was found, in the outbreak of the civil war, that great captains could not be made extemporaneously. We gave shoulder-straps and titles to many respectable citizens, who often found, to their own cost, that they were not commanders by instinct; and thousands of our volunteers were sacrificed to their gross ignorance of the art of war. Possibly experience may have taught us something in this great matter; but as to diplomacy and legislation, we are as improvident, rash, and culpably stupid as ever. "These are the men that make our laws," said a humble porter on a railway train at Albany last winter, as he pointed contemptuously at a company of State legislators passing out of his car like a herd of swine. All their conversation and conduct, to say nothing of their looks, had been such as to make the humble citizen feel that laws enacted by such men were not worthy of being obeyed. Probably not one of them had ever turned a page of history to learn his art, or thought upon the fact that a legislator cannot be extemporized. Even for naming a county or a village these people need to take lessons from the sages of antiquity.

How many of our senators have ever read the "Cratylus"? Take an example:

*Socrates.* Can you tell me who gives us the names which we use? Does not the law seem to give them? If so, the teacher, when he gives us a proper name, uses the work of the legislator. Now, is every man a legislator, or the skilled only?

*Hermogenes.* The skilled only.

*Soc.* Then not every one is able to give a name, but only a [poet] maker of names. Such is the [true] legislator; of all skilled artisans in the universe, the rarest."

Socrates shows that the legislator, in giving names, must learn of the dialectician, and know the "natural fitness" of words to things. The Greek consulted, always, τὸ πρέπον.

Any violation of fitness and propriety tortured not only his ear and his eye, but his soul also. Greek art was born of such a soul. The curves of the Ionic column and the matchless proportions of the Parthenon are witnesses of what is done for mind by the education of a people to a due respect for the fitness of words to ideas, and of ideas to nature and to natural laws of decency and propriety.

Here is the starting-point for my present inquiry; I am concerned for the influence of gross vulgarity in the choice of geographical names, upon the minds of our youth in the common schools. We smile at such incongruities, but rarely reflect upon the serious aspects of a wholesale perversion of rhyme and reason in the naming of places throughout a great extent of territory. A teacher of much experience, with keen insight of character and of what goes to form the minds of the young, awakened my own heart and conscience to the moral bearings and influences of our monstrous nomenclature, and convinced me that this evil is no slight thing, but a serious matter. Tom Moore lashed us long ago for an absurdity of nomenclature at the capital, where

“What was Goose Creek once is Tiber now.”

But he might discover, under the flag of England, even more ludicrous examples; as, *e. g.*, a “London” near Lake Erie, with its “Thames” and its “Westminster,” its “Piccadilly” and its “Waterloo Bridge.” “Paris” is not far off, but there is no Channel betwixt the twain. Doubtless the “Louvre” and the “Tuileries” may be found in the latter; the gin-shop or the petty playhouse would be sure to make booty of such bits of nomenclature. Need we argue that such an idiotic abuse of words and things, on a scale positively immense, becomes not merely a nuisance, but an injury to mind and character, and to the manners of the people? It demands the attention of the “true legislator,” of the social philosopher, of the moralist, and of the professional educator.

For example, the experienced teacher to whom I refer assured me of strange confusions resulting in the youthful intellect from the unnatural treatment to which it is subjected in

elementary science. The child goes to school, let us suppose, in "Ithaca," under the shadow of a university. He is told that he should first learn something about his own birthplace, town, county, and the like; and accordingly he commits to memory the required first easy lesson, and triumphantly answers the teacher's questions. He is applauded for his performance of this simple task, and is conscious of knowing something when he takes his place "next to the head." What does he know? That "Ithaca" is a village in central New York, near the town of "Ulysses," in the county of "Tompkins;" that adjoining towns are "Hector" and "Dryden;" that north of "Hector" lie the towns of "Lodi," "Ovid" (pronounced Oh-vid), and "Romulus;" that "Tully," "Homer," "Virgil," "Fabius," and "Pompey" are towns and villages not far away, with which must be associated "Lafayette," "Pharsalia," "Smithville," and (to appease the shade of Socrates, perhaps, by reverence for the legislator) last, but not least, "Solon."

I was assured of the painfully ludicrous impressions of the child in subsequent processes of "disillusioning," if one may adopt the word. The shopkeeper who ventured forth from Boston to Niagara, in the first enthusiasm of travelers by the "Grand Erie Canal," is said to have returned a wiser man. Yet he was enchanted with scenery and everything else, but especially to find the familiar names of "our Boston niggers, 'Cato,' 'Hannibal,' and the like," everywhere economized, in those regions, to designate their prettiest villages. The first convictions of the schoolboy in Ithaca are less ignoble, but he knows very well that such are the names of post-offices and county seats in his immediate neighborhood. He is somewhat staggered in his early studies of American history to find "Lafayette" the name of a hero. But this explains itself. He sees that the city of "Washington" and the town of "Lafayette" are so named to compliment the mighty dead. Who then was "Ithaca"? Another American general, or what? An older scholar laughs at him, and shows him that "Ithaca" was the name of an island in old times. He gets somewhat befogged when he comes to "Ulysses," and finds that it was not borrowed from General Grant; that, in fact, it was the name of an ancient

worthy, who, when he happened to be at home, was found in "Ithaca." Alack-a-day! Our little student learned, to begin with, that "Ithaca" and "Ulysses" are both in New York; and now he infers that the island came here in search of the hero, who was always a fugitive. From these examples, infer the confusions engendered by other instances. "Greece," "Holland," "Pulaski," "Mexico," and the like serve with "Scipio," "Sempronius," "Marcellus," "Byron," "Chili," "Castile," etc., in mingled scorn of biography, history, and topography, to make "confusion worse confounded;" for all these names are mispronounced with most ingenious cruelty to orthoepy, prosody, and other branches of learning. Moreover, we have two "Auroras." One is known as "East Aurora," probably because it is a hundred miles west of the other. We infer that there is a "West Aurora" somewhere, though the "Aurora," if we except polar ones, has generally been regarded as synonymous with a phenomenon of the Orient. So we have "Cuba" and "Havana," also; but both are villages, and are in no way allied, lying many leagues apart. "Schuyler" is the historic name swamped in "Utica," and a disputed original is deposed by "Syracuse." We must not forget "Rome," ever greeted with laughter, when the railway official shouts it for the benefit of passengers. It is a beautiful town, but one looks in vain for seven hills, the great ditch of the canal being its conspicuous feature, as seen from the train. This place is entitled to the honest historical name of "Stanwix," or "Great Stanwix," if it must be distinguished from a smaller place which has taken to itself what was "vilely cast away."

The map of the State of New York resembles nothing so much as what housewives call a "crazy quilt." It is made up of rags and patches from the old world of Europe and Asia, though Africa, also, is represented by "Carthage," "Egypt," "Utica," "Cairo," etc. And all this is the more lamentable because the Iroquois region would be glorified, or, at least, not debased, were the Indian names retained. The savages had music on their tongues if not in their souls, when they gave names to the scenes which the touch of comparative civilization has so terribly disfigured. Look at what they have bequeathed



to us in the names of our lakes: "Ontario" and "Erie," "Candaigua," "Cayuga," "Onondaga," "Oneida," and the like. Then we have, for local uses, "Tonawanda," "Geneseo," "Canisteo," "Oneonta," "Owasco," "Awaga," "Tuscarora," and "Tioga." Mercifully, the falls of "Niagara" have been saved from the mockery of a borrowed name, though we no longer pronounce the word as in Goldsmith's day:

"Where wild Oswego spreads her swamps around  
And Niagara stuns with thundering sound."

Our own State has indeed been unfortunate, not alone in the sticking of such a name as "New York" upon the great mart of the New World, but, as if the force of folly were unlimited, in outstretching the same name of a town over an empire, from Montauk Point to Lake Erie. It might have been named "Ontario" or "Iroqua," "Adirondah" or "Mohegon;" or "Montauqua" itself, though that is the more fitting name for Long Island, once known as the "Island of Nassau." What a noble name for the metropolis was thrown away, when it just missed being called "Manhadon," a name fit to be sounded with "London" or "Madrid." Here too, by a fatality, we find everybody calling the island "Man-hat-on," a ridiculous sounding of syllables each one of which has meaning in itself; suggesting an old squaw, wearing, as usual, a man's hat. Antiquarians may insist that "Manhatoes" or "Manahatta" was the Indian name. What of it? Let us euphonize, as did the Greeks and Romans. Every schoolboy knows that *tau*, *delta*, *theta*, are but varied forms of the same consonant, and that they may be interchanged. So says Plato, if we want authority, putting it into the mouth of Socrates: "Now, attend to me, and remember that we often put in and pull out letters in words, and give names as we like, changing accents," etc. This is a law to be remembered in restoring our Indian names, and all the more are we free to do so with words of an extinct people. "Konjoc-quetty" may be rendered "Conjoquada," by this rule, or may be reduced to "Conquada;" just as, with excellent taste, "Michilimackinack" has been euphonized into "Mackinaw."

To multiply examples would too greatly enlarge this paper; and we may well despair of the case when we think how the

entire land is degraded, more or less, by similar absurdities. Vespuccius has despoiled Columbus in naming the continent; and the United States of America still lack a national name. Here, indeed, we may cite the "Lesser Asia" as a precedent for our adoption of "America" as (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*) our undoubted designation; though in Germany and France we have known, not only South Americans, but Mexicans and the blackest Haytians, passing themselves off as "Americans." Once we saw an honest son of the Puritans suffering from wounded pride, when a learned German rebuked him for ungenerously restricting that name to his countrymen of the great republic. It is true that not a few of our States are happy in their names; none more so than Virginia, perhaps. Georgia and the Carolinas, with Maryland, may also be congratulated. "Pennsylvania" is not a pleasant combination; Delaware is very fortunate. "Alabama" is a delightful collocation of vowels and liquids, with one solid mute for substance. Also, many of our new Territories are very admirably provided for. "Dakota," "Niobrara," "Nebraska," are good examples. "Wyoming," for a Territory, is the senseless duplicate of a name which Campbell has immortalized, and which there is no excuse for repeating; while there are names innumerable, like "Minnehaha" and others, which should be utilized and allowed to make their own associations.

This disposition to reduplicate or repeat is in itself injurious to the popular mind; it impoverishes, robs us of our resources, and creates a habit of beggarly imitation. Look at the post-office list of "Franklins," "Pikes," and "Washingtons." Then we have "Pikeville," "North Pike," "South Pike," "Pike Center," "East Pike," and "West Pike." Why not "Turnpike" and "Pickerel"? The odious terminal "ville" is worn to shreds. Our language furnishes us with many very graceful endings for such uses. Of these, Miss Cooper gives us a good store, with directions for use, in her charming "Rural Hours." The Saxon, Danish, and Norman endings to be found in English geography are happily instanced; and surely Mr. Snooks would be as well pleased to have his village called "Snooksby," or "Snooksbury," or "Snooksham," or "Snookswich," or "Snookschamp," or "Snooksdell," or "Glensnooks," or simply "Snooks" by itself,

as to see it lettered at the railway station, with ever-recurring poverty of invention, as "Snooksville." The worst of it is that we borrow terminations with shocking contempt of propriety, suffixing "mont" to a patronymic like "Dyke" where there is neither mount nor ant-hill to justify it. We have over and over again such forms as "Dartmouth," where there is no Dart and no mouth; in short, no river and, of course, no mouth of a river to suggest it. We have "cliff" where all is a dead level, and "plain"—even "Champ-plain"—where all the scenery is mountainous. Probably the worst of our follies, on practical grounds, is the application of "Washington" to an enormous Territory, soon to be admitted as a State. One would think the final "ton" sufficiently indicative of a town or city to be left to the grand use it so well subserves in the name of the national capital. But no; after peppering the maps with this noble name, and making it a by-word in its senseless recurrence, always, everywhere, and *ad nauseam*, for mountains, hills, vales, villages, country corners, and favorite racing stallions, it must now be pulled out, like a coverlet, and spread over the boundless wilderness. This vast territory is watered by the "Wallowalla," from which "Wallowa" might be not unhappily framed, though scores of even more beautiful and far more appropriate names have been left to the region as a heritage by the vanishing tribes that once had it all for their own.

We have often turned over the maps of France and Italy, for the mere delight of glancing at the charms of their geographical nomenclature; so many names musical in themselves and almost all so rich in their associations. This latter charm has yet to be made among us; but we can even now provide for history, so that none of our future poets shall be born at "Skunkville," or even at "Podunk Center." We recall, with something like pain, an eloquent tribute to a departed man of worth, which was marred in a very touching period which the author rounded off into bathos by an allusion to "Pompey Hill." Poor Horace couldn't manage "Equotuticum;" it wouldn't work into hexameters, and so it remains conspicuous for absence in his tale of the journey to Brundisium:

"Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est."

Alas for the unborn poets of America who shall attempt to narrate a tour in verse through the beautiful lake region of "Western-New-York"! Think of that composite itself, to begin with—three words made one name, and constructed like a raft of timber to be towed by a steaming tug on the tide of song! Yet, save us from names that aim to be specially beautiful: "Melrose" and "Belmont," "Vaucluse" and "Clara-val"! Solidly ugly names will answer very well: "Liverpool" might even do for verse, just as Shakespeare's ludicrous patronymic, and our own delightful Longfellow's, have glorified themselves in sound and sense. No need to reject names merely because of their homely forms, where they are appropriate. "Horseheads," for example, is historical, and need not be apologized for, though its neighborly "Big Flats" would not prove a becoming birthplace for a great sage like Dr. Johnson. We despond when we come to "Painted Post;" do let us know its color. Why not "Red Post," with reference to its aboriginal character? For "Buffalo" we may say a good word, its very ugliness having an honest charm about it, so that it is quite capable of being turned to good account in history, though not in song. One would suppose nobody could grudge it to its rightful hold on Lake Erie; yet take up a Gazetteer, and you will find a herd of "Buffalos" rampant through all the land. They say, indeed, that not even Red Jacket remembered to have seen a live buffalo on the spot, which some wag undoubtedly named—*lucus a non lucendo*. We can hardly accept as more than a myth what some affirm, viz., that early French explorers found a white man there leading (*boeuf à l'eau*) his ox to water.

But the practical question is, must we perpetuate abuses so monstrous, and what is the remedy? First, let us define the abuse, and be sure what classes of our names require a remedy. Should we not recognize the traditional names of towns in Virginia and Massachusetts, as justified by the history of our colonial immigration, when the sad settlers, delighting in the sounds of syllables that recalled their native villages and the homes they should never see again, gave us "Exeter" and "Dorchester" and "Boston," or "Hampton" and "Richmond," and

even an "Isle of Wight," on a principle natural to the human heart? Comparative antiquity and historic relations between the old and new must determine the question, in behalf of such instances, no doubt. There is a legitimacy about them, taking all things into view; but there let it stop. A reduplicating echo should not be tolerated. Kentucky need not give us the whole series again, because its settlers came from the Rapid Ann and the James; and why should the progeny of Connecticut scatter biblical names over the interminable West, giving us "Bozrahs" and "Bethels" and "Shilohs" from sunrise to sunset, and degrading these holy spoils of Scripture to designate many a den of thieves, and regions "which have no relish of salvation in them"?

So much premised, we assume that the schoolmaster, who has been "abroad" too long, will come home by and by, and insist that his task shall not be stultified by the gross ignorance and stolid indifference to reason and common-sense which have done so much to debase our nomenclature hitherto. For the naming of post-offices in new districts there should be some law at Washington; and Congress should not admit a State under the name of "Washington," for the plain reason that it must introduce very serious confusion, for post-masters, railways, expressmen, tradesmen—in short, for individuals in every walk of life. Letters directed to "Washington" will get lost more generally than ever. "I am going to Washington;" "I live in Washington;" "Just came from Washington;" "What news from Washington?"—let us reflect how many, and how ludicrous at some times or how serious at others, must be the blunders thus resulting. But this sort of nuisance may be readily estopped: the question is how to get rid of your "Cæsarvilles" and "Pompeytowns." The easiest thing in the world. Let us have practical legislation to promote a return to aboriginal names, and let historical societies and schools and colleges direct attention to the study of local antiquities, with this end in view. Let every spot, if possible, gain a name of its own, and let all names at second-hand be discouraged. Let there be but one "Olean," one "Towanda," one "Casagah," in the whole republic; and if the postmaster recognizes one "Garfield," or one "Granton," let

that suffice. Historical societies might file improved maps in the home office. Then, where unfortunate designations are to be dropped, a general law should provide that a town and village give due notice for one or two years beforehand, obtaining, also, the post-office license from Washington. In a short time, "Funkville" or "Cato" would become known, legally and popularly, as "Osage" or "Noyong," even as the Canadian "York" of former days was metamorphosed into "Toronto," as if by magic, and with universal applause. I remember this transformation well. Making a trip to Niagara, as a lad, it was my purpose to extend the tour into Canada, at least to "Little York," as the canal-boatmen called it; "York," in their dialect, being sacred to the great city at the mouth of the Hudson. Till I reached the Genesee I had never heard of "Toronto." There, stage-coach advertisements and showbills announced the route "from the Falls to Toronto (late York), in Canada." In a month's time "Toronto" was its name forever; and from the Atlantic to Lake Superior nobody has ever heard of "Little York" again, since that summer of 1836, until now, when not a few will learn for the first time that this transformation occurred.

Let me urge upon my countrymen, as practical and worthy of earnest consideration, the idea of giving none other than historic and, if possible, aboriginal names to the yet nameless features of our scenery. Historical societies should institute auxiliary clubs, to rescue, if possible, the Indian names of every region of our vast domain. There are beautiful streams, lakes, hills, and mountains which have no names at all, or none other than local designations, as "Smith's pond," "Tom's run," "Toad hill," or "West mountain." We have the fair names of the "Kaatskills" and "Adirondacks." "Shawangunks" may be melted into the "Shawangas," and "Helderbergs" may well remain. But every knob and peak and knuckle of these ranges should have a name both dignified and worthy of preservation. How precious they will become when our future poets weave them into harmonious verse. Dr. Holmes has given some happy examples, *e. g.*, in his lines :

" Where white Katahdin o'er th' horizon shines,  
And broad Penobscot dashes through the pines."

Again he writes :

“ On Yorktown’s hills and Saratoga’s plain.”

He cites (or was it some mere wag?) the sonorous lines of Goldsmith :

“ Farewell, and oh ! where’er thy voice be tried,  
On Torneo’s cliffs or Pambamarca’s side,”

and then profanely asks how would it read, “ were ‘ Pambamarca ’ changed to ‘ Belchertown.’ ” Surely one may deem it a duty to God himself, in gratitude for the glorious scenery he has made our inheritance, not to disfigure it with names that deprive beauty itself of half its charm. There is cause for national gratitude that the decisive battle of our historic period is forever to be remembered as “ Saratoga,” and that our earlier annals are made romantic by association with “ Horicon ” and “ Ticonderoga.” Multiply such names, and our future poets will not envy even Dante’s mellifluous rhyme, rejoicing, as it does, in the affluence of the names which Italy contributed to his Tuscan song ; names which have much to do with all that has ennobled its literature in olden time. Milton has imitated it, in all his poetry, with wonderful skill picking out of geography such names as “ Ternate ” and “ Tidore,” and appropriating from “ th’ Etrurian shades ” their “ Fiesole ” and “ Vallombrosa ” and “ Valdarno,” and ranging from “ Mozambique ” to “ Fontarabia ” for the honeyed sounds most suited to his verse. If there is truth and reality in my plain talk with my reflecting countrymen, they will yet enrich their native land with a nomenclature which even the Tuscan could not contemn, and save it from debasement which Hottentots would not inflict on the wastes of Southern Africa.

A. CLEVELAND COXE.

## GREAT TELESCOPES.

WITHIN the first century after Galileo's invention of the telescope, in 1609, it grew to a length unrivaled in our days. Instruments were made, and actually used, more than two hundred feet long, and Auzout constructed one object-glass with a focal length of nearly six hundred feet, though we find no record of its use. These "aërial" telescopes, as they were called, were introduced by Huyghens, and a six-inch object-glass of his, with a focal length of one hundred and twenty feet, is still preserved in the museum of the Royal Society at London. It belonged to the instrument with which he discovered the true nature of Saturn's ring. The telescope had no tube; the object-glass was mounted in a cell of its own, and was attached to a tall pole in such a way that it could be raised or lowered, and made to face in any direction. The observer stood on the ground below, with his "eye-piece" (which was much like a large spy-glass) so mounted on a tripod that it could be pointed up to the object-glass. As may be imagined, it was a delicate and difficult task to manage such an instrument, requiring no little skill and patience to catch a fleeting glimpse of the lovely apparition (for Saturn is indeed lovely) as it majestically sailed across the field of view. The reason for making these old telescopes so long was that in this way the effects of what is known as the "chromatic dispersion" of light are to a great degree obviated. The image of a luminous point, formed by a simple lens, is surrounded by a colored fringe which makes it more or less indistinct, and, with a given magnifying power, this indistinctness is less as the focal distance of the lens is greater.

But though the practical superiority of long telescopes was known, its reason was not understood until about 1670, when the optical discoveries of Newton first made it clear. He, how-



ever, supposed (erroneously) that the dispersion was always proportional to the amount of refraction, no matter what might be the material of the refracting lens or prism. On this hypothesis dispersion must be simply remediless, and he therefore turned his attention to the action of mirrors, and invented and constructed a reflecting telescope of the form which still bears his name, and is now more used than any other. His little instrument, also preserved in the museum of the Royal Society, was only about an inch in diameter and six inches long; but it was more than a match for a six-foot refractor of the existing pattern. A year or two earlier a Scotch philosopher, Gregory, seems to have proposed (but not actually made) a reflector of a somewhat different and, in some respects, more convenient construction, which became for a while very common, though now practically obsolete. A few years later, Cassegrain, in France, invented a third form of the instrument, and his construction is even now used in two of the largest existing telescopes, the twenty-eight-inch instrument of the late Dr. Henry Draper, and the great four-foot reflector at Melbourne.

The inestimable advantage of every form of reflector is that it is absolutely impartial in its treatment of rays of every sort. Unfortunately, this great excellence is, for most purposes, overbalanced in the comparison with the modern refractor, by serious defects, one of which is the non-permanence of the polished surface of a speculum, and another, perhaps the most serious, the "pernickety" sensitiveness of a reflector to the slightest distortion due to variations of temperature or position. But during the whole of the eighteenth century reflectors held undisputed pre-eminence as telescopes, though for instruments of measurement the refractor continued to be used, because it lends itself more kindly to combination with spider-lines and graduated circles. About 1750 the English optician, Short, was especially celebrated. Some of his so-called "Gregorian" telescopes of ten, twelve, and even eighteen inches diameter, and from eight to twelve feet long, far surpassed all their predecessors, and would be ranked to-day as high-class instruments.

But the great telescope of the eighteenth century was the famous forty-foot reflector of Sir William Herschel, which had

a speculum four feet in diameter. It was incomparably more powerful than anything ever dreamed of before, and only one larger instrument has been constructed since; three or four, however, have been made of about the same dimensions. We need not recount the story of the great musical astronomer's career; how he became his own optician, and came to make, in 1781, for the first time in history, the discovery of a new planet (all the older planets were known before history began), and how the king knighted him, gave him a permanent salary, and provided him with funds to build his gigantic telescope. The instrument was completed in 1789, and on the very first night of its use he discovered with it a new satellite of Saturn, and very soon after another, the nearest and smallest bodies of the great planet's attendant retinue. The excellence of Herschel's telescope is attested by the fact that he was able to observe them in all parts of their orbits, even when nestling most closely to the mother globe—a thing not easy, even with the best instruments of to-day. The great instrument was mounted in a curious way on a sort of naval structure of masts, ropes, and pulleys, which nowadays would be considered rather clumsy, and ill suited to delicate observations. The whole affair was so unwieldy that during the later years of Herschel's life he used it but little, his favorite instrument being the twenty-foot reflector which afterward, in the hands of his son, was made so effective at the Cape of Good Hope. The framework of the great telescope gradually fell into decay, and at last, in 1839, it was taken down, the tube was closed, and the speculum was removed and fastened to the wall in the hall of the old residence at Slough, where it still remains, its polish somewhat dimmed by age, but not yet wholly lost, even after the lapse of a century.

Passing for the moment over the earlier development of the modern refracting telescope, we find no more reflectors worthy of notice in comparison with that of Herschel until about 1835, when Lord Rosse and Mr. Lassell again resumed the subject. The former of these gentlemen, in 1838, completed an excellent instrument of three feet diameter, which still continues useful in the hands of his son. Encouraged by this success, he pushed on to build another, which he completed in 1844—the enormous

instrument which for more than forty years has held unchallenged supremacy as the leviathan of telescopes. The great speculum of metal weighs three tons, and is six feet in diameter. The tube is nearly sixty feet in length. It is mounted between two massive walls of masonry, in a manner which enables it to command about one-quarter of the sky. But the mounting is not equatorial, nor is the defining power of the speculum, under ordinary circumstances, all that could be desired, so that its use is somewhat restricted. Its immense light-gathering power, however, makes the instrument unrivaled for certain classes of observations, such as those upon faint nebulæ and upon lunar heat, so that it still continues in pretty constant employment.

Mr. Lassell's first large instrument, built in 1845, was only two feet in diameter; but it was of the highest optical excellence, and was mounted equatorially, so that it was a "handy" as well as a powerful telescope. With it he discovered, independently (but not first), the seventh satellite of Saturn. This telescope is now at Greenwich, having been presented to the Royal Observatory by the Misses Lassell after their father's death. In 1863 he constructed a much larger one, with a speculum four feet in diameter, also mounted equatorially. This he took to Malta (where he had already spent several seasons with his two-foot instrument), and with it made an important series of observations upon planets and nebulæ. After his return to England the instrument, for some reason, was never re-erected, and we understand that it is no longer in existence.

About 1857 Foucault and Steinheil made a great improvement in the reflecting telescope by introducing, in place of the metallic specula used up to that time, mirrors of silvered glass, which are more easily and accurately figured, and give a much brighter reflection, to say nothing of the fact that the material is far more easily obtained. With one exception, all the large reflectors made since 1860 have mirrors of this kind; the single exception being the four-foot Melbourne telescope, which was made by Grubb, of Dublin, in 1870. The large silvered glass reflectors now existing, of diameter not less than two feet, are, we believe, the following: In France there are the two thirty-two-inch telescopes at Marseilles and Toulouse, constructed about

1868, and the four-foot telescope of the Paris Observatory; the latter, however, is practically worthless, on account of the irregular flexure of the mirror. In England the only one at present is the admirable three-foot instrument erected by Mr. Common in 1879, and very recently sold in order to make way for a five-foot instrument, which he is now constructing. If Mr. Common has anything like his previous success, the new instrument will surely be superior to Lord Rosse's "leviathan;" and, perhaps, in some respects, even to the great Lick refractor. Within a few days we have also heard that the English optician, Calver, has just completed a mirror of fifty-one inches diameter for Sir Henry Bessemer. In America the only reflector of large size is the twenty-eight-inch Cassegrainian which the late Dr. Henry Draper constructed in 1870. This will soon be remounted at Cambridge, along with the rest of his apparatus for astronomical photography. Reflectors of apertures less than two feet are somewhat numerous, but we believe that we have noticed all that exceed the limit mentioned.

The history of the modern achromatic telescope begins about 1760, when it was found that, by the combination of two or more lenses of different kinds of glass, object-glasses can be made nearly free from the "chromatic aberration" which is the bane of the single lens, and that in this way refracting telescopes may be constructed of fine definition and reasonable length. Before the close of the century the Dollonds, who held a patent for the invention, had constructed hundreds of telescopes of small size, and a few that were as much as five inches in diameter. For many years extreme difficulty was encountered in getting glass suitable for the lenses, but about 1800 the art of optical glass-making received a great impulse and improvement through the discoveries of Guinand, a Swiss mechanic. He was engaged in 1805 by the Optical Institute of Munich to teach his art to Fraunhofer; and the secrets of his process, which are still carefully guarded, are now possessed by three different establishments: the Munich firm of Merz, the English firm of Chance & Co., and the Paris optician, Feil, who is a descendant of Guinand. All the existing refractors of a diameter exceeding twenty inches have been made either from Chance's glass or from Feil's.

The Merzes have never made anything larger than the Strasburg telescope of nineteen inches aperture.

The first of the great refractors was the famous Dorpat telescope, completed by Fraunhofer in 1824. It was nine and a half inches in diameter and fourteen feet long—an enormous advance on Dollond's five-inch instruments. It did not keep its supremacy very long. Telescopes of eleven and twelve inches diameter were soon made at Munich, where also, in 1838, was constructed for the then new observatory of Pulkowa the magnificent fifteen-inch instrument which for twenty years remained unsurpassed; not unrivaled, however, for in 1847 its twin brother found a home in Cambridge, Mass., and instruments of about the same size, though not equal in quality, were erected in Paris, and at Markree, in Ireland.

In 1860 our own Clarks, of Cambridgeport, who had already acquired great skill and reputation in optical work, undertook the construction of an eighteen-and-a-half-inch telescope for the University of Mississippi. This instrument was finished in 1862, when the satellite of Sirius was discovered with it; but in consequence of the war its destination was changed, and it went to Chicago, where it has been for many years doing good work. In 1867 and 1870 two still larger glasses were made in England. The first, belonging to Mr. Buckingham, has a diameter of twenty-one and a fourth inches, with an object-glass figured by the optician Wray; the second is the great twenty-five-inch telescope, by Cooke, belonging to Mr. Newhall, of Gateshead.

Since then seven other instruments have been made of an aperture exceeding twenty inches, viz.: First, the twenty-six-inch Washington telescope, made by the Clarks, and erected in 1873. It was with this that Hall discovered the satellites of Mars. Second, the twenty-three-inch Princeton telescope, by the Clarks, erected in 1882. Third, the twenty-seven-inch instrument of the Vienna Observatory, by Grubb, of Dublin, erected late in the same year. Fourth, the thirty-inch telescope of the Pulkowa Observatory. The object-glass of this was completed by the Clarks in 1882, but the mounting, by Repsold, was not finished and put in place until the end of 1884. Fifth, the twenty-six-inch telescope of the Leander McCor-

mick Observatory at the University of Virginia, a sister instrument to the one at Washington. It was contracted for in 1870, but various causes delayed its erection until 1885. Sixth, the twenty-nine-and-three-fourths-inch telescope of the Bisschoffsheim Observatory at Nice, the object-glass by the Henry Brothers, of Paris, and the mounting by Eichens. We have not yet heard of its actual erection, but the instrument has been ready for some months, and unless the recent earthquake has injured the observatory, the telescope ought now to be in place. The seventh instrument, by far the largest, most costly, and powerful of them all, is the thirty-six-inch Lick telescope. The object-glass was completed by the Clarks last summer, and has been safely delivered at its destination. The mounting, by Warner & Swazey, of Cleveland, O., is well under way, but it will probably be fully a year before the enormous sixty-foot tube will be directed to the stars. It will be by far the most expensive astronomical instrument ever constructed, having cost in place nearly \$100,000; and \$15,000 more is to be paid for a "photographic corrector," if the glass disk to make it of can be procured within any reasonable time. As it is the most costly, so it will be the most powerful, unless, along certain limited lines of observation, the new five-foot instrument of Mr. Common should outdo it. But, considering the advantage of the mountain atmosphere, this is not likely to happen.

We must not omit to mention that an eighth great refractor, of twenty-eight inches aperture, is now constructing by Grubb for the Greenwich Observatory, and that an instrument of twenty-nine inches was ordered for the Paris Observatory some years ago. The order for the latter has been suspended, for certain reasons which cannot be detailed here.

And now a word as to the advantages of great telescopes. *Cui bono?* Considering their cost and unwieldiness, are they really worth while? That depends upon one's point of view. If the object is simply for a given sum of money to get the greatest quantity of astronomical result, probably, No. If it is to push to the utmost the range of astronomical inquiry, to carry investigation to the extremest limit of possibility, leaving no path untried, no stronghold unassailed, unquestionably and emphat-

ically, Yes. To aim at the highest, reach for the remotest, and attack the most inaccessible—nothing less than this will or ought to content our human effort.

It is to be frankly admitted that for ordinary work enormous instruments are not advantageous; those of moderate dimensions \* will do far more easily and rapidly the work of which they are capable. It would be poor economy to shoot squirrels with fifteen-inch cannon. Observers with smaller instruments, if they have sharp eyes and use them faithfully, can always find enough to do and can do it well.

But the great telescope has two advantages which are decisive. In the first place, it collects more light, and so makes it possible to use higher magnifying powers, and thus virtually to draw nearer to the object studied than can be done with a smaller one; and, in the next place, in consequence of what is known as "diffraction," the image of a luminous point made by a large lens is smaller and sharper than that made by a small one. The smaller the telescope the larger are the so-called "spurious disks" of the stars, so that in the case of a close double star, for instance, where our nine-inch telescope shows only an oval disk, the twenty-three-inch shows two fine, distinctly separated points.

It is true that the atmospheric disturbances, which always prevail to a greater or less extent, very seriously affect the use of large instruments. The "power of the prince of the air," which is to an astronomer the very type of the "total depravity of inanimate things," on nine clear nights out of ten deprives a great telescope of much of its just superiority, so that on an ordinary night a good observer with an aperture of twelve

\**Apropos* of this, an anecdote. The present Earl of Rosse was in the United States in 1884, and visited our observatory at Princeton. The writer was exhibiting our large telescope to him, putting it through its paces, showing how easily and rapidly it could be managed, and perhaps swelling just a little with a not unnatural pride as the great thirty-foot tube obeyed the slightest touch. His lordship was perched up on the observing chair a dozen feet above the floor, quietly attending to the evolutions and explanations, when he suddenly punctured the bubble of my conceit by remarking, "I have always thought that a moderate sized instrument is better than a very large one." Moderate-sized, indeed! But then his telescope is twice as long and more than three times the diameter of the Princeton instrument—a little more than eighteen times as big.

or fifteen inches can make out all that can be fairly seen with twenty-four or thirty inches at the same time. And yet the writer has continually verified in his experience the observation of Mr. Clark, who said: "You can always see with a large telescope everything shown by a smaller one—a little better if the seeing is bad; immensely better if it is good." But when a really good night comes, as once in a while it does, then to a great telescope heaven opens, new worlds appear, new forms and features are discovered, old illusions are dissipated, and observations and measurements before beyond the reach of human skill become possible, easy, and accurate.

But, on behalf of the users of great telescopes, who are sometimes rather carpingly attacked, it is fair to remind the public that to a great extent much of the proper work of such instruments is of comparatively little popular interest. They are and ought to be directed in their routine work mainly at objects too faint, small, and difficult for ordinary telescopes to deal with; and such objects seldom excite much enthusiasm in the uninitiated, though conscientious study of them is just as essential to the advance of science as that of more conspicuous bodies.

Of course it is impossible to predict what discoveries will be made with the great Lick telescope when it is erected on its mountain of privilege—very likely none; it is not possible now to go out at night, as some seem to think, and pick up "discoveries" as one would gather flowers in a forest. But we may be sure of this, that it will collect data, with micrometer, camera, and spectroscope, which will remove many old difficulties, will clear up doubts, will actually advance our knowledge, and, what is still more important, will prepare the way and hew the steps for still higher climbing toward the stars.

C. A. YOUNG.



## THE GIST OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

THE most perfect forms of beauty in the world are found in the organic kingdoms. In any organism, complete in its way, all parts are united in a harmony of processes and powers. The latest of all organisms, the most complex of them all, the most inclusive of them all, the most beautiful of them all, is human society. If we believe these assertions, we must also admit that the most signal imperfections and wrongs are in the relations of men to each other; and that all lifting, enlarging forces, and all repressive and retarding ones, are struggling just here for the mastery. In that movement onward, whose wheels are the centuries and whose driving-wheels are the millenniums, all energies accumulate, all resistance is heaped up, at this very point—the organization of society. The phase of this conflict with which we are dealing is the relation of labor and capital, hand and head, the palpable and the less palpable energies that hold together and build together the social organism.

If we look at any sample of human society in its economic, civic, social relations—say the society of the United States—we are struck with the awkwardness with which its parts go together, the multiplicity of the non-adjustments and mal-adjustments it everywhere contains. Each man should find a place and render a service in society, and society should need, accept, and reward his labor. If this were true there would be comparative comfort and safety everywhere. It would not matter that services, and hence rewards, are not identical; every man would still have a place, and stand in it to his own pleasure and profit, and to that of others also. Nor is there any impossibility, in the nature of the case, of such a perfect adjustment. There are not too many men—whatever may be true hereafter—nor too few resources in our country for this arrangement. The resources are yet much in excess of the demands made upon

them. The obstacles in the way of this organization of society are not found in conditions over which man has little or no control, but in himself, and in circumstances over which his control is well-nigh complete. If men were moderately wise and moderately virtuous they would begin to fall together in action like clock-work, and to measure off the prosperous years with the quiet tick-tack of a diligence neither hastened by the frenzy of speculation nor delayed by the discouragements of failure.

Some seem to think that a result of this high moral order is to be secured by an implicit obedience to natural laws, while others think, more wisely, that in the use of these natural laws are to be developed the intelligence and the good-will which are the highest attainments of man. The organism of society is neither economic nor moral exclusively; it is both, and is, therefore, while resting on a broad basis of imperturbable natural law, to be built up by insight, deep and wide, into spiritual relations, and by obedience to them, cheerful and complete. It is for these two elements, intelligence and good-will, directed under economic law to this very end, social organization, that the movement waits; without these it cannot proceed prosperously. The non-adjustments and mal-adjustments of society must find their correction in intelligence and good-will. They are beyond the range of merely natural law. When they are corrected, that correction will lie in increased intelligence and good-will. The plant grows by the light, and so it must grow in the light and toward the light. The light of all our living is the divine love.

If we look at society as it offers itself with us, we see that there is a constant tendency to disintegration. Men are failing to find a place in it; are failing to render a service, and so to secure a reward. The tramp is a completely disorganized element; the workman who is drifting from man to man, from place to place, to find work, is a partially disorganized one. Extreme poverty is the product of disintegration, and tends to further disintegration. Society has no need of the very poor. Its elements of ferment exclude them. They lie upon the surface, mere scum, waiting some process of final riddance.

There are said to be, in times of depression, one million of

men out of work in the United States. This must mean that there are several millions whose occupation is irregular; who are taken into and dropped out of society according to circumstances. A railroad is in process of construction in the immediate neighborhood of Madison, a city of some fifteen thousand inhabitants. Said an overseer to me, who had a portion of this work in charge, "I can pick up at once in the streets of the city three hundred men." This tendency with us to leave men by the million only partially occupied contains the very gist of the difficulty found in the labor question. It is with this unorganized material that society, as an organization, is contending. It is this alien matter that throws it into convulsions. Not till these men find a permanent and a fitting place in society can society be at rest with them.

The economist looks to competition—that is, the strife among men, prompted by self-interest—to remedy this evil. This evil, however, is simply disclosed by competition, and waits removal by other and more comprehensive laws under deeper and more benignant tendencies. Without any denial of the unavoidable nature of competition, or of its value in its own field, we must still think that its office is often misunderstood, and quite too much enlarged, while a remedy for its disasters is looked for in the wrong direction. The error is not unlike that which has attended on civic punishments. It is a first principle with a mere police officer that punishments are remedial. If, then, they fail of prevention, there is but one resource—an increase in quantity. This is the strict allopathic treatment for social ills.

Competition has two effects, a fortunate one of forecast and an unfortunate one of failure; one of reward and one of punishment. The chief benefit, almost the entire benefit, of competition lies with the first of these two, while great and growing evils may be found in connection with the second. The wise, thrifty man gets ready for competition; he anticipates it; and in this anticipation lies the secret of his success. He varies his goods, he makes them better in quality, he cheapens them in cost, and so he escapes the pressure of competition. Competition is something to be escaped, not accepted, and it does its most beneficent work in deterring the industrious from coming under it.

The fool, on the other hand—and the fool includes the ignorant, the weak, and the vicious—passes on and is punished. There is very little regeneration in this punishment. In reference to further mischief, there are five parts of propagation in it to one of prevention.

Here comes in the demand for intelligence and good-will. These men must be prevented from suffering the pitiless punishments of unwise competition. Because they are weak and ignorant and vicious, they are the proper subjects of the collective good-will of society, seeking to organize itself in the light of its own ideas. To throw these men back on themselves is to check that beneficent impulse which is the very mainspring of social life, and to commit higher interests to lower and insufficient incentives. Nothing short of moral force can give moral life, and nothing short of moral life can meet the claims of men on each other. The diligence with which shrewd men prepare themselves for the market contrasts most painfully with the blindness with which the ignorant are left to stumble upon it, having but one poor commodity to sell, that of labor. The specializing power in social organization, giving each man his function in commerce, is chiefly felt in this very preparation for trade. Master Moses Primrose is not the only precocious lad who, with a "miscellaneous education," is likely to return from the market bearing "a gross of green spectacles with silver rims and shagreen cases."

The poor are, of course, the weak in the economic world, and competition takes sides with the strong. Those are the fittest who survive, though they are by no means necessarily the fittest in that moral world to which we are hastening, any more than the tiger is fitter than the ox, or the hyena than the man. We are apt to speak of competition as if, in its many forms, it were one and the same fact, the same universal and beneficent law. We make no sufficient discrimination between constructive and <sup>destructive</sup> competition—competition which implies the free <sup>activity</sup> of all the economic forces involved, and competition which <sup>is</sup> its <sup>else</sup> thing more than their last stage of disastrous repression <sup>face,</sup> <sup>me:</sup> <sup>stortion.</sup> There is no greater difference between a fair <sup>There</sup> <sup>unfair</sup> race than between fair and unfair competition.

Much pains is required to institute and maintain fair competition for laborer and capitalist alike. The three advantages that lie between buyer and seller are almost uniformly with the capitalist. These advantages—say for the buyer—are fewness of number, lightness of demand, and ease of delay. The correlative disadvantages which so often burden him who has labor to sell are the number of laborers, the urgency of their demand for employment, and the immediateness with which it must be met.

These difficulties are now enhanced by the great division of labor incident to the extended use of machinery, and what may be termed the looseness of labor which follows from it. While skilled labor of a high order is still demanded in connection with the oversight of the processes of manufacture, these processes are themselves so subdivided and simplified as separately to call for very little skill. Most workmen find, therefore, their personal value greatly reduced. Their services can be easily exchanged for the services of others, and the masses of unoccupied laborers below them can be let on, like a flood, to take their place. There is thus very little opportunity either to gain or disclose individual excellence, and little motive on the part of the capitalist to search for it. Workmen are treated collectively, by shops, by classes, by gangs. It is better for the employer to lose the services of a good man than to make an entire shop uneasy by a discrimination in his favor. These unindividualized laborers, whose capabilities are not high in any direction, who can be played off against each other in many directions, are greatly increased by the introduction of machinery. All this tends to disorganization.

The comparatively tyrannical past had an organization of society more positive than that of the relatively free present. The guilds of workmen had only to keep the gate of their own fold closed, and they had a safe defense from outsiders. The coarsest form of labor was arbitrarily enforced on the soil, and so each man had a place which at least carried life with it, if not a desirable life. Now there are large numbers who do not necessarily find any place, and to whom nothing, therefore, is assured. Freedom is outrunning intelligence, and the unintelligent, unable to shift for themselves, float about loose in society ;

wretched, and, by their extreme competition, carrying wretchedness wherever they go. While there has been a great gain, on the whole, in the condition of the laborer, new evils have been developed which must be met by new devices.

The Knights of Labor differ from trades unions in more distinctly recognizing this gist of the labor question, by including laborers more widely in their organization, and so winning for workmen a collective hold on society. This residuum of the unoccupied is what the Knights of Labor have to contend with in strikes. This it is which often makes strikes necessary, and which renders them so extended, so bitter, and so disastrous. A narrow association of skilled workmen, as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, rarely finds any occasion for collective resistance to unjust demands. Such workmen are in a condition for fair competition—a favorable sale of their services. There are no outsiders who can at once, with the same commodity or an inferior one, force down the price of their labor. But in this specialization, and consequent power, they are the exception, not the rule. Under the insensible gradations of skill in labor, and the large number of undeveloped workmen in the lower strata, a constant pressure is maintained in most occupations, which compels laborers to satisfy themselves with barely holding their place. If they question the terms offered them, those next below press up; they are thrown out of employment, and must themselves, in turn, play that very unfortunate part whose function it is to ruin the chances of their fellows.

Thus this semi-specialized, half-occupied labor is the Old Man of the Sea that has fastened on to the thrifty, ambitious, and industrious workman, and will not be shaken off. The Knights of Labor have tried to rid themselves of it by wider organization, but this brings corresponding extension and desperation into every effort at resistance; and so the throes of labor become a spasmodic convulsion that endangers the peace of the entire community. This evil is likely to be more urgent with us in the immediate future than in the past. We shall either begin to find the principles of just organic relations in society, or to suffer under an increase of hopelessly repellent elements. The problem hitherto has been immensely lightened by the absorbing power

of the great West. Millions of men have been lifted, by the opportunities offered in its fertile soil, many grades in life. A miracle of progress, such as the world has not before seen, has taken place. But this relief is being rapidly exhausted, and has helped to draw a tide that may now aid in submerging us.

The upper and lower classes—capitalists of great wealth and workmen of extreme poverty—affiliate by a common feeling and a common interest as against the simply thrifty and prosperous—the body of the nation. The extremely poor respond readily to the pressure that is upon them. They do anything to live. The very rich keep what they regard as the mastery of their business—their own terms of advantage in dealing with labor—by having their allies in the poor, whom they can use at any time to constrain obedience. An instinctive love of power binds them to the very poor in their pliancy, and separates them from the independent and thrifty in their refractoriness. It has often happened in the world's history that the upper and lower strata of society have been as mill-stones to the intermediate one. But if unspecialized labor—loose, not free—is the gist of the difficulty in the labor problem, what are the remedies? We can but suggest them. They must be many, concurrent, profound, as the evil itself is the outcome of our entire method. The object aimed at is to reabsorb labor that is rapidly losing its office in society, and is embarrassing and breaking down the organization already present with us.

1. We must recognize labor organizations, and control them by aiding them. These organizations have their unspeakable advantage: they bring the attention of workmen and of the public to the questions at issue, and the difficulties involved in them. They do not allow social evils to increase in gravity till they become irremediable. The mistakes, failures, and disasters of these combinations are one and all insignificant, when compared with this great gain of untiring effort after progress. It is not surprising that capital, having the game in its own hands, should cry out against these organizations, and, in presence of these dangerous elements of disturbance, fill the air with clamors against the violation of economic and social principles involved in them. They forget that capital is combining in many most

unwarrantable ways for most inadmissible objects. An effort to discover justice is the most pregnant and productive one in the world's history.

2. We evidently have occasion to put a decisive check on immigration that increases unoccupied labor. Those who, by extreme poverty or disease or vice, have failed of organization in the Old World, should not be thrown upon us to endanger or weaken our organization. Those also should be shut out who belong to a civilization essentially lower than our own, and who are ready, therefore, to live in social conditions inferior to those which properly belong to us. Self-protection is not only our first law, it is our second law also, as the power to help our neighbor depends on the power to help ourselves.

3. We should in every way encourage co-operation, as training workmen in patience, forecast, and economy; as giving a standard with which to measure just expectations and fair wages in the division of returns between labor and capital; and as more directly increasing capital and production by the small gains of the comparatively poor.

4. We should guard against that accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few which destroys fair competition, and enables the possessors readily to bend great masses of men to their own will. We are to remember that liberty always is, and must be, associated with proximate equality in social conditions.

5. We should so order taxation that it shall not fall heavily on those who have lost or are losing foothold in the economic world. The chief incidence of taxation in this country is low down in the social scale. We bowl the feet of men out from under them constantly by taxes, and allow those who ought to bear them, and can easily bear them, to escape comparatively free. Our direct taxes are unfairly assessed, and our indirect taxes rest extensively on the necessities of life, and are often laid in defense of wealth. We have just now a very false moral theory by which we are taxing the faulty and vicious indulgences of men, and so, as we think, contending with them. We gain a large revenue from tobacco and intoxicating liquors. Two things are observable in these taxes. They fall much more heavily on the poor than on the rich. Wine is more favored than beer.



The coarse tobacco of the workman may pay tenfold the tax of the finer tobacco of the wealthy man. These taxes are laid ostensibly to discourage the consumption of beer and tobacco, and yet the use of both rapidly increases under them. Under the appearance of improving our workmen and entering into a friendly remonstrance with them, we shift on them an enormous burden of taxation. So the car of reform is snugly clamped to the endless cable which drives the vice of the world and is driven by it. Society formerly whipped criminals in public, to discourage crime; yet punishment, disgrace, and crime went hand in hand. Taxation, poverty, and vice are in like close fellowship with us, under our system of revenue.

6. We should guard against all combinations among capitalists which are designed to maintain prices by limiting production, and all combinations among workmen to maintain or to advance wages by shutting the doors of progress on their fellows. The advantages gained by isolation, in either of these ways, are temporary, and secured at the cost of the general welfare.

7. By far the most fundamental correction of social evil is, and must remain, the moral one. Not till men themselves improve will their condition much improve; or, rather, they and their condition will improve together. Take the case of these half-occupied workmen: all the remedial measures that assume the form of law cannot do a tenth part as much for them as abstinence in the use of tobacco and beer would at once accomplish; and this not simply on account of the money that would thus be saved, but because of the more thoughtful, enterprising, and self-respecting form of manhood that would be secured.

JOHN BASCOM.

## PROFIT-SHARING.

THE easiest and most practical solution of the labor problem lies in the general application of the principle of profit-sharing to modern industry; such is the position to the exposition and defense of which this paper will address itself.

There is no labor problem of great moment unless it be the question of a more equitable division of the profits of business between the employer and the employee. If any one believes that the employee, as a rule, now receives in current wages a fair share of the returns of industry, for him this discussion is vain; time would be wasted in presenting plans for a juster distribution of profits if the existing distribution is satisfactory. But the people who work with their hands are profoundly of the conviction that their labor is not sufficiently recompensed to-day. The introduction of machinery into nineteenth-century industry has forever destroyed the old order of things, in which the workman was tolerably contented with his wages. Of the immense advantages wrought by the general use of machinery in manufacturing, the employers of labor have, thus far, naturally and inevitably received the lion's share. The rich are, palpably, getting richer, while the poor, though not becoming poorer, are not improving their condition in any proportionate degree with the well-to-do classes. To bring about a new and better order in the industrial world, laboring men combine in trades unions and such organizations as the Knights of Labor. Their one substantial aim, which justifies their existence, is not any minor matter, like the shortening of the hours of labor from twelve to ten or from ten to eight; it is more money for their labor, a larger share than they now receive of the profits of business.

The system must be wrong which breeds the perpetual dissensions between employers and employees, so familiar to us to-day, say the more thoughtful working-men. They, there-

fore, advise the entire abandonment of the wages system and the substitution of productive co-operation in its place. But stern experience shows, despite an occasional success here and there, that co-operation is too revolutionary a substitute for the old method. It is too violent a change for the workmen themselves from the system under which their wages, however inadequate, came in as regularly as the butcher's or the grocer's bills, to offset them. With their little all invested in the co-operative enterprise, the workmen labor on, from day to day and from week to week, with no wages paid them, dependent, in the end, for any return whatever, upon a favorable market, watched by a careful manager. But often the market is not favorable; and most commonly the co-operators are unable or unwilling to pay the proper salary to secure the right kind of a manager. No story is more pitiful than the narrative of these unsuccessful attempts to dispense with the capitalist and the manager; the sufferings of the co-operators, in their endeavor to introduce an ideal scheme of industry, would move a heart of stone. Heroic as they may be, these men are yet unwise. They disregard the natural law of aristocracy in business, under which executive talent is one of the rare endowments. Attempts to conduct large business enterprises on the town-meeting plan succeed only by miracle. Because, then, the modern workingman has become thoroughly accustomed to comparative stability and regularity in his wages, he will not undertake, to any great degree, to work simply as a joint-stock holder; and because the born captains of industry despise the petty salaries that co-operative factories can offer them, the few attempts mostly fail. The very few instances of moderate success by no means prove the feasibility of co-operation as a substitute for the wages system.

The thought is to-day familiar that human progress is in a spiral rather than in a straight line. Mankind has, in a fashion, to return upon its track, in order to reassert a sound principle that has been neglected or abandoned in the zeal for novelty. After a time of great changes it discovers some weakness in the new position arrived at in its progress; and, still advancing, it takes up again, in its spiral course, an attitude and position more like those of former times. But it is on a higher level,

and it retains the abiding value of the recent advance. Such a return, in the history of industry, is indicated to-day as probable by the existing interest in the scheme of profit-sharing. For a division of the products of labor between the employer and the employee is, as every one knows, the earliest, most natural, and most direct method of compensating labor. Farming on shares, and payment for work in the fruits of the soil, are the commonest of phenomena in agriculture, the oldest, and to-day the most stable, of human occupations, and the one least disturbed by labor difficulties. The coast fisheries, centered at Gloucester, Mass., afford another striking instance of the same principle of the division of the proceeds of industry between labor and capital. The wages system is altogether impracticable here; no wages are paid to the skipper of the schooner or to any one employed in the actual work of fishing. The usual basis of division at Gloucester is that, after trip charges are deducted from the gross value of the catch sold, the net amount is divided equally between the owner of the schooner and the crew.

But the great bulk of the world's work to-day is done in occupations where machinery takes a far more prominent place than it does, or probably ever can, take in the simple industries of fishing or agriculture. Payment in kind, too, would be a most cumbrous device for the shoemaker or the operative in a cotton-mill. Product-sharing, again, is out of the question in most industries, with all its moral advantages, because of the irregularity and variability of the market to which the laborer would be obliged to resort. The wages system, with all its disadvantages, has come to stay. Declaim against it as they may, modern laborers must have the stability and the regularity of the wages system to depend upon. The step forward in the development of the system which is imperatively demanded, for a fair distribution of wealth, is the modification of the wages system by incorporating with it the practicable features of product-sharing. It is the extreme merit of the system of profit-sharing, as developed within the last fifty years, that it combines in a very high degree the merits of the two systems of which it is a union, and avoids most of the weaknesses of both.

The honor of first putting profit-sharing systematically and successfully into operation on a large scale belongs to a Frenchman, and to France we must to-day look for most of the teaching which experience has to give us in this matter. The name of Edme-Jean Leclaire has become sufficiently familiar to readers at all conversant with discussions of the wages question. A thoroughly self-made man, he was unwilling, after he had acquired a competence, to rest content with a system of recompensing labor, all the evils of which he knew by hard experience in his own career or by near and sympathetic observation of the misfortunes of others. A remark of a friend, to the effect that nothing but the participation of the workman in the profits of the master would permanently reconcile employer and employee, led him to devote seven years to studying plans for the practical embodiment of this idea. In 1842 he introduced a system of "participation" into his large house-painting business, which he continued uninterruptedly, with the utmost success, until his death, in 1872. In these thirty years he paid over to his workmen, as a direct bonus on wages, some \$220,000. He left a fortune somewhat larger than this, a fortune which he declared that he largely owed to the system of participation. "If I had gone on in the beaten track of routine, I could not have arrived, even by fraudulent means, at a position comparable to that which I have made for myself." The history of the Maison Leclaire has been so well told, by Mr. Sedley Taylor in particular, that only the essential points of its working at present, after the various modifications introduced by M. Leclaire in the course of his life, need here be noted.

Setting aside the Mutual Aid Society as not strictly pertinent to the theme, we find that the managing partners to-day receive salaries for superintendence, and interest at five per cent. upon their capital, as well as one quarter part of the net profit remaining after interest and cost of superintendence have been paid. A second quarter part goes to the Mutual Aid Society, and the remaining half of the net profit is divided among all the employees in proportion to the sums they have earned during the year in wages. These wages are the current rates paid in other establishments. From 1870 to 1882, inclusive, the ratio of

the bonus divided, to the amount earned in wages during the year, varied from twelve to twenty-two per cent. A house-painter, then, in the employment of the Maison Leclaire, receives just as high wages from week to week as does an employee in any other concern in which profits are not divided ; but, beyond this, at the end of the year he received, in the above years, an additional franc for every five to eight which he had earned. It is needless to dilate on the economical and moral advantages which M. Leclaire secured by this considerate measure. His workmen became his friends and, in effect, his partners, as their bonus was largely invested in shares of the capital stock. They were regular in their hours, careful of the implements and the materials used in the business, eager to suggest new and improved methods, watchful of each other, and jealous to preserve the high reputation of the house. All those virtues which an industrious man, working solely for his own benefit, exhibits, these painters exemplified in a high degree, for they realized that their employer's profit was their own. They were intelligent enough to see that, for their own advantage, it was indispensable that the control of the business should remain in a few skilled and experienced hands. The system of profit-sharing they found, in a long and happy experience, gave them the maximum of the advantages possible under both the pure wages system and co-operation.

Mr. Taylor, writing six years ago, estimated that he was "below the mark in saying that one hundred Continental firms are now working on a participatory basis;" and he adds that the principle "has been introduced, with good results, into agriculture; into the administration of railways, banks, and insurance offices; into iron-smelting, type-founding, and cotton-spinning; into the manufacture of tools, paper, chemicals, lucifer-matches, soap, cardboard, and cigarette-papers; into printing, engraving, cabinet-making, house-painting, and plumbing; into stockbroking, bookselling, the wine trade, and haberdashery." This list of employments might to-day be considerably enlarged and the number of firms increased, as the last few years have witnessed a remarkable growth of interest in profit-sharing among the Continental employers of labor, who have had too

much sense to be satisfied with mere denunciation of trades unions. In our own country, besides such experiments, now of several years' standing, as those of the Peace Dale (R. I.) Manufacturing Company, the Pillsbury Flour Mills of Minneapolis, and the Westerly (R. I.) Granite Company, the daily papers are often reporting the entrance of some new business concern upon a trial of the plan. Two recent instances are found in the Boston "Herald," and the Wanamaker establishment, in Philadelphia.

The limitations of the method have been well indicated in an excellent critical essay by Dr. H. Frommer. The most obvious of these are two. The first is, that profit-sharing finds its best field in occupations where the cost of labor bears a high proportion to the total cost of the product. Such was the case with the house-painters of the Maison Leclair. Every one who has had a house painted knows how much larger is the expense for labor than the expense for material. The trades where skilled labor predominates are, then, the most promising ground for the operation of profit-sharing, while the cotton factory, where much comparatively unintelligent labor is employed, and where the cost of the original plant is very great, is an example of the field in which the new system is least likely to show great results. The second important limitation is found where profit-sharing is introduced into a business in which work has been paid for by the piece. In the brass-works of W. Borchert, Jr., in Berlin, for example, it was found, after a five-years' trial, that profit-sharing did not produce results on the whole so satisfactory as the system of allotting a certain amount of work to groups of workmen at a fixed price, and giving them a premium for all work done exceeding this amount. This plan (*Gruppenakkord und Quantumsprämien*) is allied to profit-sharing. In other occupations than that of brass-working it may well be that piece-work, with premiums for the excess over a certain average of performance, will produce more desirable results than simple profit-sharing. At the same time, it is noticeable that nowhere has the system of participation been more successful than in the printing business, where the compositors are generally paid so much for the thousand "ems." The chief reason for this fact may be the greater economy in respect to material

and cost of superintendence which profit-sharing tends to produce. Other limitations will easily suggest themselves. Profit-sharing is, of course, more feasible in well-established industries, for the product of which there is a steady demand, like flour or the newspaper, than in cases where there is a large admixture of uncertainty or variability in the market, for any reason, as in the case of H. vom Brück Sons, of Krefeld, manufacturers of silks and velvets, although in this instance the manner in which profits were divided was not well advised.

Yet, with all the limitations and cautions which a careful survey of the history of profit-sharing thus far, at home and abroad, will suggest, it remains true that there are in the new scheme immense possibilities, yes, immense certainties, of good. It will surely do away with the great majority of strikes, if experience is any witness; it will tend to increase the net profits of the employer by raising the level of labor in quantity and quality; it will satisfy most of the well-grounded claims of the working classes for a fuller compensation, and will reveal to them the weakness of irrational demands; it will tend powerfully to bring about peace and friendship, as it is, in fact, a partnership between master and man; and when further problems arise in the industrial world, as arise they must, it will enable us to confront them with far more confidence than we could meet them upon the present inequitable and unsatisfactory basis of the pure wages system. The employer, on the one side, and the trades union, on the other side, will surely come in time to see that here is a more excellent way than the present way, which leads to perpetual contention. Competition will, of course, continue, but it will be a natural competition of establishment with establishment on horizontal lines of division, as Professor Jevons has said. The present doctrine is, that the workman's interests are linked to those of other workmen, and the employer's to those of other employers. Eventually it will be seen that industrial divisions should be perpendicular, not horizontal. The workman's interests should be bound up with those of his employer, and should be pitted in fair competition against those of other workmen and employers.

On few questions in political economy is there so general a



consensus among economists as upon the desirability and feasibility of profit-sharing. From Mr. Babbage, through Mr. Mill, Henry Fawcett, and the whole later school of economists, down to the ablest of American writers, there is practical unanimity. President F. A. Walker, whose work on "The Wages Question," published in 1876, contains more sound sense and positive illumination on the subject of labor than any other book in the English language, expressed in that work the most favorable opinion of participation. After ten years more of observation he writes as follows (I quote, by permission, from a private letter):

"That profit-sharing, if generally introduced, and carried on in good faith and good feeling, would secure a highly equitable division of the products of industry, and would be a cure for most of the 'labor troubles' from which we suffer, seems to me beyond dispute. As to the entire feasibility of the scheme, after fair and full trial, I entertain no doubt, the sole condition being that master and man shall really seek to meet each other and to find the means of working together on the basis of the reasonable authority of the master, as heretofore known and respected."

With the indorsement of such students and thinkers, with the far more weighty indorsement of numerous long and successful trials, profit-sharing presents itself to the industrial world of to-day as a practical and sensible solution of the labor problem as a whole. Where it has had, as it should have, for one of its features a guarantee or reserve fund, laid by in successful years to meet unavoidable years of loss, there is but small force, if any, in the objection so commonly raised, that under it the employee takes no risks and shares no losses. He does take the risk of losing all pay for that extra zeal and care which he puts into his work under the operation of the system, and for which the profits divided at the end of the year are his sole return. If the business pays no profits he loses his pay for the extraordinary service. His wages represent his minimum recompense, just as the salary of the superintendent does his. It is no more reasonable that the workman should lose a part of his wages on account of losses to the business, which he has done his best to provide for by previous contribution to reserve funds and by doing his very best work, than that the superintendent should have a part of his salary withheld for the same reason. Under the profit-sharing system, as generally conducted, the workman takes

his full share of risk, and, as the experience of the Hazards and the Pillsburys shows, he cheerfully endures the loss of his expected dividends in the unprofitable years.

The full strain upon the principle is, of course, only revealed in these years when there is no profit to be divided. As an instance of the way in which workmen who have just reason to confide in the fairness of their employers behave in such times, we may well consider the case of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company. In 1883 and 1884 it paid no dividend to its employees, owing to the industrial depression; but the circular of the company said, concerning their men:

“It is believed that a large majority have been as careful and conscientious as possible, and the officers of the company look with pride upon such, believing that the system of participation will yet produce good results far beyond what it has accomplished in the past.”

There could be no weightier witness to the efficiency of profit-sharing than this testimony after a trial for seven years, in three of which, owing to industrial causes beyond control, no dividend on wages was paid, and in the other four of which, for the same reason, the modest dividend ranged from three to five per cent. Here was a crucial test, in a business not especially favorable to the application of the principle, and under conditions of the industrial world at large extremely unfavorable.

NICHOLAS P. GILMAN.

## IGNATIUS DONNELLY'S COMET.

“HAVE you read ‘Ragnarok’?” “What do you think of it?” “Is it a true explanation of the Drift?” “Is the theory there set forth generally held by geologists?” These queries have often been addressed to the writer.

Let us first understand what “Ragnarok” is. The Honorable Ignatius Donnelly, in 1883, gave to the world a volume in which he gravely maintained that the superficial accumulation which geologists know as “Drift” was brought to the earth by a comet. He accompanied his new theory by an array of scientific facts and doctrines respecting the Drift, and respecting comets, and seemed to find an amazing amount of substantial support. Then he turned to the legends of the world, and was equally happy in finding hundreds of traditions which seemed to be indisputable reminiscences of a time of tribulation that ensued after the earth had been struck by a comet’s tail. His curious book ends with the discussion of sundry questions more or less connected with the well-sustained story of the conflict between the comet and the earth. The course of the treatment is illustrated by thirty-six wood-cuts, copied mostly from scientific works, and all tending to make the solid truth as obvious to the unaided eye as the text makes it to the understanding. *Ragnarok*, in the Norse legends, means, according to Anderson, “the darkness of the gods,” but our author, with characteristic facility, patches up an etymology which makes it signify “the rain of dust,” and *presto*, that is just the name for the book.

Undoubtedly this is a work of genius; the writer does not intend to dispute its claims in that respect. It is worth reading; at least, if one wishes chiefly to be amused by an extraordinary association of facts and legends and conclusions. If one never saw a square plug fit a round hole, here is a rare opportu-

nity to see the feat accomplished over and over again, twenty times in immediate succession. Prestidigitation is nowhere in comparison with this "presticogitation." Literature has never been the field of equal jugglery. Keen jokers never smile at their own sallies; so our author is everywhere as grave as a logician, and as earnest as the state's attorney in working out his theory of a capital case. Dead and buried facts are exhumed stealthily from the history of science, and set up for contemplation with an air of triumph which seems to ask, "Who will know that they are mummies?" Misfit facts are set together, and the joints are puttied over with a "doubtless" or a "probably." The feint of argumentation is so consummately done that the unsuspecting reader absorbs the conclusions with avidity, and the trained skeptic asks himself, "Is this man in earnest or is he romancing?" He arrays so much that is true in science, and genuine in legend, and wise in proverb, and excellent in style, that if he means his book for a scientific romance, it is one of the most successful ever set afloat; while, if he means it as a sober argument for a striking theory, it stands by the side of "Paradise Found" as a phenomenal aggregation of varied learning sundered from its conclusions. To all queries the author remains dumb. I suspect, however, that when he gets by himself he chuckles inordinately.

One almost feels compunction in stepping forward to interfere with the genial author's harmless play upon the public credulity. But there's the rub. Is it harmless to inculcate fable with such gravity that a majority of readers accept it for fact? Does science receive no prejudice from an exposition as attractive and baseless as a romance, but dressed in the conventional guise of genuine science? Since the author has not seen fit to send forth his lucubration in the character of a romance, let us strip off its disguise and give it a passport for what it is.

But before we attempt to take this structure to pieces, let us inspect a little more particularly the method of its building. The gist of its several chapters is about as follows: The Drift of geologists is first synoptically described. Its origin is alleged not to be known; and in proof, the author cites Figuier and an

anonymous writer in the "Popular Science Monthly." He names four theories which have been proposed, and disposes of these *seriatim*. The theory of a continental ice-sheet is untenable, because no one has explained where the ice came from. If it were in existence there would be no motion, since the "immense sheets of ice" which cover some mountains to-day do not descend; "they lie and melt and are renewed."

Had there been a continental ice-sheet, the striæ produced would "all run in the same direction," but, "on the contrary, they cross each other in an extraordinary manner." And further, these markings would have been more pronounced on the southern slopes of hills than on the northern; since "the school-boy toils patiently and slowly up the hill with his sled, but when he descends, he comes down with railroad speed, scattering the snow before him in all directions." But a fatal objection to the theory of continental glaciation is the statement that not all the cold lands have been overspread with Drift. Siberia is not so covered. "There was no Drift in all northern Asia, up to the Arctic circle;" probably not in any part of Asia. Moreover, "it does not extend over all Europe," for Collomb finds "only a shred of it in France," and thinks it "absent from part of Russia." "Even in North America, the Drift is not found everywhere. There is a remarkable driftless region in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota." "This is now the coldest part of the Union." Why no Drift? "Again, no traces of northern Drift are found in California," and "it did not extend to Oregon." Again, the presence of a continental ice-sheet would have required a temperature "some degrees below zero," says Figuier; and on this information our author concludes that if the climate "to 35 or 40 degrees of latitude, was several degrees below zero," then "the equator must have been at least below the frost-point," and no tropical plants could have survived the great ice-age. This is another fatal objection. But further difficulties. The glacial theory gives no account of the "gigantic masses of clay" which stretch from Minnesota to Cape May, and "from the Arctic Circle to Patagonia." Did the ice grind this out of granite? Where did it get the granite? The granite reaches the surface only in limited areas; as a rule, it is buried

many miles in depth under the sedimentary rocks. How did the ice pick out its materials so as to grind nothing but granite? This deposit overlies limestone and sandstone. "Why were they not ground up with the granite?" Another marvel. The Drift clay is red. This results from the grinding up of mica and hornblende. But granite contains feldspar also, the clay from which is yellow or white. Now, by what mysterious process was the feldspar separated from the mica and hornblende, to make "great sheets by itself west of the Mississippi, while the ice-sheet ground up the mica and hornblende and made blue or red clays which it laid down elsewhere"?

Now, not to quote other points made against the continental glacier, let us note that glacier phenomena, according to L. Agassiz and Professor Hartt, occur in Brazil. That country, therefore, must have been clad in ice; and if Brazil, then Africa. Indeed, along the Atlas range, moraines have been reported; while the whole Sahara is "probably" a Drift deposit. Thus it is made to appear that on the American hemisphere characteristic Drift stretches from Arctic to Antarctic, while on the opposite hemisphere Drift is wanting.

The distribution of the Drift was a great and sudden catastrophe. The author quotes Figuier copiously; Charles Martins, who believes in a change in the position of the poles; also Cuvier, an old and extreme cataclysmist. He cites many testimonies as to the deep burial of woody fragments, and mentions the famous Siberian elephants. In further proof that the catastrophe was world-convulsing, our wide-searching author states that in addition to the deposit of clay, sand, and gravel, "the earth at the same time was cleft with great cracks or fissures, which reached down through many miles of the planet's crust to the central fires, and released the boiling rocks imprisoned in its bosom; and these poured forth to the surface as igneous, intrusive, or trap rocks." To what does he refer? "David Dale Owen tells us that the outburst of the trap rock at the Dalles of the St. Croix came up through open fissures." Our author continues: "Where the great breaks were not deep enough to reach the central fires, they left mighty fissures in the surface, which in the Scandinavian regions are known as 'fiords.'" "They are

found in Great Britain, Maine, Nova Scotia, Labrador, Greenland, and on the western coast of North America." Let us add, they ought to be in Brazil also, and in the Desert of Sahara, if the Drift is in those regions, and if the fissures are an incident of the Drift.

The author then undertakes to establish the proposition that "great heat was a prerequisite." He has found writers who remind us that copious evaporation precedes copious precipitation; who even hint that a warm climate in southern regions may have favored snowy precipitation in cold ones; and hence—the reader will notice the obvious sequence—intense heat must have actually accompanied the spread of the Drift deposits. Such is the picture given of glacialist opinion.

Next, our genial and humorous friend has found out something about the constitution of comets, and he begins by letting out his secret at once—"a comet caused the Drift." "What is a comet?" he asks. He gives us an orthodox definition, and adds that its constituent parts come to us in some cases as meteoric stones; and we thence learn that the substance of a comet is a mass of stones, sand, and clay, just like that of the Drift. These comets are a reminiscence of the earth's primitive history. They "form a part of our solar system." Our earth was once gaseous, then liquefied, then incrustated. Later cooling resulted in shrinkage of the molten nucleus; and now, this suggestion leads on to an astounding and novel theory of the origin of comets. As the crust grows rigid it no longer subsides with the contracting nucleus, but "a space exists between the two." Suppose the process continued "until a vast space exists between the crust and core of the earth," and that some day a convulsion of the surface creates a great chasm in the crust, and the ocean rushes in and fills up part of the cavity; a tremendous quantity of steam is formed, an explosion takes place, and the crust of the earth is blown into a million fragments. "The great molten ball within remains intact, though sorely torn. In its center is still the force we call gravity. The fragments of the crust cannot fly off into space; they are constrained to follow the master power lodged in the ball, which now becomes the nucleus of a comet, still blazing and burning, and vomiting

flames, and wearing itself away. The catastrophe has disarranged its course, but it still revolves in a prolonged orbit around the sun, carrying its broken *débris* in a long trail behind it. The *débris* arranges itself in a regular order; the largest fragments are in or nearest the head; the smaller are farther away, diminishing in regular gradation until, at the farthest extremity, the trail consists of sand, dust, and gases." Constant internal movements, caused "by the attraction and repulsion of the sun," result in collisions, striations, and fine dust. "Magnetic waves passing through the comet might arrange all the particles containing iron by themselves, and thus produce that marvelous separation of the constituents of the granite which we have found to exist in the Drift clays." Then all this theory's substantial "granite" fabric is further strengthened by the solid contributions of the "eminent German geologist, Dr. Hahn." He discovered, just in time for utilization in this cob-house of scientific dreams, "an entire series of organic remains in meteoric stones"—sponges, corals, and crinoids. These are the tale-bearers which clinch the evidence that comets are exploded worlds.

"Could a comet strike the earth?" Certainly; it could not be avoided. Did not Kepler affirm that "comets are scattered through the heavens with as much profusion as fishes in the ocean?" And did not Arago estimate that the comets belonging to our system "number seventeen million five hundred thousand"? And did not Lambert put the estimate at five hundred millions? Now, think of five hundred million comets circling about the sun in a mazy dance, with the earth in the midst of the whirl; can anything prevent the earth from being run over? But, really, the earth has been hit many a time. The consequences, in well-established cases, have indeed been very trifling; but that need not deter us from picturing the consequences of collision with some imaginable comet; the comet, for instance, which sowed Drift over the earth. "Imagine such a creature as the great comet of 1811, with a head fifty times as large as the moon, and a tail one hundred and sixteen million miles long, rushing past this poor little earth of ours, with its diameter of only seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-five miles!" "The earth would simply make a bullet-hole through



the tail ;” “and yet, in that moment of contact, the side of the earth facing the comet might be covered with hundreds of feet of *débris*.” But suppose it to have “struck the earth head on, amidships,” as described in some of the legends. “The shock may have changed the angle of inclination of the earth’s axis ;” “to this cause we might look also for the great cracks and breaks in the earth’s surface, which constitute the fiords of the sea-coast, and the trap extrusions of the continents ; and here, too, might be the cause of those mighty excavations, hundreds of feet deep, in which are now the great lakes of America, and from which great cracks radiate out in all directions, like the fractures in a pane of glass where a stone has struck it.”

These things assumed possible, we may argue consequences. The comet was much larger than Donati’s. “It came with terrific force. It smashed the rocks.” “It was accompanied by inconceivable winds,” which “whirled the Drift materials about in the wildest confusion.” It formed long trains and banks, as if of snow. The comet came with a scorching and destructive heat. The earth was lighted up like the temporary star in the Northern Crown. The carbonic oxide and carburetted hydrogen came with it ; and these, burning and exploding, baked and rent the earth precisely as the legends narrate. This scene is painted by our author in gorgeous colors. And here were human populations ! It is not necessary to follow the stream of eloquence which floats their fortunes into our comprehension. There was burning which dried up the waters ; there was a rain of stones ; men fled to caves ; when this storm was past, men crawled out. Electrical action now began ; clouds accumulated ; darkness reigned ; floods of water descended ; snows in the northern regions consolidated into ice ; frost gradually invaded more southern latitudes. But when the clouds were exhausted, the sun brought back warmth which melted the snows and flooded the continent.

Then the legends are cited—Hindoo, Persian, Greek, Chinese, Norse, and American, from all parts of the two continents. They are accumulated in great volume. But myths and sagas generally appear in such dubious shape and incoherent texture that our author is able to mold them deftly to the facts accom-

panying the fearful cometic collision. The mere mass of legends capable of such interpretation is a literary curiosity. Then follow, specially, "legends of cave-life." We have long known that primitive men dwelt in caves; but we never learned till now that a rain of fire and stones drove them to such shelters. Other legends are made to refer to the age of darkness; but, though they generally speak of the beginnings of the world's existence, the author knows how to shape them to his theory. Still others refer specifically to the triumph of the sun, and others to the fall of the clay and gravel. The myths of Arabia and the conceptions of the Book of Job are set forth in much detail. The author then reads Genesis by the light of the comet. We get a unique vindication of the old book. The events of the "six days" are the incidents of the cometic collision.

The concluding portions of this amusing literary circus attempt to show that men before the cometary catastrophe were civilized; that the survivors dwelt upon an island in the Atlantic, and that this had been anciently connected with Europe, Africa, and South America by ridges of land, often in the legends called "bridges." To complete the formalities of scientific argument, this smileless provoker of irrepressible smiles devotes a chapter to the consideration of "objections." But, like the duelists on the stage, he takes care not to hurt.

Now I will mention a few objections not put on parade. I omit the difficulties of making the legends mean what is here pretended, and confine myself to some of the geological objections. Instead of general doubt, geologists are nearly unanimous in ascribing the Drift to glacier action accompanied and followed by water supplied by melting ice. A moving ice-sheet would incontestably act most energetically on the northern slopes of hills. The facts, instead of being a difficulty, are a striking proof of the ice-sheet. It was once by some writers supposed that no Drift occurs in Siberia; but many always held that the real Drift was simply covered by the *tundras*; and this is now known to be a fact. Western America was at first thought destitute of evidence of glaciation; but it is now well known that it exists at altitudes above the thawing influence of Pacific coast temperatures. Figuier's mention of "zero" in connection with

temperature of the glacier epoch refers to the centigrade scale, where zero is thirty-two degrees above our zero and Donnelly's. The glacier did not confine itself to granite as material for grinding up ; it pulverized limestones and sandstones and quartzites. Nor are Drift clays always red ; and hence the selection of mica and hornblende for trituration never taxed its discriminating powers.

Again, Brazilian glaciers were only an inference by Agassiz, based on vast accumulations of incoherent materials, which he supposed to be moraines. But these have resulted from the decay of rocks "in place," especially granites and schists. Professor Hartt himself arrived at that opinion ; and the very figure reproduced from Hartt shows clearly the still-bedded character of the pile of loose materials. As to morainic deposits in the southern hemisphere, which are supposed to exist ; if real, we have no evidence that they are contemporaneous with those of the north. On the contrary, the best accepted theories imply that the northern and southern hemispheres were glaciated alternately. Hence, we see no such spread of Drift from Arctic to Antarctic as our entertainer pictures ; and so far as the two hemispheres are Drift-covered, their coverings were not simultaneous. There are other yawning rents in the theory.

Now, in reference to those rifts in the terrestrial crust which our author attributes to the smashing, head-on collision of the vast comet ; it is true, indeed, that the trap of the Dalles of the St. Croix came up through open fissures, like that of Keewenaw Point and Ile Royale ; but that was in Palæozoic time, a million years, more or less, before the fiords of Norway and Maine existed. And then those fiords, though perhaps of the age of the Drift, are sinuous, irregular erosions, instead of clefts. The huge cracks radiating from the great lakes are only flaws in the information ; they do not exist.

As to the confused state of the Drift materials, I believe the intelligent reader will feel as willing to attribute it to water as to wind ; and when we speculate on the agency which placed some large boulders high up in the water-worked sands, it requires only a good understanding to comprehend the probable agency of ice-blocks or rafts in water torrents, or icebergs in

a sea-like expanse; but to comprehend the action of wind in planting such bowlders requires a pure Donnellian imagination.

Next, in reference to the amount of heat required for the accumulation of a sheet of ice; do we not detect here a slip of intelligence? Is it not evaporation which is implied in precipitation? But evaporation goes on at all temperatures, provided that precipitation has taken place which restores the capacity of the atmosphere for the product of evaporation, or, provided a rise in temperature has created such capacity. Whenever the temperature is rising that capacity is increasing; whenever it is falling the capacity is diminishing. These fluctuations often take place while the thermometer is below freezing (zero, centigrade). Evaporation and precipitation proceed in the Arctic regions with the atmosphere forty degrees below freezing; does this imply intense heat in glacier-making? But somebody suggested that climatic heat would facilitate evaporation and promote precipitation; and our keen-eyed watcher for available citations from the pages of science at once sets down: "great heat; that means a comet." And then how slyly he borrows the idea of heat from the glacialists, at the same moment that he rejects the ice-field for which alone the glacialist appealed to heat sufficient for evaporation. For the ice-field, heat. "Yes," he says to himself, "I'll take the heat, but the ice-field is awkward for my story. I don't want any ice-field." And this is all the foundation there is for the author's burning catastrophe.

Speaking of comets, he affords us a sample of the pure wheat which he uses to give currency to his chess. His account of the constitution of comets is approximately quadrate with latest views; but when he gives us his episode on comet-making, he has clearly broken friendship with the scientists. That bulging planetary crust arching over huge vacuities into which the ocean dives, on occasion, is too turgid altogether. Has the author reflected on the enormous pressure exerted by such arches on their abutments; and on the enormous strain about the key-stone. Has he ever studied the rigidity of the crust-materials, and calculated the amount of strain or pressure of which they are capable? He is contemplating an arch broad enough to give capacity for water whose sudden conversion to steam would blow up a

planet. Now, the cold fact is, that any such arch would be crushed by its own weight, a hundred times and in a hundred places, before it could be raised. As well fancy the arch made of dough. Granite seems, to our feeble hammer-blows and under our very limited pressures, to be a very hard and resisting rock; but granite, in the presence of cosmic forces, or under the pressure of an arc of the earth's crust, has relatively no rigidity. It might as well be water. These tremendous forces crush and mold and pour the solid granite with the same facility as molten granite. And the conceit of a planet driven from its path by an explosion within itself is another presticogitative fact. As well attempt to steer a steamship by crowding against the guard-rail.

Science, to the question, "Can a comet strike the earth?" says "Yes." And science feels somewhat certain that comets have struck the earth; and even during the life of the present generation this little incident has been experienced. But note, it did not destroy cities, and drive people into caverns. The dire shock was scarcely noticeable. But, then, this was not a huge monster, like the anathematized comet of 1811. Possibly not, but after all, 'tis distance lends the terror to the view. These creatures, while in the distant sky, look large enough and solid enough to "smash" a planet. So does the aurora borealis. One of these comets ran amuck in the family of Jupiter's children, and not a child was knocked from its feet, not an infant was budged.

Men have entertained all imaginable views respecting comets; and Donnelly is not the first to discover the effects of a comet's collision with the earth. Whiston ascertained that the deluge of Noah came from the whisk of a comet's tail; but Donnelly has outdone Whiston, for he has shown that our planet has suffered not only from a cometary flood, but from cometary fire, and a cometary rain of stones.

ALEXANDER WINCHELL.



# The Forum.

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## THE CONTINUANCE OF DEMOCRATIC RULE.

IN undertaking to state some of the reasons why the Democratic party should be continued in power, it is necessary, in the first instance, to call attention to the difference of opinion between the two existing parties concerning the nature and extent of the federal power under the Constitution, because it is manifest that their administration of public affairs must be greatly influenced by their respective views upon this fundamental question. This difference of opinion has existed continuously since the organization of the government, and has always constituted, as it still does, the most clearly defined line of separation between political parties in this country. It would have been reasonable to suppose that after nearly a hundred years of practical administration of the government under the Constitution, after repeated decisions of the question by the highest judicial tribunals, and after the thorough and able discussions that have taken place at every stage of the controversy, the relations between the several States and their people and the Government of the United States would be well understood, and their separate rights and powers fully recognized by all parties. Such, however, is not the case. In theory and practice the Republican party of to-day is more extravagant in its assertion of what it calls "national authority" than its Federalist progenitor was a

century ago. During the short period between the close of the war and the year 1875, while it controlled the legislation in Congress, it passed a greater number of unconstitutional enactments than can be found in all the remainder of our legislative history. But it was not in Congress alone that this dangerous tendency toward the concentration and arbitrary exercise of power was exhibited. The executive department, in all its branches, was equally indifferent to the limitations imposed upon it by the Constitution and laws, and the President was rapidly becoming what Patrick Henry predicted he would be, "an American king." So arrogant and intolerant was this spirit of encroachment upon the reserved rights of the States and people, that the conservative elements in the country spontaneously combined to resist it, and the consequence was that since the fourth day of March, 1875, but one Republican House of Representatives has met at Washington, and in 1876 a large majority of the popular vote was cast for the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President. It is, perhaps, not going too far to say that if the Republican party had not been deprived of power in the popular branch of the legislative department, and if the warning of 1876 had not been given by the people, our federative system of government would have been by this time substantially overthrown, and the right of local self-government, which lies at the very foundation of our free institutions, would have been confined to the narrowest possible limits.

It is an indisputable historical fact that the Constitution of the United States was adopted and the Union formed under it by the people of the several States, each political community acting separately and independently of all others, through its own State organization. It is equally undeniable that the government thus created by the people of the several States was one of defined and limited powers, and that all powers not delegated to it, nor prohibited to the States, were, in the language of the Constitution itself, "reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." This brief statement comprehends the whole Democratic theory of constitutional government in this country, and it must be evident to every one who seriously reflects upon the subject that it is the only theory upon which the orderly and harmonious exer-



cise of State and federal authority over the same territory and people can be permanently maintained. Conflicts of authority necessarily produce dissension and strife, and it is therefore essential to the repose of the country that the division of power between the State and federal governments shall be scrupulously observed by the party in control of the administration. The importance of such a policy was never greater or more apparent than now. After a long period of uncertainty and unrest the whole country has finally adjusted itself to the new conditions imposed by the war, and all that appears to be needed to insure an era of great industrial and commercial prosperity is a continued assurance that political and sectional controversies will not be permitted to disturb the pursuits of the people. The present Democratic administration, instead of depressing business and arresting the development of our resources, as was predicted, has inspired a feeling of confidence and security that did not exist before for more than a quarter of a century, and in every part of the Union, but more especially in the South, capital has been invested, commercial relations have been established, and large enterprises have been projected upon the faith that no further harsh or extraordinary political measures would be adopted or attempted.

Unless all the present indications are deceptive, the return of the Republican party to power would be immediately followed by the introduction of propositions still further to extend the supervision of the federal authorities over the local and domestic affairs of the people, and by an unnecessary and hurtful re-agitation of race and sectional questions which have already been settled upon the precise terms dictated by itself. Having demonstrated its incapacity to deal with the subject by attempting the political and social reconstruction of the southern States upon the irrational theory that the people who had been slaves all their lives, and who were totally ignorant of the character of our institutions, were the best guardians of our liberties, it now complains that the newly enfranchised race does not exercise the power conferred upon it; and upon this provocation the country is threatened with a renewal of the strife which all patriotic citizens had hoped was ended forever. Very little, if any, direct

evidence is produced to prove that the colored vote in the South is improperly suppressed or controlled, but the returns of State and congressional elections are exhibited, showing that only a small proportion of the total vote in the State or district was actually cast, and then it is assumed, without other testimony, that violence or intimidation has prevented the negro from exercising the right of suffrage. But, unfortunately for the agitators, the figures they produce show conclusively that thousands of white Democrats failed to vote at the same elections, and their absence from the polls must also be accounted for. The truth is, that the failure of both races to vote is attributable to the same causes, and unless the Republican party is prepared to adopt compulsory suffrage, it will find its efforts to remove the present ground of complaint as fruitless as its original attempt to secure permanent ascendancy in the South by enfranchising the negro.

That there are individual and isolated cases of unlawful interference, by both races, with the right of suffrage in the South, is doubtless true, but the statement is true of other parts of the country as well; and in fact, if half the accusations made by the public press are well founded, the voter is much less free from coercive and corrupting influences in the great centers of population and business in the North than he is anywhere south of the Potomac and Ohio. The Democratic party is as competent and as willing to punish these crimes against the purity and independence of the ballot as the Republican party is, notwithstanding the latter's boast of superiority in morality and patriotism. The right of the negro to vote is secured by a constitutional provision which prohibits discrimination against him on account of his race or color, and in every Democratic State the free exercise of this right is protected by the same statutes that apply to the white citizen. It cannot be asserted, or at least it cannot be proved, that these statutes are not impartially enforced by the courts and juries in Democratic communities; nor can it be shown that there exists anywhere a purpose to abridge the right of suffrage, either by a change of the Constitution or a repeal of the existing laws upon the subject.

For ten years after the close of the war the Republican party

had undisputed control of the federal government in all its departments, and during that period it not only failed to make necessary reforms in the public service or to legislate for the promotion of the general welfare, but it criminally neglected the material interests of the masses of the people, and, in its anxiety to win the applause and support of aggregated capital, it laid the foundation for many new abuses which have since grown to alarming proportions. It virtually destroyed the American navy and merchant marine. It squandered the public lands by unnecessary and excessive grants to corporations, and by permitting large and valuable tracts to be appropriated by syndicates of speculators; and it wasted the public money by a loose and extravagant system of expenditures which has no parallel in our history. It maintained an unequal system of taxation, for the avowed purpose of obstructing international exchanges, and at the same time, with glaring inconsistency, it paid subsidies out of the public treasury to encourage foreign commerce. It employed the military power to control elections by the people, and to overawe the tribunals appointed by law to make the returns. It established and abolished courts and commissions, and increased or diminished their jurisdictions to meet political emergencies; and, under the decisions and awards of these temporary and irresponsible tribunals, it paid many millions of dollars out of the public treasury on claims of at least doubtful validity, held by people living in a part of the country where Republican votes were sorely needed. Up to the last moment of its supremacy, it habitually used official power for partisan purposes, and made its placemen an organized body of political serfs, every one of whom was compelled by the inexorable law of the party to contribute his money and his personal services whenever demanded.

It is not proposed here to attempt an enumeration of all the obnoxious measures and arbitrary practices of the Republican party while in power, but simply to mention a few, for the purpose of indicating the spirit in which it conducted public affairs. It has left the country a legacy of bad laws and vicious methods of administration which it will take many years of earnest labor to correct, and it is evident that this task can be best performed by those who have no personal or political responsibility for the

evils that are to be remedied. The reconstruction of the navy and the restoration of the merchant marine are not likely to be accomplished by a continuation of the same policy which reduced them to their present condition; nor is it probable that such a reformation of the civil service as will make it thoroughly honest and effective, and place official responsibility above partisan obligations, can or will be effected by the same political party which persistently pursued the course that made reform necessary. It would be an act of folly to intrust the preservation of the public domain to the same men who, when they had the power, despoiled this great heritage of the people. The same influences which surrounded and controlled them then surround and control them now, and will continue to do so.

Few questions of purely internal policy are of greater or more immediate importance to the people than those which relate directly or indirectly to the public lands. These questions are of supreme importance to that large number of our citizens who are without other means than the wages of their labor, and who are struggling to secure homes for themselves and families. Unless the comparatively small quantity of arable land now left in the hands of the government is carefully protected against the encroachments of mere speculators and the fraudulent evasions of the law which have already resulted in the acquisition of many millions of acres, the time is not far distant when it will be impossible for the surplus laborers in the older communities to secure cheap homes in the West; and then we shall begin to experience, in a worse form than ever heretofore, those social and political evils which naturally spring from dense and idle populations. The situation imperatively demands the careful revision and strict enforcement of the laws relating to the disposition of the public domain, so that speculation and fraud may be prevented or punished, and cheap homes and good titles guaranteed to the honest settler; the reclamation of lands illegally occupied or claimed by individuals and corporations, foreign and domestic; the just and speedy settlement of all matters in dispute between the government and the subsidized railroad companies; the enactment and rigid enforcement of laws to compel corporations to take patents for all the lands actually and legally earned by them

under grants from the government, so that they may be subject to taxation by the States and Territories in which they are situated; and, finally, the adoption of a just and enlightened policy for the civilization and government of the Indians within our jurisdiction, in order that all the substantial rights of these dependent people may be amply protected without unnecessarily retarding the development of our new States and Territories.

Much has already been done during the present administration to reclaim lands conditionally granted to railroad and other corporations, to annul fraudulent entries, to prevent unlawful inclosures, and to protect the timber and minerals upon the public domain; but the work is still incomplete, and it will require additional legislation and constant vigilance upon the part of those charged with the administration of the laws, to prevent the improper appropriation of a large part of the most valuable territory belonging to the government. In order to do this the co-operation of the legislative and executive departments is absolutely necessary, and past experience has shown that this co-operation, except to a limited extent, could not be secured until after a Democratic administration was inaugurated. The foundations of the existing system, under which immense landed estates have been acquired by foreign and domestic corporations and syndicates, were laid by the Republican party, and the fraudulent practices which have despoiled the public domain of its most fertile and valuable sections were begun and continued while Republican officials alone were charged with the duty of enforcing the laws and protecting the interests of the government and people. Even now, when the magnitude of the evil is almost universally recognized, and the demand for immediate reform is urgently pressed by the homeless labor of the country, the Republican Senate either refuses to act at all or proceeds slowly and reluctantly to the consideration of the subject. On the other hand, the Democratic House has been earnest and active in its efforts to secure such changes in the laws as will dedicate the public lands to actual settlers under the Homestead Law, and has even gone so far as to amend its rules in order to give such measures preference over other business. It has passed bills forfeiting and restoring to the government, for the benefit of

actual settlers, more than one hundred million acres of land, only a part of which has been concurred in by the Senate; and it has passed and sent to the Senate a bill to repeal the Timber Culture, Preemption, and Desert Land laws, under which most of the great frauds were committed. The course of the Interior Department, under the direction of a Democratic Secretary and Commissioner of the Land Office, is familiar to the country, and need not be commented upon here. It has been uniformly in the interest of a faithful and honest administration of the law in a spirit of friendship for the *bona fide* settler and claimant, and hostility to the fraudulent adventurer and speculator. In view of what has actually occurred in the past, and considering the present attitudes of the two parties with reference to the subject, there is scarcely room for a doubt as to which one of them would be the safest custodian of the public interests, and the most likely to protect the honest claim of the humble citizen against the predatory schemes of organized capital and political influence.

Another most important subject demanding immediate attention is the reduction of the revenue and taxation. The injustice and impolicy of maintaining a revenue system which compels the people to pay annually into the public treasury a hundred million dollars more than is actually needed by the government, are too apparent to require argument. The unnecessary abstraction of this enormous sum from the earnings of the people, who really need it in the prosecution of their business, is a crime which cannot be justified or excused upon any grounds of expediency whatever, and it is evident that it cannot be much longer continued without producing consequences of the most serious character. But if there were no other reason, the fact that a large surplus in the treasury constitutes the most dangerous corruption fund that can possibly menace the integrity of legislation, would alone be sufficient to show the necessity for an immediate reduction of the revenue. Already vast schemes of spoliation are being devised and advocated, partly for the avowed purpose of preventing a reduction of taxation, and partly upon the ground that it is the duty of the government, as the paternal guardian of the people, to dispense bounties and charities to certain classes of its citizens and certain kinds

of industrial and commercial enterprises. Some propose to purchase and operate all the railroads, telegraphs, steam vessels, and other means of transportation and communication, at an expense of thousands of millions; some want the general government to pay a part or the whole of the cost of education in the several States; some want to grant bounties and subsidies to sugar growers and owners of steamship lines, as if they were engaged in more meritorious occupations than the people who produce corn and wheat, or who are employed in other industrial pursuits; some want to increase the pensions already allowed, and grant additional ones, to the deserving and undeserving alike; some want the government to loan money to the people to start in business or pay their debts; and one gentleman at least, who may be supposed to speak for a considerable number of his party associates, advocates the erection of a public building in every city having a population of twenty thousand—not because there is any necessity for it, but simply in order “to have continually before the people a visible testimonial to the existence of the national government.” These are only a few samples of the selfish and extravagant projects which an overflowing treasury has developed, but they are enough to show the danger of longer delay in the consideration of this subject.

The only debatable question is, in what manner shall the revenue and taxation be reduced? Upon this question the two political parties are divided, although there are some Republicans who are inclined to take the Democratic view and some Democrats who favor the Republican policy. It is clear that it is possible to reduce the revenue without reducing taxation, and equally clear that it is possible to reduce taxation to a certain extent without reducing the revenue. The rates of taxation upon imported goods might be made so high that all importations would cease, and the government would thus be prevented from collecting any revenue whatever from that source; but this would not diminish taxation upon the people. On the contrary, it would greatly increase their burdens; but they would be compelled to pay the whole tribute to the domestic producer of the dutiable goods, instead of paying a part of it to the government, as they do now; and, besides this, it would be neces-

sary for the government to increase taxation in other forms in order to provide for its own support. If, on the other hand, all duties which are now wholly or partially prohibitory should be reduced to that precise rate which would enable the importer to pay them, and still compete on equal terms with the domestic producer, taxation would be diminished, but the amount of revenue would be increased. To reduce both revenue and taxation at the same time is the problem now presented, and the true Democratic solution is to abolish, as far as practicable, the taxes on the actual necessities of life and on the raw materials used in their production, and to revise, simplify, and, in proper cases, reduce the duties on the other articles embraced in the tariff schedules. The prime objects should be to provide a sufficient revenue for the support of the government, at the least possible expense and inconvenience to the people who pay the taxes, and to impose the heaviest burdens upon those who are able to indulge in the use of luxuries rather than upon those who consume only the common necessities of life. The Republican solution is, to repeal all the internal taxes upon whisky, beer, and manufactured tobacco, and retain a high rate of taxation on the food and fuel and clothing of the people, and on the building materials, implements of labor, medicines, and other articles that are indispensable in the support of their families and the prosecution of their business. It will be seen that the difference between the two parties on this question is radical, and irreconcilable upon any common principle, and hence, if there is an adjustment at any time before the Democratic party secures complete control in Congress, it must be the result of compromise and concession. But no matter what form the proposed adjustment may assume, the question whether whisky, beer, and tobacco shall be made free, and food, fuel, clothing, and other articles of necessity subjected to a heavy tax, will necessarily be involved; and on this question the Democratic party represents the real interests of the people and the true economic principle.

Very little tax is paid under the internal revenue laws, as they now exist, except by those who voluntarily use distilled spirits, beer, tobacco, snuff, or cigars. These are not necessities of life, but injurious luxuries, the use of which could be beneficially dis-



pensed with, and it is difficult to see why they are not the most proper subjects for taxation that could be selected. Besides this, the whole amount of the tax under these laws, less the inconsiderable cost of collection, is paid into the public treasury, and consequently there is no charge imposed upon the people except for the benefit of the government itself. The tariff taxes, on the contrary, are laid and collected upon imported articles of absolute necessity, and as their inevitable effect, in most cases, is to increase the prices of domestic articles of the same kind, the whole amount paid by the people does not go into the public treasury for the benefit of the government. It is denied by the advocates of a protective tariff that the imposition of a duty upon imported goods enhances the prices of goods of the same kind produced at home; but this denial is so palpably inconsistent with all their other arguments in support of such a tariff, and with the facts, as shown by official and commercial statistics, that it is scarcely worthy of serious attention. Like the proposition that the consumer does not pay the tax, it has no foundation in reason or experience, and will deceive no one who investigates the subject.

If a protective tariff does not enable the domestic producer to charge higher prices for his goods, how is he benefited by it, and how is he enabled to pay better wages to his employees? If it actually reduces prices here below what they would otherwise be, as many contend, is it not clearly an injury instead of a benefit to the domestic producer? If the consumer, who is the last purchaser, does not pay the whole tax upon imported goods, and the increased price, if any, for the domestic goods, who does, in fact, pay them? When these questions are correctly answered, it will not be difficult to determine whether the internal tax on whisky, beer, and tobacco is more unjust and oppressive than the tariff tax on salt, coal, and lumber, and other articles upon which duties are laid.

But it is said that the internal revenue law is inquisitorial in its nature and irritating in its operations, and that, for these reasons, it ought to be repealed. If those who make this argument were not themselves insisting upon the perpetuation of a much more inquisitorial and irritating system of taxation, it would be entitled to greater consideration; but when the advocates of laws under

which the persons and houses of the people are searched and their property seized without accusation or warrant profess to be opposed to harsh and inquisitorial methods, there is at least apparent reason to doubt their sincerity. It is true that both the internal revenue and tariff laws are inquisitorial, and liable to abuse by incompetent or arbitrary officials, but to a certain extent this is unavoidable if the payment of the tax is to be enforced; and if the same articles were taxed in the same way by the several States instead of the general government, there is no reason to believe that the laws or their administration would be less objectionable. The true policy is to mitigate the severities of the laws as far as possible, and provide for such an administration of them as will prevent unnecessary hardship and inconvenience to the people; and this the Democratic party has more than once attempted to do, but was prevented by Republican votes in Congress.

The statement constantly made, that the Democratic party, if it had the power, would at once reduce the rates of duty to such a degree as to give the products of foreign labor an advantage in our own markets, is as groundless as the numerous other false predictions with which the people were deluded for twenty years by Republican orators and newspapers, and yet it has been successfully used to alarm the laboring classes, and prevent them from opposing a system of taxation which, while it does not increase the amount of their wages, greatly diminishes their purchasing power. Every well-informed man knows that any average rate of taxation upon imported goods which would enable the government to realize the amount of revenue it will be compelled to raise from that source, would much more than compensate for the difference between the cost of labor here and in other manufacturing countries. The amount of this difference has been grossly exaggerated, but even accepting the most extravagant statements that have been made upon the subject, it can be easily shown that the present tariff rates are greatly in excess of what is required to equalize the cost of production, so far as labor constitutes an element of that cost; and it cannot be shown that any Democratic proposition heretofore made would have reduced the average rate below that point. Whether the cost

of ocean and inland transportation, sea insurance, commissions, and other charges to which goods produced in other countries are subjected, are not ordinarily sufficient, without tariff taxes, to give the domestic product a considerable advantage in the home market, is a question which will not now be discussed, the intention being simply to state the facts that the rates of duty are, and will probably remain, much higher than is needed for that purpose.

As theoretical perfection is scarcely ever attainable in legislation, the first measure for the reduction of the revenue and taxation, as already intimated, will probably be the result of compromise, and include both tariff and internal taxes. Of the three classes of articles now subject to taxation under the internal revenue laws—distilled spirits, malt liquors, and manufactured tobacco—the exemption of the last would be the least objectionable, and if a provision for the total or partial repeal of that tax should be included in a proper bill for the reduction of the tariff duties, it would, as a compromise measure, be almost certain to pass the Democratic House of Representatives. Whether the Republican Senate would take the responsibility of insisting upon free whisky and free beer as an ultimatum, and thus force the question into the next presidential campaign, is a matter about which no prediction can now be made.

Closely connected with the question of revenue reduction is the question of honesty and economy in the public expenditures. That the ordinary expenditures of the government, not including pensions or payments upon the principal and interest of the war debt, have enormously outgrown the increase of population and public business, is a proposition which can be mathematically demonstrated; and as this is a reversal of the rule that prevails under sound and healthy conditions of the public service, it proves the existence of some vice in our present system that ought to be eradicated. Since the fourth of March, 1861, the Democratic party has not had control of both the legislative and executive departments of the government for a single day, nor has it, since that date, had control of both branches of the legislative department at the same time. It cannot, therefore, be justly held responsible either for the legislation or the executive

policy under which this great increase of expenditures was inaugurated and maintained. With the opposition of a Republican Senate, the Democratic House of Representatives has so far been unable either to repeal or amend existing laws, or properly to curtail expenditures under them; and although the present administration has succeeded, by careful attention to details, in effecting very considerable savings in many branches of the public service, the aggregate is still much too large, and ought to be further reduced. But this can be done only by legislation, and if the task is intelligently performed, upon a definite system or plan which comprehends the whole subject, the expenditures will be greatly diminished, and at the same time the efficiency of the public service will be materially promoted. There is now too much machinery for the work to be done, and too many engineers in charge of it. There are too many bureaus, divisions, and subdivisions in and about the various departments, and too little concentration of labor and official responsibility. This complicates and confuses the operations of the government, and makes the transaction of the public business tedious and annoying to the people, and at the same time it compels the retention of many officials and employees whose services might otherwise be dispensed with.

There is no reason to believe that the Republican party would make, or attempt to make, any substantial reduction of expenditures, or give its support to this necessary reform in the public service. It could not do either without repudiating its past policy and undoing its own work.

If we look beyond the ordinary outlay for the support of the government, and consider the general course of the two parties in relation to the appropriation and expenditure of the public money for other purposes, the difference between them is, if possible, still more important. In the matter of pensions especially, the Republican party, in and out of Congress, has thoroughly committed itself to a policy which, if carried out, would bankrupt the country, or, at the very least, subject the people to a burden of taxation that would seriously cripple and embarrass all their industries. While it is just and politic that a government like ours, which maintains no large standing army, should

grant liberal pensions to its wounded and disabled soldiers and sailors, and to the widows and dependent relatives of those who have died, the rights and interests of the great body of the people, who pay the taxes, carry on the industries, and develop the resources of the country, should not be entirely disregarded. Already the United States are expending annually, on account of military and naval pensions, more than is paid by all the other governments in the world combined; and as time passes and conditions change—as old age and disease overtake the survivors of the late war, and the wealth of the country increases—the benefits of the law will be extended and the allowances augmented, until finally all who can show a reasonable term of service and an honorable discharge will receive the generous aid of the government. This policy is not only right in itself, but it accords with the past course of the government toward the soldiers of other wars, and no public man of either party should oppose it. But there is a limit to the tax-paying power of the people, and the real friend of the soldier—not the mere politician who is seeking votes at the expense of the public treasury, but the responsible legislator, who foresees the consequences of his action and wants justice done to all classes—will proceed slowly and cautiously in a matter involving such vital interests. The Republican party is in no proper condition to control legislation upon this subject. It cannot halt without violating its pledges to the soldiers, and it cannot proceed without doing an irreparable wrong to the tax-payers.

The Democratic party has always been the friend of the navy and the merchant marine, and so long as it remained in power the American flag was displayed on every sea and in every commercial port. Seventy-five years ago, when the republic was in its infancy, our ships of war won imperishable renown in the conflict with Great Britain, the boasted mistress of the seas, and up to the beginning of the late civil war more than three-fourths of our foreign commerce was carried in our own vessels. Now, after twenty-four years of Republican domination, we have no naval establishment worthy of the name, and scarcely more than one-seventh part of our foreign carrying trade is done by American ships. If the mere appropriation and expenditure of money

had been all that was necessary, the Republican party has thoroughly demonstrated its qualification for the task, but unfortunately all its efforts to secure a navy without either building or buying vessels have signally failed. Nor was it any more successful in its attempts to increase foreign commerce and revive the carrying trade by paying subsidies and bounties out of the treasury. The paralyzing influences of prohibitory tariffs and barbarous navigation laws cannot be obviated by such artificial stimulants.

Free ships and liberal laws for the regulation of trade, instead of restrictive legislation and unfriendly taxation, would do more in a few years to restore our merchant marine and increase our commerce with South America and other parts of the world, than was accomplished during all the time the Republican party had charge of the government. Commercial treaties, while they may be desirable under peculiar circumstances, are generally more favorable to one party than the other, and are therefore frequently unjust. Besides, they grant exclusive privileges and make improper and offensive discriminations against other friendly nations, thus provoking a spirit of retaliation upon their part which may greatly injure the interests of our citizens abroad. As a general rule, a great power like the United States should always retain absolute control over its own affairs, and not embarrass itself by commercial or other alliances with foreign governments. We have it in our own power, without bargaining or consulting with any other nation, to adopt a policy which will insure domestic tranquillity, extend our commerce, create new and profitable markets for our products, revive our ship-building and ship-owning interests, and infuse new life and energy into every department of industry. It is the Democratic policy of low taxation, economy in the administration of public affairs, non-interference with the private business of the people, equal regard for the reserved rights of the States and the constitutional authority of the federal government, protection to the citizen at home and abroad, and just and equal laws for the promotion and encouragement of every honest industry and every species of lawful commerce.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

## EDUCATION AND LAWLESSNESS.

IN the proceeding agitation of the labor question, involving antagonisms of social classes and clashing claims of property, a fresh interest, not to say a deepening solemnity, is imparted to the general subject of the sanctity of law. Underneath these contests of theory, policy, and legislation, largely due to local and temporary conditions, there is an issue more fundamental and comprehensive. Nor is the relation between the less and the greater very obscure. Rights, however clamored for, are secured only by order; order is by government; government is by authority; authority has its source and seat in law. It is no wonder that the wisest minds, the real statesmen, are more and more apprehensive. Crew and passengers may amuse themselves with discussing modes of navigation; they may quarrel over their privileges or grumble at their hardships; meanwhile the seas are not smooth, the reefs are not merciful, and the winds are loose. What is to become of the ship? That is asking who is to give orders, and who are to mind them.

If there is clearly at present a diminished and diminishing respect for the statutes of the state, it must be because the sense of the necessity of obedience as a principle is weakened; or because, by those who really make public opinion, the laws are believed to be bad; or because, in spite of our civilization, the passions of men, their self-indulgence, self-will, and self-worship, bear down their higher judgment, sweeping them on into lawless individual gratification, as it is the nature of passion to do.

The evil threatened is so vast and so manifold as to warrant a brief notice of these possible causes. Incidentally this will show how far the facts justify alarm.

For any absolute insensibility, in this country, to the general benefits of civil government, any prevailing disesteem for law in the abstract, it would be difficult to account. As a rule, such

disesteem is in inverse proportion to the diffusion of knowledge, to mental activity and culture. Not only from great jurists and publicists, but from the strongest heads in all departments of intellectual action, have come the most impressive tributes to the majesty and benignity of governmental protection and restraint, with the most jealous warnings against insubordination. Surely there can be nothing in universal education, or industrial progress, or religious freedom, or the mere increase of material prosperity, to render a people indifferent to the safeguards in the prohibitions of courts and statute books, to checks upon personal violence, or to penalties for crime. As to dissatisfaction with the character and requirements of the statute-book itself, it must be remembered that society here is not under the reign of an entrenched and overpowering feudalism or a rooted and hereditary monarchy; that our legislation is sufficiently flexible and popular; that if laws are found on any large scale to be intolerable they can, for the most part without much difficulty, be modified.

Yet in a people and time where, notwithstanding an immense apparatus for the stimulation of intelligence, there is shown to be an increase of criminal business of nearly all grades out of proportion to the increase of population; where, in and about legislatures, numerous and powerful corporations, monopolies, and capitalists are notoriously and incessantly at work hindering or corrupting the processes of legislation for private advantage; where revenue laws and taxation laws and adulteration laws and excise laws and municipal laws of every sort are conspicuously violated or evaded every day with scarcely a chance of detection; where it is no infrequent occurrence for a public impression to be created that in trials for fraud villains are screened from punishment and justice is defeated by money; and where broad tides of sentimental sympathy are almost sure to set toward the offenders themselves, especially if they are ingenious or bold, lavishing upon them luxuries and keepsakes, decorating their prison-cells with carpets and roses; in fact, where the natural human instinct which sides with the weaker party takes the form of an angry presumption that a culprit in the grasp of the police or under sentence of a judge and jury



is not only the weaker party but the party injured, it certainly cannot be denied that there is reasonable ground for some patriotic anxiety.

Another noticeable phenomenon is that these signs appear just at a period when the admiring attention of students in all departments of physical science is eagerly directed to the operations of law. They are searched for with a kind of fascination, as sportsmen hunt their game. They are recognized with reverence, as devotees do homage to their deities. Ascending from the lowest type, along with increasing complexity, capacity, beauty, with a constant approach to perfection in form and function, the men of science find no abatement whatever in the respect for order, in the permanence and prevalence of law. Go as high as you will, the liberty of nature never dissolves this bond. The celestial life has the play of music, and in the music there is rhythm. The rainbow bends round about the throne. Cherubim and seraphim, angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven move freely, but they move in the measures of an everlasting harmony. The absolutist or the doctrinaire may not be much moved by this omnipresence of a magnificent principle, but absolutist and doctrinaire alike want that degree of equilibrium in the social statics which gives security.

Along with this steady and ordered condition of things in nature goes subordination. One thing, species, class, is above another. The whole cosmos stands by subjection. Hence, as in man, so in the training of man there is subordination; and as there is subordination, so also there is the principle of authority, as far-reaching, omnipresent, necessary, as law itself. If humanity has a common life it lives by a common rule. If it is to be nurtured and developed from infancy to maturity it must be by the subjection of one mind to another, of one will to another, of the taught and trained to the teacher and trainer. Schools are governments. Ought they, then, to govern?

Taking the family, the school proper, the college, and the university together, we have four types as well as four stages of educational work. Within half a century or less a change has been taking place in them apart from all changes of instruction, curriculum, text-books, or the gradation of studies, but a change

more or less affecting their intellectual character. The marks of the innovation may be misinterpreted: they seem to mean a declining respect for authority. Probably they are only one phase of a much broader tendency, traceable to our national origin, political system, and democratic traditions. It is not very strange that a civil polity which began with a declaration of its rights, and got its foothold upon the earth with a struggle of life and death for them, should have the sense of what it deserves so intensified in its consciousness as sometimes to forget what it owes; or that, lodging all power in the individual members, it should dispose each individual to insist more upon his civil prerogatives than his civil duties. The present writer is one of those who believe that the constitution of every government under the sun should be so far theocratic as to keep up in the mind of the people an unfailing conviction of dependence upon the Almighty, the strongest of empires and republics being made strong by that conviction. There may be a rhetorical sense in which it can be said that a government derives its power and its right to make and administer laws from the consent of the governed. It may, indeed, get its opportunity from the people, but it gets its power primarily from God. Apart, however, from the sphere of religion, say what we will of the glory of independence, there is a glory, equally high and deep, of obedience—voluntary, intelligent, principled obedience where obedience is due. The voices of three generations have extolled enthusiastically the principle of popular self-rule. It would be no new thing in history if the prolonged reiteration of an unquestionable and precious truth should suppress some other truth balancing it. Nothing can make it true, not even the American experiment, that self-praise is the highest function of a person or of a people, self-direction the best guidance, or self-development the loftiest aspiration. On the contrary, a system based on such maxims is equally at war with common sense, philosophy, and faith. The first want of any society is to recognize a past behind its oldest members and an intelligence above its highest heads. Persuade any nation that self-aggrandizement is its supreme good, or that every citizen is sufficient to himself, and it cannot fail in time to breed that degradation of public character where politics will be

a science of greediness, offices and officers will be merchandise, legislation a convenience to be managed for sordid ends under state ceremonials, and law itself a purveyor to one or another of the appetites. There is a great deal to be done between the two oceans, and we have no time to spare for self-congratulation.

In the recent struggle of contending educators over the question of elective studies, it strikes an observer that due respect has hardly been paid to the discipline of the will. The debate has been carried on almost exclusively with reference to those results of education which are strictly intellectual, man being treated as a receptacle of knowledge. The "fetich" is not altogether, as Mr. Adams suggested, the dead languages, but knowledge itself, a better idol than most, but not so good as the best, and as an idol not good at all. Now, if modern education has any distinguishing principle it is that its business is to train, enlarge, and invigorate the man in all the parts of him, the integral sum of his faculties. It will be a step forward when it is fairly acknowledged that even with the knowing or understanding faculty the foremost object is to perfect it as an instrument for service rather than to stimulate or stock it as a recipient of information. But, more than that, there are other powers and capacities stamped with quite as weighty a responsibility as those of apprehension, acquisition, or memory, viz., the moral judgment, conscience, and will. It can hardly be pretended by the most extravagant secularist that hitherto these great forces in a complete manhood have had their share of culture. Where they dwindle or are overshadowed, it is not only the symmetry of a complete individual manhood that must suffer; society will be disordered. And the point in the body politic where the disease will be felt first will be that where society finds its safeguard—reverence for right and obedience to law.

There is another modern educational innovation, the self-government of pupils. Within twenty years or less a theory has been promulgated, and in a few instances put upon experiment, that the autonomy of a college should be shaped into a democracy. The governing power of the faculty, having experience and age and deliberation, and a supposed special fitness and a very obvious and vital accountability, is intermingled or

made to be co-ordinate with that of the students themselves, acting either in general meeting or by chosen representatives. A practice of politics, and it may be juvenile politics, is introduced among academic pursuits. In certain states of excitement, under the sway of those passions which inevitably sweep through a collegiate community, where pride, favoritism, resentment, false sympathy, false honor, play so large a part, who can expect the exercise of calm wisdom, of judicial impartiality, of patience, of true loyalty? Under some presidents of rare sagacity and a genius for mastery, such as the last generation has seen, so adventurous a system might be safely managed. We are not aware that any one of those statesmanlike men undertook to manage it or institute it. They knew that in every academic atmosphere there are gusts. Instructive examples have been afforded quite lately of the rising spirit of pædocracy, where it has been more than suspected that the administration of discipline has been controlled rather by the dictation of the boys than by the good sense of the officers. More than one such officer declares that, as respects the conduct of college newspapers, athletic clubs, inter-collegiate games, the irregularities and illegalities that attend boat-racing and ball-playing, it is the impulse and cry of immaturity that carry the day rather than the administering body to which the sacred trust of command has been assigned. Without in the least impugning the courage or conscience of those to whom this trust has been committed, and fully admitting the plausibility of certain arguments for a relaxation of the former police rigidity, is it not both fair and timely to urge extreme caution in changes which threaten a subversion of ideas that lie at the basis of social welfare, and which are of vast moment to the future law-makers of the country? The drift in that direction is formidable. In the multiplication of chairs there ought to be in every college a professorship where the divine sanctity of law should be ably taught and illustrated—history, philosophy, political economy, and social ethics being made tributary to that instruction.

The Prussians have a saying, that whatever you wish to have appear in the life of a nation you must put into its schools. Will the republic be ennobled, then, by the citizenship of a generation taught in childhood to believe that as soon as children

can go alone on their feet they should be permitted to go alone in their judgment, their manners, and their principles? A pleasant aphorism of a German poet, that a wise age reverences the dreams of its youth, appears to frighten parents from setting up a rule in their own houses. The children are consulted as to what they like, which is well enough, with the important limitation that a large part of the appointed business of their fathers and mothers is to teach them what they ought to like. It is reckoned despotic to coerce nature, as if we did not bring into the world in our nature a great deal which, unless somebody does coerce it, ruins us. Earlier and earlier the reins are tossed on the neck of juvenile inclinations, till that whole period of beautiful and blessed subjection which Saxon homes once knew as boyhood and girlhood is eaten away by a premature and offensive self-assertion, and instead of boys and girls we have only little men and little women. Some futile attempts are made, too late, to hire or bribe the virtues which might have been healthily grown under a sturdier nurture. Indulgence ends in misery. Sharper cruelty can hardly be done to a child than to leave him to himself in those things in which God ordains the parent to act over him and for him. Whenever we come to be a lawless land, as we certainly shall after four or five lawless generations have grown up in it, this "great country" will be a great grave of true freedom, of manly virtue, and a pure peace. Where the young are brought up to obey, not coaxed or supplicated to obey, the foundation is laid for a solid social fabric. From this home legislation the first transfer is to school. The same firm hand of law, strict and merciful, and merciful because it is strict, is meant to take the child up there too, holding him and guiding him.

The whole apparatus of education, from top to bottom, fails unless it chastens and molds the mind to orderly methods. Not more self-reliance, but more intellectual humility, is now our national want. To create in the scholar a patient, modest, and obedient action of the whole intellectual nature is a benefit that lasts on in the personal experience and makes an abiding element in character, opening the soul to all the light of truth. Of two graduates from college, one carries out a store of things learned,

the luggage of his mind. The other carries the secret how to learn, and how to be taught, which is the better part of wisdom, his faculties being set in the order of the Maker's plan. Which will be the master of his place and the master of other men in the fight of after years, who can doubt? When the Duke of Wellington received a very intrepid battalion returning from a bloody campaign it was observed that he said nothing of their courage, praising only their discipline and subordination to command. Civilians were surprised. The field marshal's reason was ready—Englishmen are expected to be brave, but obedience is the higher honor. War itself, as a science of slaughter, is not a lofty kind of work, as the most courageous warriors in later days always admit. Yet the military profession is an elevated one in civilized countries, because it is a discipline of character in the principle of authority. The fascination in the presence of an admiral or general is not in the strap or title. Great commanders, great statesmen, true gentlemen the world over, never gain their places by self-assertion, but by steadfast drudgery under orders, each obediently observing the limits of his rank and post. How sternly the public judgments of heaven have instructed both Cæsars and democracies that presumption is weakness; that military dash and extemporization and "head-quarters in the saddle" and contempt of "red tape" and all that raw brood are sure agencies of national self-destruction!

The men, the nations, the ages which most venerate law are the strong men, the commanding nations, the happy ages. In the New Testament *ἀνομία*, lawlessness, is the supreme curse of social man. So that great theological doctor who has taught the lawyers and thinkers of England even since he was laid in his humble grave affirms thus of the majesty of law: "All things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempt from her power." "Of her," it is said, "is born the virtue which is the bond of all other virtues, since neither imagination nor invention, neither industry nor energy, is of full avail without her. As opposed to all passion and changefulness, law is the special characteristic of the Eternal Mind and Power. By the signs of it things really mighty and abiding are separated from things loose

and insolent, things merely brilliant or adorned, things exaggerated and round about. It is the stillness of the beams of the everlasting chambers laid upon the variable waters of ministering and mortal creatures." The American poet is not wanting in the liberal sympathies of his age, but he seems to see both sides of the social fact when he writes :

"Three roots bear up dominion. Knowledge, will ;  
 These two are strong ; but stronger still the third,  
 Obedience, the great tap-root which still,  
 Knit round the rock of duty, is not moved  
 Though the storm's ploughshare spend its utmost skill."

The great master of Rugby, Dr. Arnold, when it was suggested that a proposed expulsion of some insubordinate boys of choice blood would endanger the patronage, replied : "It is not necessary that there should be three hundred pupils in this school, but it is absolutely necessary that all who are here should be amenable to discipline." I remember a case of disturbance at Harvard, where a budding socialist in the sophomore class, being called before President Walker, ventured to remark that he did not approve of the law which he had just broken. The president discontinued the conversation by saying, so dryly that every drop of moisture seemed to be squeezed out of the words, "We don't expect you to approve of the law, but to mind it ;" and he sent him home to learn a lesson more useful to him than the calculus or the Greek tragedies. Says De Tocqueville, "The Americans have lawyers and commentators, but no jurists." There may be jurists when our higher seats of learning have wrought it into the minds of young men, through their leaders, that government is not a device, a convenience, or a human compact, but a divine charter, and that we shall never understand human rights till we have discovered that they are worth nothing except as they are the correlates of duties, and a means of getting duty, or God's will, done on the earth. With his usual aptitude of expression Aristotle called man *πολιτικὸν ζῶον*, a creature born to live in political society, or under the law of the state. When preachers in pulpits see this clearly they will cease preaching many other things and preach righteous char-

acter, which is the obedience of faith to the law of the kingdom of God among men.

"Self-made"—though there is really no creature of that sort in creation—is a title which in current use has come to be received as a kind of indisputable challenge to admiration, a proof of intellectual nobility and of fitness for high office. Great respect is doubtless due to the energy of any man who makes the most of his gifts or his opportunity. Such men may here and there rise to the intellectual peerage of the world. But the self-made man is badly made who is not ready to confess that other men might have made him better than he has made himself, and especially that institutions which gather and treasure up the wisdom of the past, and are complicated instruments perfected by ages, are likely to educate better than an individual mind, however vigorous, or an individual will, however resolute, or a personal aspiration left to itself, however persistent. Who would not rather have, as his ruler, his doctor, his preacher, his attorney, or his judge, the pupil of the best that the world has thought and learned, than the pupil of a master who is master and pupil at the same time, and who, therefore, at any given moment, has an uneducated mind for his educator? A reconciliation, therefore, of the ideas of liberty and law is for the teachers and guides of mankind a matter of profound concern. Wherever it is attained the gain is more than a mere triumph of consistent scientific thought. It must go far to clear and settle those grave questions of social morality, just uses of wealth, adjustments of industry, and political integrity which have never been more urgent than now, and on which not only the well-being but the being of this nation depends. We repeat, therefore, with a variation, the Prussian maxim: "If you would have respect for law appear in the life of the nation, you must put it into the schools."

F. D. HUNTINGTON.



## THE TREASURY SURPLUS.

SHOULD Colonel Morrison glance at this paper he will exclaim, as he frequently did when presiding over the deliberations of the Committee on Ways and Means: "I think I've heard that before." Having long seen distinctly and with undoubting faith the line of policy which alone could prevent the continuous flow into the national treasury of a demoralizing surplus, I have been instant, in season and out of season, in pressing upon the committee and House of Representatives facts and arguments in support of my convictions. I have also believed it to be my duty to invite public attention to the subject whenever a fitting opportunity opened, and in the course of an address read before the National Convention of Manufacturers, held in the Cooper Institute, November 29, 1881, I said:

"To refuse to abolish at the earliest practicable day our whole system of internal taxes, except the tax on notes other than those of national banks, would show a disregard of the teachings of the fathers and the cherished traditions of the people. Excise duties and personal and land taxes have ever been regarded as constituting legitimate sources of revenue for State and local governments. Interference with them by the national government has always provoked resistance. The framers of the Constitution believed that duties on imports would furnish adequate revenue for the current expenses of the national government, and the people have preferred that it should leave unimpaired all other sources of taxation. It is true that the federal Constitution provides that 'Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises' with which 'to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States;' but the men who framed that Constitution did not intend that the government should derive its current revenues from direct or internal taxes. Terrible experiences had taught them that resort to such taxes might be necessary in time of war, or to provide for the then existing debt, or to meet any long-continued system of extraordinary expenditures. They therefore empowered Congress to impose such taxes."

Again, when requested to discuss the subject in the "International Review" for October, 1882, I began an article, under the

caption, "Our Excessive Revenue is Engendering National Corruption," by saying:

"We are embarrassed by our riches. The gravest dangers that impend over our country can be averted only by the reduction of our excessive annual revenue. It seems to be easy enough to avert these dangers, as it can be done by repealing invidious and onerous taxes, the proceeds of which are not needed by the government. This is, however, an erroneous conclusion. The disbursement of more than \$5,000,000 annually, the employment of four thousand partisan agents by the treasury, and the distribution by Representatives and Senators of thousands, or millions, of dollars during each Congress, in their respective districts, are privileges that will not be lightly surrendered. Indeed, the action of the present Congress justifies an apprehension that it may require a repetition of those emphatic protests against internal taxation as a peace measure, known as Shay's Rebellion and the Whisky Rebellion, to force the repeal of these taxes."

Many persons who do not remember the treatment the subject had received at the hands of both parties during the first session of the 47th Congress will regard the closing sentence of this paragraph as an exaggerated rhetorical flourish. This conclusion is unfounded. It was the deliberate expression of a fear that had been forced upon me by the action of my cherished friends and our partisan associates in Congress. In organizing the committees of the House, the Speaker had done me the honor to name me as Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. But neither of the two gentlemen whose names followed mine, and one of whom must, in the order in which they had been named, assume my duties in the event of my absence from the committee or House, sympathized with my views on this question. I had, after the expiration of the 46th Congress, corresponded or conferred personally with many of the most distinguished economists and practical financiers of the country, and had prepared a bill for the repeal of the taxes on tobacco and fermented liquors, and of all stamps, with the tax on matches, and those on banks and bankers, except the tax of one per cent. on circulation, which was assumed to be requisite to defray the cost of maintaining the condition of the notes. But as a majority of the members of the committee to whom I must look for support, and to whose wishes I must therefore defer, were of opinion that the question of the tax on fermented liquors had better be

postponed, no mention was made of that tax in the draft submitted. The bill thus modified would reduce the annual revenue, estimated by the receipts of the preceding fiscal year, something more than \$50,000,000. That, in its modified form, the bill commanded the approval of a majority of my party associates I had no reason to doubt.

Ere it could receive consideration in the Committee of Ways and Means, a caucus of the Republican members of the House was called, for the purpose, as was stated, of determining the question of an increase in the number of committees and of the membership of several of the more important ones. I entered the hall some time before the hour for which the meeting had been called, but heard no discussion among members of questions pertaining to the number or size of the standing committees; and when the chairman called the meeting to order it became apparent that this was not the business for which we had been convened; for, closing his eyes to the fact that several gentlemen with written propositions in their hands were demanding recognition, he recognized one who rose from his seat after others had addressed the chair. This gentleman, for whom the chairman had evidently waited, submitted a proposition by the adoption of which the Republican caucus of the House of Representatives of the 47th Congress would degrade the newly appointed Committee of Ways and Means, and arrogate to itself the duties vested in that committee by positive law and unbroken usage. That this action was the result of preconcert could not be doubted, and the successful carrying out of the scheme was insured by the adoption of a resolution to limit debate to five-minute speeches. The purpose of the managers of the caucus was to prohibit the committee from reporting a measure for the reduction of taxes on distilled spirits or fermented liquors, or for making any but certain specified rates of reduction in the taxes on tobacco, or in the special taxes with which dealers in any form of tobacco were then charged.

The Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who had really given much consideration to the question of surplus revenue, in all its bearings, protested, not without indignation, against this attempt by an unauthorized, secret, and irresponsi-

ble, though potential, body, to degrade him and his associates on the leading committee of the House. His just indignation was, however, of no avail. Then, believing that if he could convince the gentlemen present that his object was not, as was intimated, to propitiate distillers, brewers, manufacturers or dealers in tobacco, or the great army of saloon keepers, but was simply to avert the evils of a surplus beyond the demands of the treasury for the payment of matured bonds, he changed his tone, and pleaded, in the name of his party and his country, for the privilege of presenting the facts which must control financial events. His plea was in vain, and, in the house of his friends, the Chairman of the Republican Committee on Ways and Means was peremptorily silenced. When, subsequently, from the depths of his humiliation, he declared this outrage to be without precedent in the legislation of the country, he was informed that similar action had been taken in a Democratic caucus held during the furious Kansas-Nebraska struggle.

To deal with the revenues of the government is the special function of the Committee on Ways and Means: not to deal with them absolutely and finally, but as an organ of the House. The business of the House receives its primary consideration from committees, of which it appoints fifty-five, of which forty-seven are standing committees and eight special. Under the distribution of business among these organizations, all questions relating to the bonded debt and the revenues of the government are referable to the Committee on Ways and Means. Its province is simply to weigh all measures suggested to the House, whether by the President, in a message, a member, by a bill or resolution, or by individual or popular petition, and to submit its conclusions thereon for consideration and action by the House; and to do this is its right and duty. But, in legislative business, no agency is more abject in its servility or more absolute in its power than a pliant caucus of a partisan majority, controlled by such leaders as composed the "Republican steering committee" of the 47th Congress. As the formulation of the bill of the caucus was a purely clerical duty, it was soon completed. I confess that I brought the draft of this bill before the committee for consideration, with a hope that our Demo-

cratic associates would propose to amend it by substituting the repeal at least of all of the tobacco taxes, and that, with the aid of my vote, and the votes of two of my Republican associates, they would enable us to show our contemptuous disregard of the attempted usurpation of the functions of the committee. Three of us were ready to vote with the opposition to report such a bill. But to avail themselves of the opportunity thus opened to them required of our Democratic associates a degree of courage and statesmanship of which they proved themselves incapable; for, instead of taking advantage of the shortcomings of their adversaries, dividing their counsels and overthrowing their policy, they insisted upon exceeding their folly by demanding a reduction of protective duties as the price at which alone they would consent to the repeal of any portion of the internal taxes. Thus deliberately to disavow responsibility for the revenue legislation of the 47th Congress, especially for that which, by the Act of March 3, 1883, injected into the tariff law so many hurtful and incongruous provisions, is a privilege for which I have long wished.

Before leaving this branch of my subject, I may, without impropriety, note the fact that the results of the blunder of that caucus, as they are daily disclosing themselves, prove that the measure I implored it to permit the House to consider, was adapted with precision to the dangers it proposed to avert. Its object was to prevent the possibility of the accumulation of an excess of revenue in the treasury, which would be detrimental to the morals of the people, and to the commercial interests of the country. If the bill I prepared had been enacted, the revenues of the government would still have been ample to meet all demands against it, including liberal appropriations for pensions, for the improvement of rivers and harbors, for public buildings, for the enlargement of the navy, and for the maintenance of the sinking fund; together with the absorption of the bonds that were subject to call at an annual rate that would have postponed the final payment until the 4½ per cents would mature, and could be called for payment in 1891. To demonstrate this proposition, I submit the elements of the computation as shown by the books of the treasury. The annual

revenue received during the interim from taxes on tobacco and fermented liquors has been as follows :

FISCAL YEAR END- ED JUNE 30.	TOBACCO.	FERMENTED LIQUORS.	TOTAL.
1883.....	\$42,104,249 79	\$16,900,615 81	\$59,004,865 60
1884.....	26,062,399 98	18,084,954 11	44,147,354 09
1885.....	26,407,088 48	18,230,782 03	44,637,870 51
1886.....	27,907,362 53	19,676,731 29	47,584,093 82
1887.....	30,108,067 13	21,922,187 49	52,030,254 62
Total.....	\$152,589,167 91	\$94,815,270 73	\$247,404,438 64

The total amount of bonds liable to call that were outstanding, June 30, 1882, was \$471,402,450. From the foregoing figures it is apparent that, had my draft of a law been adopted, the position of the government at this time would show its annual revenue diminished by more than \$50,000,000, and a liability for \$247,404,438 outstanding 3 per cent. bonds which it could call as its reduced revenue would permit. It is true that, had those taxes been repealed at the session of 1881-'2, the amount received from them in 1882-'3 would have shown but a partial reduction; but as the proposition provided for a rebate of prepaid taxes on unbroken packages, the figures for that year come fairly into the calculation. The table has a special value in this respect, namely, that it shows the increased volume these taxes contribute annually to the surplus.

It may be asked, If you believed a reduction of income large enough to prevent the accumulation of funds beyond what was needed for the maintenance of the sinking fund and meeting the just expenses of the government was essential to the preservation of commercial prosperity, why did you not insure the repeal of excise taxes by consenting to an equal abatement of custom duties? My object being an assured abatement of the national income, the reduction of protective duties was not adapted to the end in view. The propositions are inconsistent, and, if tried together, the influence of each on the current volume of revenue would neutralize that of the other. When it is proposed to repeal internal taxes which have been collected for years, it is known that such repeal can by no possibility increase the rev-

enue, and that, by reference to official accounts, the amount of income proposed to be surrendered can be determined with precision. But our experience, many times repeated, and that of other nations, have shown that to reduce protective duties to rates below those at which they will protect is to invite such an increased importation of competing commodities as to augment the revenue. That the reduction of duties by the influence of which a government has promoted the diversification of the employments of its people and the utilization of their latent material resources, to rates at which they cease to protect, is followed by augmented imports and increased revenue, is conceded alike by free-traders and protectionists. In fact, this is one of the very few dogmas of political economy that are universally accepted. As the object sought was an assured reduction, and not a damaging increase of income, my reply to the supposed question is, that I could not ignore the teachings of experience and dialectics, and deliberately attempt to delude the people by such a display of congressional legerdemain as the incongruous proposition involved. As to the correctness of my action in the premises, no shadow of doubt has ever crossed my mind. But even had I not been convinced beyond peradventure of the truth of the foregoing proposition, I could not have consented to the proposed dicker of a protective duty for an excise tax. A hasty revision of the tariff, at that time, involved an experiment of sufficient magnitude to appal most men who saw its proportions. We had just learned, from the preliminary report of the 10th Census, that, under the benign influence of two decades of protective tariffs, we had passed from the humiliation we had endured under tariffs for revenue only, of being a commercial dependency, to the proud position of the first manufacturing nation of the world, with an internal commerce greatly in excess of England's home and foreign trade combined. Our manufacturing establishments, so we had just been officially informed, numbered 253,852, employed \$2,790,272,606 of capital, and paid American rates of wages to 2,738,895 operatives; and I could not bring myself to consent to endanger any part of these magnificent elements of national prosperity and power.

There are but two methods by which the amount of revenue collectible from customs duties may be certainly diminished. They are, first, the transfer of commodities from the list of dutiable articles to the free list; and, secondly, the maintenance of such rates of duty as will stimulate the development of the latent resources of the country, through the labor and enterprise of our own people, by guaranteeing to them reasonable advantages in our home markets over foreign competitors, who neither contribute to the revenues of the government in times of peace nor fight its battles in war. The space allotted to this article will not permit even a cursory statement of the social consequences which follow the adoption of either of these methods: Ireland, Egypt, Turkey, and British India illustrate the effects of the former, and the progress of our country since 1861 those of the latter method. My choice between these methods has been declared too often to require repetition.

I, however, invite attention to these suggestive facts: that the money of the people is drained into the vaults of the treasury at the rate of more than \$1,000,000 per day, much of which should be employed in rehabilitating the impoverished South, and in otherwise adding to the wealth of the people and the power and glory of the country; that there are none of our bonds that the government can call and pay at par, and that there will be none for more than four years, when less than \$250,000,000 will mature; that there is now on deposit with the United States Treasurer, as security for national bank notes and government deposits, about \$80,000,000, or nearly one-third of these bonds; that when these  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cents shall have been paid, no further outlet for surplus funds can occur for twenty years, or until the 4 per cents may be paid in 1907; that our receipts from internal taxes, as is shown by the foregoing table, are increasing at the rate of nearly \$2,000,000 per year; and that if annual payments on account of the sinking fund, in accordance with the existing statute, are to be maintained, they will effect an annual reduction of \$2,000,000 in our payments of interest; that the interests of all our other manufacturing industries are antagonized by three affiliated monopolies, each of which owes its existence to the provisions of the internal tax laws, viz., the dis-



tillers of spirits from grain, known as the Whisky Ring, of the wide-spread agencies of which ring the distillers are but the central influence; the few wealthy manufacturers of tobacco, in whose hands the invidious and oppressive provisions of the tax law have concentrated the entire tobacco trade of the country; and, thirdly, the Brewers' Association; that the legal privileges of these monopolies are supported by the saloon-keepers of the country and their unhappy victims, and by hosts of misguided champions of temperance and religion, whose strange alliance with these interests recalls John Randolph's denunciation of a supposed political bargain as a coalition between a Puritan and a blackleg; and, finally, that during the fiscal year just closed, the Internal Revenue Bureau disbursed, as it has done for many years, over \$4,000,000 among four thousand supporters of this system of war taxes, by the agency of which it is sought to cripple the productive industries of the country. In view of these portentous facts, may I not ask why immediate action should not be taken for the abolition of these sources of surplus revenue and the overthrow of the demoralizing influences which aspire through their continuance to the control of our national financial and industrial policy.

But a thousand voices, most of them those of subsidized retainers of the whisky ring, who "steal the livery of heaven to serve the devil in," will exclaim, "Would you repeal the whisky tax, and fill the country with gin-mills and grog-shops?" I would not add one to these sources of ruin; but I would repeal the national tax on distilled spirits, in order to impose effective restraints upon the traffic by State and municipal authorities, which, by subjecting this baneful traffic to police regulations, can reach it with penal restraints, as the national government cannot do. I would repeal the spirit tax, because, in the language of that eminent jurist and advocate of total abstinence, Judge Robert C. Pitman, of Massachusetts:

"We are compelled to the conclusion that the taxation of the liquor traffic offers no effective regulation of it; that if held out as a measure of reform it is delusive, and stands in the way of better legislation; and that in itself it has the double vice of being opposed to the better moral instincts, and of being operative as a bribe to pervert the public conscience."

To show the extent of the delusion under which they labor who really believe that the national tax on distilled spirits is a moral influence, and to expose the hypocrisy of the agents of the combined monopolies who swarm in the lobbies of Congress whenever an effort to interfere with any internal tax is expected, and who seek to convince inexperienced congressmen that their interest in the matter has its source in their devotion to temperance and religion, I present a few facts.

The tax on a gallon of proof spirits, the minimum legal product for taxation of a peck of corn, is ninety cents. When we consider the cost of the corn, the expense of distillation, and the many services performed by alcohol in the arts and in pharmacy, in which its place can be supplied by no other agent, this rate is inordinate. But this consideration relates to the economic aspect of the subject, and our question is as to the potency of the tax as a moral influence. The members of the whisky lobby, who claim that the tax is a moral influence, know that their claim is preposterous. The burden the tax imposes on the average drink of whisky taken in the elegant saloons or the "gin-mills" and "groggeries" of the country cannot be precisely ascertained; but patient inquiry has satisfied me that if it were susceptible of demonstration it would be found to be from one-half to seven-tenths of a cent per drink.

Is it not supremely absurd to expect that the addition of a fraction of a cent to the cost of each drink will operate as a restraint upon a drunkard's appetite, or that one who, by indulgence in the habit of moderate drinking, is unconsciously cultivating such an appetite, will be driven to modify his social habits by so inappreciable a penalty? I am free to say that I cannot believe that this tax, which is doubled on each gallon of alcohol, and often operates oppressively in medicine and the arts, is ever felt as a restraining influence by drunkards or convivialists. In endeavoring to determine the average tax per drink, it must be borne in mind that half a gill is in excess of the quantity taken in an average bar-room drink; that the taxable gallon is of proof spirit, and therefore contains sixty-four half gills of proof spirit; that the liquor sold at retail is all diluted to a point below proof, and that, as the tax offers a re-

ward of 500 per cent. on such unwholesome practices, much of it is adulterated with ingredients so pernicious as to make whisky, distilled from grain or fruit, a comparatively harmless beverage. These three subjects of taxation—tobacco, fermented liquors, and distilled spirits—produced in the fiscal year ended June, 1886, \$116,902,869.44, and in the year which ended last June, \$118,835,757.30; and the commissioner expresses the belief that there will be a further increase during the current year. Every dollar of these enormous sums was surplus revenue—money in excess of the just demands of the government, abstracted from the people by an army of about four thousand officeholders, stationed in every congressional district in the country, and maintained at the direct cost of from \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000 per annum. The taxes, and the charges for collecting them, should be promptly abolished.

The liquor traffic can be regulated or prohibited, but not by the national government. It is a fearful source of pauperism, crime, and disease, and is therefore an object for the most rigorous police supervision. The cost of the crime, pauperism, insanity, and disease it produces does not fall upon the nation, but is borne by States, cities, counties, and townships, whose police can enforce such restraints and penalties as law may determine; and as they have to bear the burdens it imposes, they are entitled to receive the revenue that may be justly derived from so devastating an influence.

But, in addition to the abatement of revenue which would result from the abolition of the internal revenue system, the financial dangers impending over the near future suggest a large reduction of receipts from customs duties also, and a consequent revision of certain details of the tariff. The difficulty of preventing embarrassing accumulations in the treasury is not of recent date, but while there were bonds that might be called and paid, the accretions of revenue did not involve such grave consequences as those with which they now threaten the country. The imperious necessity imposed by an excess of revenue is illustrated by the following facts. During the war, and for some time thereafter, the government was unable to make any payment on account of the sinking fund, yet, in his annual

report for 1876, the Secretary of the Treasury stated that at the close of the preceding fiscal year, on the 30th of June, 1875, payments on account of the debt had exceeded the requirements of the law by \$223,144,011.07. During the intervening twelve years this payment of debt in excess of statutory requirements has been greatly augmented. The sanctity of the sinking fund will therefore not be endangered by the failure to make annual purchases of bonds for some years.

A few instances will illustrate my mode of reducing the receipts from customs duties, and they must be briefly stated. I would restore the duty on worsted goods, in the manufacture of which we once employed \$20,000,000 of capital and thousands of operatives, but which, under reduced duties, we now import, and by the payment of duties thereon swell the surplus. The duties under which we were able to produce cotton ties and wire rods, would, if restored, cut off the contributions the lower duties on the imported supply make to the treasury. And I could indicate many other articles, the production of which has been suspended, and the excess of revenue increased, by the reduction of reasonably protective duties.

But to avoid allusion to sugar and tin plates, in a consideration of the means of abating our excessive revenue, would be a vital omission. The revenue derived from these articles in the year that ended June, 1886, was over \$56,000,000, which was divided thus: from sugar, \$50,265,538, and from tin plates, \$5,740,963. We can put this vast annual contribution into gradual but rapidly increasing and certain liquidation by turning a deaf ear to the sinister clamor for the repeal of the duty on sugar; and the enacting of such a duty on tin plates as will justify discreet men in embarking large amounts of capital in the plant for an industry, the establishment and maintenance of which is essential to our national independence. Sugar was never as cheap as it is now, nor was the *ad valorem* duty upon it ever so high. The creation of the beet sugar industry in Europe is a standing proof among nations that really protective duties cheapen commodities by increasing the supply. We have, in the cane fields of Florida and Louisiana, the beet fields of California, and the sorghum and corn fields of the western States,

more extended ranges of sugar-producing soil and climate than any other nation ; and that, by the aid of the coal fields, the ore beds, and the titanic energies of the New South, we can supply our home demand for tin plates, needs no demonstration in this essay.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

## ARISTOCRACY AND HUMANITY.

THE net result of each epoch in human history is a painfully acquired universal conviction and rule of action, usually expressible in a single sentence. The present epoch—what, for want of a more designative term, we call Christian civilization—has already advanced far enough to enable us to formulate the principle which it is toiling to make universal. It is this: Every human being, as human, is an end to himself. When this principle shall have become, not merely an intellectual conviction, but a rule of action, personal, social, and political, then our present civilization will have accomplished its task, and a new epoch, pregnant with a new and higher principle, at present perhaps inconceivable to us, will begin. In the present epoch all that we mean by humanity is expressed in the above formula; all that tends to make any human being merely a means for others' ends is inhuman. Such is the essence of our civilization.

Its aim is not to save an elect portion of humanity to be eunuchs in a supernatural heaven, copied from an oriental despot's court, but to lift up all souls, without exception, to freedom and virtue, in a natural way. It is the free, innate human impulse animating our entire civilization, and not the slavish, cowering element in it, that has raised us to our present position, that has overthrown despotisms, temporal and spiritual, that has abolished chattel slavery and serfdom, that has elevated women, that has spread education, that has proclaimed liberty, equality, fraternity, and that has embodied the spirit of humanity in a Declaration of Independence. And it is the same free impulse that is to-day struggling against the pagan forces of narrowness and ignorance that still prevent men from being ends to themselves.

Now, just as the impulse which is slowly sanctifying the present epoch may be called humanity, so the pagan-born forces,

those hundred-handed giants, that war against this impulse, may all be classed under the term aristocracy. Humanity and aristocracy are the modern names for Ahura-Mazda and Angromainyus—the Power of Light and the Power of Darkness. This interpretation of the term aristocracy may seem arbitrary, but I think it is correct. For is not the common element in all that tends to subordinate one man, or class of men, to another's ends the spirit of aristocracy\*—the spirit which says: "I am better than thou; therefore, serve me"?

It is often asserted—by foreign pagans with sneers, by native Anglomaniacs with imbecile triumph, by patriots with pitying regret—that the spirit of aristocracy is rapidly growing in the heart of our democratic institutions; and this is as often denied by a class closely allied to the Anglomaniacs and by others equally interested in their retrograde tendencies. These try to quiet the patriots' apprehensions by brazenly denying the very existence of this spirit, and, when faced with obstinate facts, quibble about the meaning of the term aristocracy. I shall not follow them in this; but shall cheerfully admit that aristocracy in this country lacks some of the trappings which it dons elsewhere, such as title and legal status. But I think it cannot be honestly denied that the essential element in aristocracy, the failure to regard every human being as an end in himself, is not only here now, but, as a result of our semi-pagan origin, has always been here. I think, too, that with the growth of wealth, ease, and luxury it is spreading rapidly, and invading the hearts of our people to an extent that may well make us tremble for the safety of our institutions.

My present intention is not to speak of the aristocratic spirit generally, but to touch upon some of its more recent and vulgar manifestations, due to sudden wealth captured by greedy men in the confusion incident to the present transition from an old industrial system to a new. In this transition, whose ultimate goal and meaning we are only now, with considerable apprehension, beginning to see, it has been possible, by means of land and machinery, to construct an almost incredible variety of

\* I am, of course, using the word in its modern, not in its ancient, sense. See Freeman, "Comparative Politics," pp. 77, 194, 368.

labor-traps, wonderfully enriching to their possessors, but sadly impoverishing to those whose labor is caught in them. This two-sided result has tended to divide men more sharply than ever before in this country into two classes, not yet openly named here, but known in aristocracy-ridden England as gentlemen and "cads." Of these, the former tends more and more to regard the latter as, at best, a means to its ends—for producing wealth which it is to enjoy on its own terms. In this way the working classes have become so clearly isolated from the idling classes as to feel that they have quite other interests than those of the latter, and to wish to form a separate political organization for self-defense. Hence the "labor movement," the first great reaction against aristocracy, and in favor of humanity; the first attempt to realize, in all its depth of meaning, the humane promise of our Declaration of Independence.

If this movement were merely what its promoters think it is, an effort to bring about a fairer distribution of the fruits of labor, it might still be worthy of support; but it would hardly be worth all the agitation it has caused and is likely yet to cause. For riches, after all, have little humanizing or ennobling power. We find them in company with the most soul-destroying vices, while many of the noblest virtues wait on poverty. But the ultimate result of the movement will be something far more important. The worst effect of the present thoughtless distribution of wealth is not that it makes some rich and leaves others poor, but that, by placing one class in the power of another, to be used as means to its ends, it destroys all truly human relation between them, fills the one with pride, vanity, and cruelty, the other with servility, envy, and hatred, divides the nation against itself, and defeats the ends of humanity.

"Affluence breeds insolence" (*τίπτει νόρος ὕβριν*) is an old and often repeated observation, and there can be no doubt, unless all history be a lie, that wealth which relieves men from labor is an evil and not a good, and the desire for it a low desire. Man's spiritual interests demand that he should labor, and whatever relieves him from the necessity of so doing places him in an unnatural attitude toward life, and becomes a curse, not only to those who are compelled to labor for him, but per-



haps even more to himself; for that man who treats another inhumanly is more damaged than the other who is so treated. It is not easy to be rich and remain long truly humane, scrupulously careful of the rights of others. Riches, in so far as they are desirable, mean, for the possessor, exemption from needful labor, by virtue of a claim upon other men's labor, and no one can long be so exempt without pressing this claim in a thoughtless or reckless way. I say "needful labor," because needless labor, undergone for the sake of power, luxury, or vanity, is no less dehumanizing than idleness, as we plainly see in the case of our hard-gambling millionaires.

It is not in human nature to be just and humane, when robbed of its due experience of life's fundamental conditions. Whatever narrows a man's experience narrows his sympathies, and whatever confers on him irresponsible power tempts him to abuse it. Now, riches do both these things. Whatever exceptional experience they may provide, they certainly withdraw their owners from much that must always enter into the life of the large majority of human kind. These must always anxiously labor and be content with moderate means. Between life conditioned in this way and life free from labor and anxiety there is fixed a gulf which sympathy could hardly cross, even if it would; for it is chained on the one side by pride and on the other by envy. Sometimes, indeed, if a man has risen to riches by his own efforts, he may so far remember his life of poverty as to retain a certain sympathy for those whom he has left behind him in it; but this is rare, for three reasons: First, men caring enough for riches to be willing to devote much time to the acquisition of them are usually of a somewhat low, material, and unsympathetic nature. Second, in their ascent to riches, after the first few steps, they have to use other men as stepping-stones; for no man, unless he have a monopoly talent, like Raphael, can rise to riches otherwise. Nearly all great fortunes are made up of profits caught in labor-traps. Such using of other men solely as means leads to forgetfulness that they are ends, hardens the heart, and destroys sympathy. Third, men who have made their own fortunes—self-made men, as they are wisely called—have usually a great deal of respect for their

maker, and a proportionate contempt for those who, having less cunning than themselves, have remained in the ranks of poverty. Thus it frequently happens that self-made men are among the least humane of aristocrats. And the case is even worse with their children and with all persons born to wealth. These lack altogether the experience that would enable them to sympathize with the ordinary, natural human life of labor and narrow means. Raised above it, they cannot comprehend it. I have known hundreds of excellent men and women, nurtured in the lap of affluence, who were earnestly desirous of sympathizing with people of all grades; but I never knew one who succeeded any further than to be able to play Lord Bountiful or Lady Charitable with discriminating condescension, which, at best, is but humanity's fallen counterfeit. Riches, by an evil education, had deprived them of the best part of human culture, the power of simple sympathy, and placed them in a position wherein that source of all human virtue was unattainable for them. Their heads were civilized, but their hearts, whence were the issues of life, were condemned to essential barbarism.

And how, indeed, could they be otherwise? Education in the haunts of riches is, almost of necessity, education in unsympathy, inhumanity, aristocracy. Hardly has the child of rich parents come into the world when the trouble-shirking, pleasure-seeking mother, reckless of the duties imposed upon her by nature and humanity alike, intrusts it to the care of a menial, lacking some of the most essential qualities of motherhood, notably, authority tempered with natural affection. As its intelligence grows, it readily learns to distinguish between its nurse and its mother, and when its will comes in conflict with that of the former, it learns the sad lesson that she is a menial and cannot claim the same consideration as its mother. From that moment the poison-seed of aristocracy begins to germinate and to grow. In following years, when the fundamental convictions establish themselves, such a child learns, in the slow, effective way of habitual attitude, that human beings are divided into two classes, a well-dressed, well-housed, untilling, commanding class, and a poorly-dressed, poorly-housed, toiling, serving class, and that he belongs to the former. He learns to give orders

which, whether reasonable or not, have to be obeyed. He learns the comfort of commanding, with no opportunity to estimate the discomfort of serving. No matter how good and tender he may be, or how carefully his parents may warn him to be thoughtful of nurses and servants, the distinction between him and them hourly forces itself upon him, until it seems to him, as it did to Aristotle, a part of the order of nature. Thus he comes to think that there is a class of people existing mainly, if not solely, for the benefit of him and his class. And this is the spring of the spirit of aristocracy.

This will happen, to some degree, even in the best cases. Rarely, indeed, does the child of rich parents feel that a servant or an employee has a claim on him for anything more than kind treatment, the same which he would accord to a horse or a dog. He cannot conceive that the lower, or working, classes, as he complacently terms them, should have the same claims upon him as his own; that each member of them is an end in himself. Of course, the case is still worse where parents are proud, reckless, and overbearing. Then we have unsurpassed, self-advertising training-schools in aristocracy and inhumanity. Here a sharp line is drawn between master and servant, and everything done to make children observe it. Servants are spoken of as a necessary evil, with little claim to consideration; they are derided and made the butt of every caprice. Their wishes and convenience are disregarded; they are considered impertinent and presuming when they claim to have any rights at all.

But not alone in the family are the children of the rich taught lessons of aristocracy and inhumanity. Their whole life teaches them the same things. Too good to mingle with the children of the serving class, who attend public schools, they are sent to private "select" schools, institutions for young gentlemen or young ladies, where they mingle only with children of their own class, all filled with a due contempt for the "lower classes." In these schools, which are necessarily dependent on the goodwill of purse-proud, exacting parents, the children, instead of being subjected to strict, wholesome discipline, and learning the valuable lessons of obedience and respect, are humored, petted, and indulged, in order that they may carry home

a favorable report. In some boarding-schools in New York this indulgence is carried so far that young gentlemen of fifteen and upward receive night-keys, in order that they may be able to return from their nocturnal amusements at any hour of the night, without causing disturbance. At college or university, whither such young gentlemen usually go to waste some years of valuable time, the same demoralizing process is continued. Free from restraint, liberally supplied with money, and aware that, in all likelihood, they will never be obliged to earn a living, like most of their fellow-men, they do not study and they despise those who do. Many of them lead shameless lives, disregarding every dictate of morality and humanity.

And so they continue to do, when, having "finished their education," they go out into the world. They are just what wealth and aristocratic education have made them; men without a spark of genuine chivalry or humanity in them, men bent upon coarse, immediate pleasure, and regardless as to how the means thereto are to be obtained. They add nothing to social wealth or weal, and they subtract a great deal from it. They prey upon their fellow-men; legally, perhaps, when possible; when otherwise, by fraud and violence. It is from the ranks of these wealth-nurtured aristocrats that is drawn the majority of those reckless, unpatriotic men who, by their insatiable greed, are disorganizing our economic system in order that they may welter in luxury.

It is not solely in reckless families, however, that riches nourish the spirit of aristocracy and inhumanity. They do the same thing, more or less, in all families into which they find entrance. Even in the best, they commit spiritual devastation, by the bestowal of irresponsible power tempting to its own abuse. And this brings me to the second dehumanizing effect of riches.

The value of riches lies solely in their use, and there are but four uses to which they can be put: (1) charity, (2) personal culture, (3) pleasure, (4) acquisition of fresh riches. Against the first two of these uses little need be said, although they may, in certain cases, promote the spirit of aristocracy. Charity, when exercised picturesquely, without knowledge, and in a spirit of

condescension, may do much more harm than good, only covering a multitude of sins that had much better be exposed and condemned. And even personal culture may be a curse and a snare, when, instead of being a training in wisdom, humanity, and modest usefulness, it is mere polish, social, literary, or æsthetic, applied to a ground of natural selfishness. Such charity and such culture rank with pleasure. Unfortunately, only a small part of riches is ever devoted to genuine charity or culture. The greater portion is used either as wealth, for pleasure, or as capital. In either case irresponsible power is conferred, and the aristocratic spirit fostered. In either case, the owner of riches uses other men for his own ends, and, under the influence of the aristocratic spirit already cultivated, generally with little or no regard to their true interest. In the best cases he treats them kindly, as he would animals necessary for his pleasure or profit. Rarely, indeed, even at the present day, do we find a rich man who looks upon his servants, or the employees who co-operate in the production of his riches, as his equals, or as ends in themselves. Rarely do we find one striving to encourage in those dependent on him the spirit of independence and self-respect, by affording them every opportunity for culture, providing for their health, associating with them on equal terms. To him they are merely so many "hands," which he would gladly, if he could, replace by machines, feeding on water, coal, and grease. They have no claim upon him for anything but wages, and he thinks he has done his whole duty by them when he has paid them the lowest market rate of these.

In this way riches foster the aristocratic spirit, which draws a cruel, unbrothering line between two conditions of men, perverting the one with cold pride and the other with obsequious envy. Indeed, of all the sources of vice none is more fertile than the pride which makes a man think and feel that to certain of his fellow-beings he does not owe the ordinary regards, courtesies, and considerations of gentle life. Pride—"by that sin fell the angels;" it is the first, the fundamental sin, the spring of well-nigh all the others. It is almost impossible for one man to be just or considerate to another man whom he regards as his inferior, or to maintain a man's dignity toward one whose claim

to superiority he allows. As Mr. Lowell has said, the true spirit of democracy, which is also the spirit of humanity, bids us say to every man: "You are as good as I." Until we say this in spirit and in truth, and act accordingly, we are neither humane nor democratic.

In saying this, I do not mean that the spirit of humanity commands us to bestow equal respect upon the worthy and the unworthy, or to deprive virtue of its due reward. I merely mean that it calls upon us to seek with equal solicitude the highest welfare of every human being, and not only to refrain from taking advantage of our fellows because they are weak and ignorant, but to make that weakness and that ignorance special grounds for increased care and tenderness. The present exploitation of the poor, the weak, and the ignorant by the rich, the strong, and the cunning is not only a reversion to paganism, it is mean, vulgar brutality, without excuse or palliation. And most of it is due to money, and the love of money, which, as the apostle said, is the root of all evil.

We are wont to look upon riches as a blessing, and to envy their possessors. Sometimes, no doubt, when worthily earned and worthily expended, they are a blessing; but far oftener they are a curse, and their possessors deserving of pity. For who deserves pity more than the man who is deprived of the experiences essential to the highest spiritual culture, to true humanity; who is reared in the spirit of aristocracy, and condemned to life-long selfishness? And is not the poverty of the many, in large measure, the consequence of the riches of the few? Is not the wealth-bred spirit of aristocracy the chief cause of our present deplorable economic condition? Would not the true spirit of humanity, if it could but have free course, soon put a period to this condition? Who can doubt it?

If we could effectually and permanently put down the curse of riches without incurring equal or greater evils, I think there can be no doubt that it would be our duty to do so. Certainly, riches are a much better subject for prohibition than strong drink; for the evil they cause is far more fundamental, pervasive, and dehumanizing. But neither in the one case nor in the other is prohibition the true remedy. Prohibition is a

two-edged sword, maiming Liberty as often as it stabs Wrong. We must look for the remedy to two sources: (1) to such legislation as shall secure to every citizen the conditions requisite for making a free contract in all matters affecting needful labor; and (2) to moral education.

The majority of those great fortunes which nourish the spirit of aristocracy are the results of unfree contracts made by men with no possession but power to toil, and with starvation at their heels. Whatever legislation, with reference to land or the instruments of production, will make it possible for any man to earn his living without being forced to sell his labor at competition prices, under penalty of starvation, will cut off the main source of large fortunes and of the aristocratic spirit. Human civilization has grown with the growth of the free contract, and must revert to socialism, unfreedom, barbarism, when that growth is impeded; as, indeed, it is visibly doing to-day. But, after all, our main hope must be in the education of the moral sense, the development of the spirit of humanity; and this cannot take place until our whole system of education is reformed and made a preparation for life in all its relations—for the life demanded by the spirit of our epoch.

Such equilibrium as our present world possesses is the precarious balancing of a pyramid of opposing selfishnesses upon an apex of wealth-begotten aristocracy. The science of this equilibrium is our orthodox political economy, the most dismal of sciences, with the most dismal of subjects. The human world will never stand solid until it rests upon the broad basis of simple humanity, whose apex is moral worth. So to place it is the task of our epoch.

## QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN.

THE echo of those "three cheers for the Queen" still lingers in our ears. Their reverberation rolls away like the murmur of distant thunder, that only a moment before had so filled the air with sound as to appear almost sensible to touch. Repeated for a moment on the far-off western horizon, those cheers reach us in renewed but intermittent waves of sound from across the Atlantic. We pause to let the ear take in, from where the sun is setting, the last notes of their waning strength. The murmur comes no longer from beyond that great ocean, but lo! as if by magic, from the East. The ear catches the first distant hum of that same mighty roar wafted to us from the opposite direction. It has circled the world, being echoed and re-echoed again from the rocky shores of flourishing colonies, from the yellow sands of prosperous provinces. Their inhabitants have with heart and voice added to its volume, and now it returns, to give us all the heart-stirring pleasure of an old strain, dear to us in childhood. What does it all mean? Is it an expression of gratitude for favors received, or for expected benefits? Is it not the ebullition of feelings born of sentiment, cradled in love, educated by respectful admiration, and matured by personal devotion? Does not the shout of "The Queen!"—answered on all sides by the prayer, "God bless her!"—come straight from the heart? Surely it is no mere ordinary demonstration of approval given, as it might be, in celebration of some great discovery, or as an indication of thanks to the discoverer. Without doubt it is real, heartfelt loyalty to the sovereign, the lineal descendant of a long line of manly kings. Some of those kings have been great without being good, others good and in no ways great, but Queen Victoria enjoys the proud distinction of being both great and good. From the outset of her reign she has consecrated herself to the noble task of deepening by her influence and



example the hold which monarchy, with all its old-world surroundings and traditions, has upon the affections of her people. Every act of her life, public and private, has evinced the paramount object she has always kept in view, to secure the glory of her kingdom and the prosperity of her subjects. English life is essentially home life, and, thanks to her example, and the strong individuality with which she has stamped her own home life, the whole moral tone of the nation has been raised. It is in a great measure on this account that all conditions of men and women here have associated with her personality a sentiment of profound sympathy and affection. In reference to her love of home and home life, we find this in one of her published letters: "We must all have trials and vexations; but if one's home is happy, then the rest is comparatively nothing."

In England we have the votaries of very many religions, some with spiritual gods, others with those strictly material in character. There are men amongst us whose spiritual cravings not even the superstitions of the Church of Rome can satisfy, and who seek for at least temporary peace and consolation in the contemplative mysticism of Buddhism. We have the silent freethinker, whose inner soul is sad and grieved beyond measure, because he can no longer honestly adhere to the sacred teaching he learned as a child at his mother's knee; and we have the vain and noisy scoffer at all forms of religion, at all phases of faith, who glories to write God with a small g. You will still find in odd corners of England, amongst old county families, a Jacobite belief in the divine right of kings, whilst there are in London workmen's clubs (foreign nations are largely represented in them) where the undefined rights of man are expressed in the shibboleth, "property is robbery," and in the war-cry of "death to tyrants" (meaning, kill your king). The English home of the socialists of all nations, of the enemies of realized wealth of all sorts, and of revealed religion of all forms, is in eastern London, yet when Queen Victoria droye slowly through its streets the other day, her reception was as warm and as hearty as it was in Pall Mall and St. James Street, whose clubs may be said to represent largely the highly educated, the conservative, side of English life.

The sentiment of loyal devotion to the Queen, therefore, is not peculiar to any one class, for whatever be the town her majesty visits, it is the same in all. It is not "got up," like the enthusiasm of so many of our great political demonstrations, at so much a head for every man in the procession. It comes from no "*claque*" hired by some local mayor or *préfet*, as we have often known done in well-policed, well-organized municipalities abroad.

I believe it to be the evidence of a deep-seated, heartfelt loyalty; of inborn love and respect for the crown and for the family that wears it—for a family, as already stated, that represents to us all that we delight to dwell upon most in our history, the heirs of our Saxon Alfred, of our lion-hearted Richard, of our Henries of York and Lancaster, and of our own great Tudor Elizabeth. We designedly ignore the crimes of the Stuarts, the coarse pleasures and follies of the Georges, when with moistened eyes and a full throat we pray that blessings may be showered on her, the lineal descendant of those who have ruled us for a thousand years. It is with sincerity we ask God to pour his choicest gifts on her whom we saw the other day, seated in the same chair in which her ancestors have been crowned for nigh ten centuries, offering thanks to the King of kings for the length and prosperity of her reign.

Our last two queens, Anne and Victoria, became widows at about the same age, but how different in all respects were those two virtuous princesses! Under what entirely different circumstances, public and private, did they begin their widowhood! How dissimilar were their royal consorts! Both queens were devoted wives. Anne loved Prince George of Denmark with that deep affection which was one of the striking features in her rather ordinary character. Although she had had seventeen children, he left her heirless, all having died early. Her mother's heart had known keen sorrow, as one by one her children were taken from her, as a punishment, the Jacobites averred, for the usurpation of a throne that rightfully belonged to her father and brother.

When Queen Anne became a widow, England was engaged in one of the very greatest of European wars. The battle of

Oudenarde had just been won by the greatest man of his age, the ever-victorious Marlborough. Although internal rebellion at home had been scotched, it had not been killed; an invading French army, headed by the rightful heir to the English throne, had only that very year been driven back to Dunkirk, there to await a more favorable opportunity for a descent upon the shores of Scotland. A strong Jacobite party only held back for this expected landing, to proclaim the Pretender as James III., King of Great Britain and Ireland. The principles of the great revolution were openly called in question by the Tory party, and it was known that many of our leading men were in constant correspondence with St. Germain's. Notwithstanding all this, thanks to the genius of Marlborough, it would be difficult to name any epoch in history when the great destinies of the civilized world were more directly in the hands of England. Alas! even in the midst of her fame, of her triumph, the schemes and intrigues of an execrable faction had begun already to make themselves felt. Self-seeking plotters already whispered in the closets of Kensington, and their muttered conversations with the "Dresser" Hill on the back-stairs at Windsor prepared the way for the conspiracy that hurried on the much-wanted peace which culminated in the infamous Treaty of Utrecht, which was meant to be a stepping-stone to the coronation of a Stuart king.

That was not a time when the sovereign could hide herself away, or refuse to take her due share in public affairs. She had loved well, and been beloved by, her big, burly, uncouth, dull, but honest-hearted husband. Shy and bashful by nature, she longed to hide away her grief in private. With this sorrow at her heart, public business was then more than ever distasteful to her; but the circumstances of the country demanded her attention, and forbade her to indulge in the very natural grief into which Prince George's death had plunged her. In those days the sovereign took a far more personal part in the affairs of state, and in the home and foreign policy of England, than was allowed a century and a half later to our present Queen. The question of war and peace was practically in her hands. She changed her ministers as she liked, although generally influenced in doing

so by the advice of the favorite of the hour. We are told that she once gave as a reason for dismissing a cabinet minister, that he had presumed to appear before her in a "tie wig" instead of the "full bottom" head-dress then a necessary part of court costume. In the trinity of queen, lords, and commons, between whom all legislative and executive powers were shared, the sovereign had still a fair third. As long as Queen Anne confined her exercise of power well within the limits of recognized prerogative, no one presumed to question her selection of ministers. It is to her we owe the Treaty of Utrecht. Had she continued to the end of her reign to trust in her old favorite, the companion of her childhood, France must have been thoroughly crushed, and we should have been spared those disputes about fishing fights on the coast of Newfoundland, which since then have so often nearly led to war. A vain woman, fond of flattery, she listened to the false tongue of Harley, and followed his advice, which was insidiously pressed upon her by his cousin Abigail, who had supplanted the haughty and fiery souled Sarah in the Queen's warm heart and clinging disposition.

What a contrast there is between the times of the two queens and the circumstances of their widowhood! I can well remember the feverish anxiety of those on board the ship in which I sailed from England, in December, 1861, as we neared the shores of Nova Scotia, to know the decision of Mr. Lincoln's government in the unfortunate affair of the Mason-Slidell incident. How we crowded round the pilot, asking, "Is it peace or war?" And how the good news that Mr. Lincoln had decided in favor of peace was marred by the appalling information that Prince Albert was dead! None of us had had the privilege of being known to him personally, and in those days few realized what a great man he was, and how much England owed him. Our thoughts were exclusively of the Queen and of her loss. We all knew how deep was the love between this royal couple, and realized that our Queen had lost the mainstay of her reign, the strong pillar on which she rested for support in all difficulties, the warm, loving heart that so truly felt for and sympathized with her in all her joys and sorrows, and with her people in all their troubles as well as their triumphs. Possessing, like Queen Anne,

a grace of manner, a sweet, pleasant, and musical voice, and a "heart that was entirely English," Queen Victoria had a depth of feeling, an educated mind, a high order of intellect, and a profound knowledge of men and of public affairs to which Queen Anne could lay no claim. The latter sovereign lacked the ability to use to its best purpose the unquestioned power which the crown then possessed; the former had not that same direct and personal authority in the government. Had the constitutional powers of Queen Victoria equaled those wielded by Queen Anne, her temper, ability, and education would have enabled her to use them to a better purpose; but, to have exercised them, she would have been compelled by circumstances to live in public, as Queen Anne did in her widowhood.

Although Queen Victoria's power of interference in the affairs of state has been small, her indirect influence has been great in all matters, social and public. That influence she has been able to exercise as effectively in the retirement of her private apartments as she could have done surrounded by courtiers and in the daily performance of court duties. During her widowhood, the Prince and Princess of Wales have taken her place in most court ceremonies, and thus relieved her of many of the social duties now expected from the sovereign, to which her strength is unequal, and which, it is said, are uncongenial to her disposition. She has thus been able to devote all her time and thoughts to the serious work and responsibilities of her exalted position. Her great common sense, her thorough appreciation of the duties of a constitutional sovereign, and her long experience give so much weight to her opinion and advice upon all important public questions that ministers are only too glad to avail themselves of them. It is a great mistake to imagine that she has exercised but little influence over the current of political life because, until lately, she has mixed but little amongst her subjects. A strong tide of democracy has set in of late, and still flows with great force over the face of the United Kingdom. Except amongst the professional politicians who desire to float in on its swelling waves to power and well-paid positions, few of the cultivated, well-educated, and well-off people like to see the old landmarks of our Constitution swept away by

this flood of democracy and of socialistic ideas. The Queen has never expressed herself as either for or against this new political dispensation, and whatever may be her own private views on the subject, like a good constitutional monarch she has not attempted to resist or even stay its onward flow. There are, however, evident signs around us that she has succeeded in restricting its course within safe limits. Its progress has not been checked, but it has been directed along lines where it can pass, with all its cherished noise, but with the least possible amount of danger or even damage to the quiet, contented, and hard-working citizens who dread its waves. Otherwise, it would have surged over the country as would have best suited its speech-loving, self-seeking managers. With the characteristic spirit of the true demagogue, those managers are indifferent to the destruction of all private property, and to the pain and sorrow so inflicted upon the most worthy of "the classes and the masses."

It is an open secret that, upon the formation of each new administration, the Queen helps and guides her first minister in the distribution of offices amongst his colleagues. What England wants is the zealous service of calm men, exercised in a business-like fashion: men who are not carried away by false declamation, and who do not wish to make others drunk by the unceasing repetition of reckless nonsense. She wants steady progress all round, effected without "leaps and bounds" that partake of revolution. Above all things she desires to be saved from the service of those who are so greedy for office as to be prepared to purchase it at any price: men who, in that game, would not hesitate to cut down the stately tree of constitutional government if it in any way interfered with their designs, and who, to cover up their infamy, would say that they had done so for the purpose of cutting fagots from it.

To save her people from the violent changes which the action of professional politicians would entail, Queen Victoria has without doubt long exercised all her great influence. The waves of thought which from time to time pass over the face of a free country, boisterous though they may be occasionally, must be allowed to expend their force. The sovereign or minister that would attempt to stay their progress by artificial barriers would

be swept away by the torrent of waters, never to be heard of more. On the other hand, the far-seeing and experienced rulers, who can fairly estimate the force of such currents, are able to foresee when it will have expended itself—a moment followed immediately by the inevitable ebb: such men devote all their energies to direct and guide for the public weal the forces they cannot stay. Happy, indeed, have we been, for the last quarter of a century, in having as our sovereign one who had had a previous political training under the loving guidance of a gifted and devoted husband, as well as the able teaching of those who were her ministers for the first half of her happy and glorious reign.

Few public men have been during life more misunderstood than Prince Albert. It is not easy for even Germans, between whom and us there is so much affinity, to settle down here to a purely English life. Our insular prejudices are numerous; we smile at those who differ from us in the pronunciation of our language, who do not dress as we do, and, above all things, who dislike violent exercise, and refuse to enter cordially into all our field sports; and we actually pity the man who presumes to have a different seat on horseback from us. These were some of the prejudices the prince consort had to live down in England. His position was a most difficult one, for had he shown at any time the least disposition to interfere in the conduct of public affairs, the consequences might have been serious. It would have been impossible for any one to guide his actions in a more strictly constitutional fashion than he did. He proved himself to be a man of great force of character, of self-control and of ability, by the quickness with which he realized what his *rôle* must be; and he displayed the most admirable tact in the manner in which he played it. It was not, however, until years after his death, when Sir Theodore Martin published his "Life," that the British public fully realized the loss his death had been, not only to the Queen, but to her people. Could two characters be more entirely different than his was from that of Queen Anne's husband—the "*Est-il possible*" of the great revolution, of whose desertion James said: "I only mind him as connected with my dearest child, otherwise the loss of a stout trooper would have been greater"?

What may be in store for England as the outcome of our present process of government, with public opinion swayed hither and thither by each new phase of democratic requirements, no one can say. The ship of state is still happily ballasted with a profound and general feeling of loyalty to the throne and of personal affection for the lady who occupies it. As long as she is spared to us, there can be no doubt that the noisy waves of socialism will break harmlessly against our house of state, built as it is upon such a rock of loyalty. I was much struck, in a newspaper description of the recent unveiling of the Queen's statue in India, by an account of how the crowds of natives, as soon as the ceremony was over, rushed forward and kissed the feet of the statue to testify their reverence and loyalty for their Empress, whom it represented, but whom they had never seen. Her loving humanity, her sympathy with suffering, her love of justice, determination to do the right in defense of the weak against the strong, the poor against the rich; in fact, all her many virtues, are as well known to the votaries of Brahma as to the inhabitants of London. Indeed, amongst all the many native races she rules over, little is known of political constitutions. The *habeas corpus* act and the liberty of the press convey no more meaning to them than would a learned treatise upon the emanation of light from the rings of the planet Saturn. To them Queen Victoria is a personal ruler who has, during famines, ordered the starving to be fed, and who has sent her medicine men amongst them in times of pestilence.

The simpler the nature of the people the more unquestioning is their religious faith, and that loyalty which is akin to it. After the recent great school *fête* in Hyde Park, which the Queen attended, a little girl went home and told her mother she had seen a balloon go up which had taken the Queen to heaven. The idea may have been silly in itself, but it signified a train of reasoning in which loyalty was evidently a prominent element. A poorly clad nursemaid, pushing a perambulator before her through the crowds in the "east end," upon the occasion of opening the people's palace by the Queen, speaking to a lady who had gone there to hear what the people talked about,



said she had a picture of the Queen in her room, and loved her because she knew how she cared for the poor. She was indignant that some people in that poor quarter of the city did not like the Queen because she was rich, and the girl thought all the soldiers present were there to guard against the violence of that small party. This simple nursemaid, like millions of other people, was imbued with that species of hero-worship which in monarchies is known as loyalty. With us, our sovereign is the embodiment of England's greatness, of England's glory. The honor done to her reflects back a sort of borrowed light upon ourselves, and as we shout "God save the Queen!" the chorus magnifies our own importance. It is, in fact, a sort of self-glorification.

Without the bond of union which loyalty affords, it is almost certain that our great disjointed empire could never hold together. Colonies parted by vast oceans from one another, and from the mother country, must have varying, and in some instances divergent, interests to satisfy, that would sooner or later lead to separation if we had no sentimental feeling of loyalty to old England, and to England's sovereign, strong enough to bind us together.

Loyalty is a sentiment more fostered by absolute rule than by free institutions. Personal devotion to the sovereign is more apt to be a living force, when all favors, rewards, and punishments emanate directly from the throne. The less this is the case, the feebler we should expect to find those feelings of which loyalty is compounded. The devotion of the Highland clansman to his chief, and, until quite lately, of the Irish servant to his master, bespeaks a condition of things that has nothing in common with "universal suffrage." Does the leveling spirit of democracy, the active opponent of all such sentiments as loyalty, confer a boon upon mankind by seeking to eradicate them from the human heart?

This theory would lead one to believe that loyalty in the present reign was a less powerful agent, a less active principle, than "when George the Third was King." And yet, surely it is not so. His one great idea, his absorbing aim, was to exercise the same prerogative that his Stuart forefathers had wielded,

although with such fatal results both to kings and people. The advice given to him on his accession by his ambitious mother was, "George, be King!" For long he struggled to be so, by an endeavor to unite in himself two great constitutional functions, two well-established rights, namely, that of the parliament to govern, and of the king to reign. He was determined to govern as well as to reign. He failed in the end, but still he exercised a prerogative to which Queen Victoria has never laid claim. Were his subjects more truly loyal, in consequence, than we are now to the throne? Most surely not. The explanation must be sought for in the difference between the characters and personal attributes of the two sovereigns, rather than in their surrounding circumstances. He foolishly sought to secure his country's good by unconstitutional methods. Queen Victoria has never swerved from the duties of a strictly constitutional sovereign. On her career no cloud or shadow rests; her public life and her private life have been alike blameless and stainless. She is in every sense one of ourselves, and there is, consequently, a sort of self-glorification in rendering homage, in doing honor to her. She identifies herself with every noble aspiration of the nation, with every virtuous feeling of the individual subject. Her great warm heart beats in unison with the sorrow of all those who are overwhelmed with affliction, whether they belong to what is geographically known as her dominions, or to that far larger and in every way still more splendid empire, which is made up of all the states and provinces throughout the world where the English tongue is spoken, no matter what may be their concrete nationality, or the flag under which they exist. If I rightly understand American sentiment, I believe that to the English shout of "God save the Queen!" the echo from beyond the Atlantic of "God bless her!" comes straight from the heart of the great American people.

WOLSELEY.

## THE ANATHEMA OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

AMONGST the means employed by the Roman Church authorities to bring their subjects into submission is excommunication; and now that public attention is so forcibly directed to this form of punishment in the case of Doctor McGlynn, it may not be amiss to consider the full meaning of excommunication in the Canon Law of the modern Roman Church.

But we must first explain what is meant by a "censure." A censure is defined to be "a spiritual and medicinal punishment, inflicted by competent ecclesiastical authority on a person who is baptized, for obstinacy and contumacy in some sin; by which punishment the censured is deprived of the immediate use of certain spiritual goods." (1) Censure is "a punishment," because it is supposed to deprive the censured of certain spiritual goods; and this punishment is "spiritual and medicinal," because it is inflicted by spiritual authority, for a spiritual purpose, and is considered to tend to the cure of the sinner's soul by making him reflect on his conduct and calling on him to repent. Even if this punishment act not as a medicine on the soul of the censured, still, as Liguori teaches, it may act as a medicine on the faithful in general, being a warning to them, and may thus retain this medicinal condition of a censure. (2) It must be inflicted by "competent ecclesiastical authority." These words are to show that censures cannot be inflicted by civil authority, but only by those who have the ruling and law-making power in spiritual matters. (3) The words, "on a person who is baptized," are to show that unbaptized persons are not liable to censures. As to the disputed domestic question concerning the power of Rome to censure heretics and sectarians (as Rome terms them), this would be beside our present purpose. (4) And the punishment is inflicted "for obstinacy and contu-

macy in some sin." This sin must have the following conditions, otherwise no censure can be attached to it. First, it must be mortal. Secondly, external; for no sin of thought or desire, not even mental heresy, is censured. Thirdly, the sin (whether of commission or omission), must have been certainly committed. Fourthly, the sin must be complete in its own kind, or, as the canonists say, "*consummatum in suo genere*;" this is so, if the exact thing which the legislator wishes to censure is done. Fifthly, the sin should not be one that is entirely past when the censure is inflicted, for then there would be no medicinal punishment, but a purely vindicative one; however, it is sufficient if the sin have a "*tractus successivus*," *i. e.*, if it continues in its effects; as, for example, the scandal remaining from the unjust detention of stolen goods. Sixthly, the mortal sin must be in some way personal, as it would be unjust to censure an innocent person for another's fault; the sin must be certainly and peculiarly personal in case of excommunication. Seventhly, the censure must be proportioned to the sin. And, eighthly, the sin must be accompanied with "contumacy." Contumacy, in this sense, means contempt of the censure; and this contumacy may be either formal, or virtual, otherwise called interpretative. It is formal when one violates the precept inflicting the censure, because it is such a precept. The contumacy is virtual or interpretative when one, knowing the precept and aware of the censure threatened, disobeys the precept, not because it is such a precept, but for some other reason; for example, to secure wealth or position or influence. This virtual contempt suffices, and is at least necessary, to incur the censure.

One clause of our definition of "censure" remains, *viz.*, "by which punishment the censured is deprived of the immediate use of certain spiritual goods." These words do not imply that the censured is necessarily deprived of the goods themselves, but only of their use; thus, suspending a priest from order, or from his benefice, does not imply depriving him of his order or of his benefice, but it forbids him to exercise the one and to enjoy the emoluments of the other while the suspension lasts. To understand this part of the definition we must know what the Roman Church means by a "spiritual good." A spiritual

good means anything, whether external or internal, that tends directly or indirectly to sanctification. Spiritual goods are either "public" or "private." Public spiritual goods are all those which have been intrusted by Christ to the church as his dispensing and ministering power on earth; hence, public spiritual goods embrace, as Rome teaches, the Mass, the sacraments, preaching, benedictions of all kinds—of medals, crosses, water, bread, etc.—jurisdiction, benefices, indulgences; in one word, all those goods that come from the church and through the ministers of the church as such. Of all these—to enumerate which individually would occupy too much space—the Roman Church claims to have the power to deprive her subjects by censures. She can deprive her priests, she says, of the power of saying Mass and of exercising the other offices of their ministry, and, at the same time, she claims the power and right to deprive her clergy and other members of the use of all the public spiritual goods that come through her intervention and ministrations. The private spiritual goods, which come, not through the intervention of the church, but either directly from Christ himself, or indirectly, through the prayers and good works of private individuals and of the clergy as private individuals, of these the Church of Rome does not claim to deprive by censures. Hence, she does not say she can destroy grace in the soul, nor the theological or moral infused virtues, by censures.

We have now a knowledge of the conditions of a censure and of its general effects. The effects of the several censures are not exactly the same, excommunication being far more severe in its effects than suspension or interdict. Excommunication is the only pure censure, because it never can be used except as a censure, whereas the other two may be employed as vindictive punishments. An excommunication never remains in its effects after the excommunicated is absolved, and for this reason, because no time for its absolution has been fixed by the superior, it is a "pure censure" always.

Excommunication is defined by Roman canonists to be "a censure by which a person is cut off from the community of the faithful, and is consequently deprived of the public spiritual goods of the church." If a person be deprived of all the

public spiritual goods, then the excommunication is called "major," and this is the only kind now in use. Pius IX., in his bull, "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," published on the 12th of October, 1869, abolished the excommunication until then known as the "minor" excommunication. Before the time of Pope Martin V. (1417-1431), all who were excommunicated with the major form were "*vitandi*" (to be shunned), but he issued a bull, "*Ad evitanda scandala*," in which this particular consequence of the major excommunication was declared to attach only to three classes of excommunicates. This was a favor in behalf of the faithful, because so many of the clergy were at that time excommunicated that the people were in sore straits for the sacraments and other ministrations of the priesthood. After the time of Pope Martin, the following were *vitandi*: (1) All excommunicated publicly and by name ("*publice et nominatim excommunicatus*"). (2) All denounced publicly and by name as being already excommunicated ("*publice et nominatim denunciatus ut jam antea excommunicatus*"). (3) All notorious strikers of clergy ("*omnis notorius percussor clerici*"). All others except these three classes were called "*tolerati*" by Martin V. They were so called because the faithful were allowed, in case of necessity, to ask and receive the sacraments from them without incurring minor excommunication, a penalty still inflicted for holding communication with the *vitandi*, until at last Pius IX. altogether abrogated it. The *vitandi*, since the publication of "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," are: (1) those excommunicated publicly and by name; and (2) those denounced publicly and by name as being already excommunicated.

Excommunications are divided into (1) those inflicted by the law ("*a jure*," "*a lege*"), and those inflicted by the superior himself ("*ab homine*"); (2) into notorious and private; (3) into valid and invalid; (4) into just and unjust; (5) into reserved and unreserved; (6) into those "*latæ sententiæ*" and those "*ferendæ sententiæ*."

As excommunications "*a jure*" must primarily come from a superior, technically they are those contained in and enacted by a permanent law or statute, whether that law be diocesan or provincial or national, or general for the entire church. Ex-

communications "*ab homine*" are not enacted in a permanent law or statute, but are inflicted either by a transitory mandate or precept, or by a judicial sentence.

Excommunications are "notorious" when the public generally know that they have been inflicted. Excommunications which are not notorious are private. Excommunications are "valid" if all the substantial provisions of the law have been observed; they are "invalid" if one substantial condition has been neglected. "Just" excommunications are considered by some writers to be those in which not only all the substantial, but all the accidental, provisions of the law have been observed. Others call these "licit" excommunications, and "just" ones those founded in truth and justice. The meaning of "unjust" and "illicit" excommunications, as opposed to "just" and "licit" ones, is evident. "Reserved" excommunications are those from which one can be absolved only by the superior imposing them, by his successor in office, by the superior of the authority imposing, or by the delegate of any one of them. "Unreserved" ones can be absolved by one having ordinary jurisdiction in the confessional.

Excommunications "*latæ sententiæ*" are those which are incurred by the very fact of violating the precept or law having the excommunication attached to its non-observance. Hence, canonists say, "*secum executionem trahit*"—it brings its own execution with it. On the other hand, excommunications "*ferendæ sententiæ*" are not incurred by the commission or omission that is censured, nor until after a condemnatory pronouncement or sentence is rendered by the superior. Though this condemnatory sentence is not used in cases of excommunication and other censures *latæ sententiæ*, still, for certain effects to follow, a declaratory sentence of the superior is necessary. A "declaratory sentence" is a mere declaration on the part of a superior that one has already incurred an excommunication (or other censure) *latæ sententiæ*. Even before this sentence is passed by the superior, the immediate and direct effects of the excommunication have taken place.

Amongst the excommunications of the "*Apostolicæ Sedis*" is one which seems to bear directly on Doctor McGlynn. It is

the third of those specially reserved to the Pope. We shall quote the words :

“*Excommunicationi latae sententiæ speciali modo Romano Pontifici reservatæ subiacere declaramus schismaticos et eos qui a Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis obedientia pertinaciter se subtrahunt vel recedunt.*” (“We declare that schismatics and those who pertinaciously withdraw themselves or recede from obedience to the Roman Pontiff for the time being, are under excommunication *latae sententiæ*, specially reserved to the Roman Pontiff.”)

Some Roman writers, commenting on this excommunication, say that it is incurred by those who, not being formal schismatics, refuse obedience to the Pontiff in matters that belong to his proclaimed rights. Doctor McGlynn has certainly refused, and obstinately refused, to obey the Pope, and has even denied, and pertinaciously so, the right of the Pope to interfere in a question affecting morals. For, despite the doctor's beliefs, very few will deny that the land question involves principles of justice, equity, and morality, and if the doctor be a Romanist, as he protests he is, then he should bear in mind that the Pope claims to be infallible in teaching morality. Rome has been wise enough to see that the doctor's theories and speculations are discredited and rejected by all sensible men of whatever class or creed, and hence the doctor was excommunicated, not for his teachings, but for his disobedience and contumacy.

Avanzini, one of the most learned of Roman canonists, commenting on the above excommunication, says it is incurred by those who, despising the mandates of the Pontiff, publicly conduct themselves as if they were free from the obligation of obedience to him—“*qui posthabitis legibus ac mandatis Romani Pontificis, sese publice gerunt tamquam ab ejus obedientia solutos, quippe et hi vero sensu rebelles sunt ab Romani Pontificis existentis obedientia.*” Whether or not this special excommunication is that incurred by Doctor McGlynn, his excommunication was ordered by the Pope's own tribunal, for disobedience to the papal mandate ordering him to Rome.

Were the legal requisites observed in the excommunication of the doctor? Before excommunication or any other censure is incurred or inflicted, Roman canon law requires that the sinner be warned, and an opportunity afforded him of showing



cause why he should not be censured, or declared already censured. Hence "monition" and "citation" are required. Monition is of two kinds, "solemn" and "canonical." "Solemn" monition is the law itself, or decree, or precept, threatening the excommunication or other censure, and this law, decree, or precept is supposed to give sufficient warning to all concerned against committing the act censured, or omitting the act ordered, which omission would entail the censure. "Canonical" monition is a special declaration or warning of a superior that the delinquent will be censured unless he repents and amends.

When is solemn monition sufficient, and when is canonical monition necessary? If the excommunication or other censure be *latæ sententiæ*, it is either *a jure* or *ab homine*, as explained above. If it be *a jure* (Liguori excepting two cases), no other monition besides that contained in the law is necessary, although Collet adds that it would be more charitable to give at least one canonical monition. If the excommunication or other censure be not *a jure* but *ab homine*, it regards either past acts having a "*tractus successivus*," or future acts. If it regard future acts, no special canonical monition is required, as the warning against committing the act censured, or omitting an act, which omission is censured, is considered to be sufficient monition.

In the case of Doctor McGlynn no special canonical monition was necessary. The excommunication inflicted on the doctor was *latæ sententiæ*, and is either that third specially reserved papal one in the "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," or one inflicted by a special mandate regarding a future act, viz., his appearance in Rome at a certain time. In either of these hypotheses the doctor received the solemn monition.

We now come to the "citation" required in canon law. Citation is "that act of jurisdiction by which one is summoned before his superior to defend himself or to hear his sentence." Citation is always necessary in the case of excommunications and other censures, whether *latæ* or *ferendæ sententiæ*, except in the suspension "*ex informatâ conscientiâ*." In censures *latæ sententiæ*, the citation should take place before the declaratory sentence is passed, and before the condemnatory sentence in censures *ferendæ sententiæ*. Doctor McGlynn was cited to Rome; hence

the law regarding citation was observed. There is one case where citation is not necessary, viz., if a person is notoriously guilty and notoriously persistent in his crime. It may be as well to state here that the absence of these formalities of monition and citation does not necessarily invalidate the censure, although their absence may render the censure illicit or unjust.

As to the solemnities or formalities that accompany the excommunication or other censure, some are necessary for its validity, others for its legality. For its validity, it should be in writing, or in words or in other certain signs, that make known (1) the person censured; (2) the act censured; and (3) the censure itself. For its legality, or lawfulness, it should be (1) in writing; (2) the cause of the censure should be mentioned; (3) the specific censure should be stated, if it be one *latæ sententiæ*; and (4) a copy of the document inflicting the censure should be given to the censured within a month, if he apply for it. All these formalities were observed in the case of Doctor McGlynn.

It now remains for us to explain the last formality connected with the infliction of an excommunication. The censure being inflicted and the sentence, whether declaratory or condemnatory, passed, the Roman Church sometimes publicly denounces by name those who are censured. This denunciation is not ordered by any precept, and is not necessary for the validity or legality of the censure. It is used only when there is hope of some good resulting either to the censured or to the faithful. Its effect is to constitute the censured a *vitandus* in so far as the nature of the censure requires him to be so considered. Archbishop Corrigan published the denunciation of Doctor McGlynn, thus completing the last act in the infliction of Rome's severest punishment.

We may now consider the effects of excommunication, as applied to the case of Doctor McGlynn. (1) The doctor, as a *vitandus*, sins mortally by conferring any sacrament, except in case of grave necessity, and when no other priest is present. When no other priest is present to confer the sacraments, in case of grave necessity, then the doctor can administer baptism, penance, extreme unction, and the eucharist. He cannot say

Mass. (2) If the doctor were threatened with death, mutilation, infamy, or the loss of valuable goods, unless he would confer the sacraments or perform other priestly offices, then he would be allowed to exercise his sacerdotal powers to escape the threatened evil or evils. (3) By the solemn exercise of his sacred orders, without some grave necessity, he would incur an "irregularity," *i. e.*, a permanent disability to exercise his order until the irregularity should have been removed by dispensation. (4) An excommunicated person, even a *vitandus*, can validly receive all the sacraments, except penance; and he may receive penance validly if he be in good faith and sorry for his sins. It would be sacrilege for an excommunicated person to receive any of the sacraments except he be in perfect good faith. (5) No priest can, without sin, knowingly minister the sacraments to an unrepenting, unabsolved, excommunicated person; and if such excommunicated person receiving the sacraments be one who is "*nominatim excommunicatus*" (excommunicated by name) by the Pope, and denounced as such, the priest ministering the sacraments to such a one, or admitting him to participate in the divine offices, would incur an excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, reserved to the Pope. As Doctor McGlynn has incurred a papal censure and has been denounced by name, any priest admitting him to the sacraments, or to a share in the divine offices, would incur this excommunication.

(6) A *toleratus* can assist at Mass if the people ask him. A *vitandus* cannot, even though asked by the people, assist or be present at Mass even on Sundays or days of precept; and if a *vitandus* should come to church during Mass, the law requires that he should be ejected, even by force, if necessary. If he cannot be ejected, then either the priest has consecrated, or he has not, or he is consecrating. If he has consecrated, he should consume the chalice and Host at once, and retire. If he has not consecrated, he should retire without delay. If he is consecrating, he should finish the consecration, then consume the sacrament and discontinue the Mass. The people also should retire, else, Liguori says, they sin. *Vitandi* are forbidden to attend at the other divine offices of the church, as public processions, solemn vespers, consecration of chrism, and other duties peculiar

to holy orders, and instituted by Christ or by the Roman Church in his name.

(7) A *vitandus* who is a priest cannot say "*Dominus vobiscum*" in reading his breviary. He should say "*Domine exaudi orationem meam*" (O Lord, hear my prayer!). He is still bound to read his office, and obligated by his vow of chastity and celibacy. He must read his office in private, and cannot have a companion to alternate with him, whereas a *toleratus* may have a companion to assist in reading his office.

(8) An excommunicated person, even a *vitandus*, may listen to pious reading, theological dissertations, sermons, and assist (apart by himself, if a *vitandus*) at private prayers and at prayers not properly offices of the church as a ministering body. He may use holy water, blessed beads, crosses, medals, scapulars, relics, etc., but he gains none of the indulgences said to be attached to these things. He has no share in any indulgences. A *vitandus* cannot preach, nor lecture on theology, nor on canon law. (9) *Tolerati* are not deprived of the common or public goods of the church, but their names should not be publicly mentioned lest scandal might arise; hence Mass can be offered for *tolerati*. None of the prayers offered by the church as such, nor of the clergy acting in the name of the church, can be applied to *vitandi*. Mass cannot be offered in the name of the church for *vitandi*, although Roman divines teach that a stipend (be it \$1, or \$5, or \$100) may be taken from the unfortunates to say Mass for them! Public prayers are offered for infidels, but not for the poor *vitandi*. Mass cannot be offered in the name of the church for the *vitandi*, but it may be offered in Christ's name! Is the Roman Church above Christ?

(10) If a *vitandus* be buried in consecrated or blessed ground, his corpse should be taken up, and the polluted ground be purified. Ballerini adds that even if the *vitandus* repented before he died, this law should be observed, unless he were absolved. Lehmkuhl says that in this latter case the ground is not polluted, but that the corpse should be absolved! If a *toleratus* were notoriously impenitent, he should be denied ecclesiastical burial, and, if buried in consecrated ground, the corpse should be exhumed, although the ground is not polluted. All those who

order or compel notorious heretics, persons excommunicated by name, or interdicted by name, to be buried in consecrated ground, are excommunicated *ipso facto*. And any priest (whose duty it is to prevent) who admits any person excommunicated by name to the divine offices or to ecclesiastical burial, is interdicted by law from entering a church until he is absolved. (11) A *vitandus* is deprived of all jurisdiction. (12) Excommunication does not necessarily deprive a beneficiary of his benefice, nor of the emoluments, until after the sentence of the superior; but an excommunicated person becomes incapable of receiving any benefice while the censure lasts, unless the Pope himself confer it.

(13) Formerly a *vitandus* was altogether at the mercy of Rome. He could not hold any civil office. He was deprived of all rights and privileges in purely ecclesiastical matters, the only privilege left being that of appeal or recourse to a higher court. A *toleratus* was allowed all his civil rights, but they could have been refused to him at the will of the judge. (14) Even the ordinary intercourse of daily life was denied to the *vitandus* in the "good days of old." The faithful were forbidden to speak to him, or to write to him, or to show him any kindness; they could not pray with him, or address the usual greetings to him; they could not dwell with him, or have any business intercourse with him in public or in private, and they were forbidden to show him or receive from him any hospitality. Sometimes exceptions were made in behalf of wives and husbands and children, and in cases of sickness, etc. Most of these provisions depriving the *vitandus* of his civil and society rights are, of course, void of effect in modern times. (15) The Roman Church teaches that excommunications bind the soul before God, because inflicted in the name and by the authority of Christ's church. A person excommunicated is considered so in all parts of the world, even in the next life, until he is absolved. If an excommunicated person remain for one year without making an effort to have the censure removed, he is "suspected of heresy" and treated accordingly. This absence of effort to obtain absolution is taken as proof of the crime for which the excommunication is inflicted, and also, in law, brings with it a deprivation of benefices.

We have thus given a synopsis of the chief punishments that

are said to result from excommunication. Let us now see what canonical remedy remains to Doctor McGlynn, who, as a *vitandus*, occupies an unenviable position among Roman Catholic communities. The doctor has been excommunicated for disobeying a papal mandate. His excommunication is a papal one, therefore he has no appeal or other remedy against Archbishop Corrigan, nor has the archbishop any jurisdiction to deal with the doctor. The doctor has no power to appeal his case. Appeal is from a lower to a higher tribunal, and there is no recognized one higher than the Pope's in the Roman branch of the church. Besides, there is never an appeal from a censure except it be inflicted by a judicial sentence, *i. e.*, by the sentence of a superior in his court after trial; and not even all those excommunicated or otherwise censured by a judicial sentence can appeal, for canon law allows no appeal when "the persons are condemned for special and continued contumacy, *e. g.*, for neglecting and despising a citation;" neither is any appeal from a judicial sentence allowed to those guilty of a "grave and notorious crime." It is thus evident that the doctor has no power of appeal against his excommunication, but there are other remedies, as, for instance, "*Provocatio ad causam*," or "*Supplicatio*."

Appeal is one of the causes excusing from censures. There are four others, *viz.*, (1) ignorance, (2) fear, (3) consent of the party in whose favor the censure was inflicted, and (4) impotence. The doctor cannot plead ignorance; he will not plead fear; the censure was imposed in favor of the Roman authorities, and they will hardly consent to its removal until the doctor submits—if he ever do submit—so that there remains but the plea of impotence. Impotence means the physical or moral impossibility of doing or omitting what is ordered under censure. The question is, Was the doctor physically and morally able to go to Rome, as he was ordered? According to all accounts, he was in vigorous health at the time, improving himself by travel and lecturing, and there does not seem to have been any reason for his disobedience, except his own will—*stat pro ratione voluntas*.

The doctor says he will hold the excommunication as invalid, but will respect its provisions forbidding him the sacraments, etc. There is a canonical remedy against notoriously invalid

and unjust censures, known as the "*Oppositio nullitatis*." This remedy allows the censured to treat the censure as if it had never been inflicted, if the community know that it is invalid and unjust, as being inflicted on an innocent person. Does the Roman Catholic community know that the excommunication is "notoriously invalid," and that the doctor is as innocent as he claims to be? It hardly seems so. The only remedy left to the doctor, if he wishes to be a Romanist, is repentance, and the abject submission of his will to that of the Roman authorities.

In the foregoing we have stated the strict canon law of the Roman Church, according to the very best authorities. Rome does not want the doctor unless he submits to the church authorities, therefore he is ejected. The doctor says he will not submit, and denies Rome's power to eject him. The doctor's appeal to Galileo's case is *ad captandum vulgus*. Every person of education knows that a purely astronomical question is very different from a question affecting ownership in land, an institution recognized by the laws of all nations, and churches, and religions.

We do not write in the interest of the doctor, nor against him. We hold no brief from either side, but have merely stated the laws of the doctor's church, and leave all free to form their opinions about these laws, their provisions, their justice, their mercy, and their charity, or their lack of these qualities. Many, no doubt, will fail to see in the small portion of Roman church law here presented any reflex of the Master who preached about leaving the ninety-nine and going in search of the one lost sheep. A true mother is known by her love. Where is Rome's for the excommunicated?

E. J. V. HUGINN.

## IS AMERICA EUROPEANIZING?

ON the eve of the last municipal election in Chicago, a notorious socialist of that city, predicting a victory at the polls for the class he represented, made the remark: "You must remember that Chicago is really a European colony, and sympathizes with European ideas." The city directory, the school census, the faces on the streets, and the signs on the stores all seemed to confirm his taunt; and many recent events had lent a melancholy plausibility to his inference from it. But the next day, in a square issue between a "labor" ticket tainted with a suspicion of socialism, and one which stood unmistakably for law and order, the "European" ticket was beaten by a majority larger than the number of votes polled for it.

There is food for reflection in that fact. It is well worth the study of social and political pessimists. For the past ten years America has been growing timid and depressed. We have become over-sensitive to our perils, and insensible to our resources and advantages. Jeremiah has become the favorite prophet of the people. The scream of the spread-eagle, once the favorite bird of the Fourth of July orator, is no longer audible in the land. Instead, one hears the croak of the raven, echoing in the tones of press, pulpit, and the talk of the people. Nobody dares be very hopeful about the nation, or the civilization for which it stands. The most sanguine are afraid of a new upheaval whose horrors will eclipse those of the French Revolution; and hardly a protest is heard to-day against the political and the social pessimism which is filling men's minds with mistrust about the future.

Now, it is not the purpose of this paper to deny the reality or the gravity of these perils. They are, undoubtedly, such as call for watchfulness, nerve, courage, and endurance. They will put our institutions and our people to a severe strain. But that is



not necessarily a fact which ought to cause fear or nervousness. When the bows of the Cunarder go plunging into the long swell which foretells the coming storm the ship's company need have no panic. To be sure, they will get severely shaken up. The good ship will rack and strain among the heavy seas ; she may ship tons of water ; but that is what she was built for ; she is a sea-going craft, and the chances are immensely in favor of her riding out the gale, with only insignificant damage. So America may be nearing great social disturbances ; the ship of state may be running into a fierce storm center ; but it is a good time to remember the care with which she was built and the storms she has already weathered. We know

“ Who made each mast, and sail, and rope ;  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope.”

Chief, now, among the reasons for a more hopeful view of the future of America, is the fact that, in spite of all the evils we have suffered from, as rapid immigration, increasing illiteracy, and the precipitation of class conflicts, America persists in remaining American. The nation is true to its fundamental ideas. And so powerful are the influences which operate upon our vast immigrant populations, that they are rapidly modified and assimilated to the ways of thinking and behaving which are characteristic of this country. It does not transform a man, to be sure, to bring him from Ireland or Italy or Poland, and set him down in New York or Chicago ; but it does change his habits of thought as it changes his habits of life, and the modification is much more rapid than is commonly imagined. A man cannot live in this country six months without feeling and showing the difference. He is put on a new footing. He hears new ideas and he absorbs new sentiments ; he is brought into contact with new institutions ; he is required to undertake new responsibilities ; and these things as certainly have their effect as climate and food and occupation have theirs. Undoubtedly, the first effect is, in many cases, unsettling and demoralizing. To bring a man from a country where he has all his life been legislated and

policed and lorded into shape, into a land where he is expected to take care of himself, to be responsible for his own observance of social regulations, and to consider himself the equal before the law of other men, is enough to turn leveler heads than are brought hither by most immigrants. The first effect may intoxicate the man with a sense of his importance, and make him hard to handle; and yet that process is all the time going on which will, at last, make the peasant, dwarfed, narrow, and ignorant though he may be, into a loyal, law-abiding, ambitious American. It does not take over a generation at the outside to reduce the stubbornest types into conformity to Americanism. Even when the adult immigrant clings tenaciously to the language and the ways of his fatherland, his children grow up into as good Americans as can be found. Even the anarchist who attempts to ventilate his revolutionary doctrines in the American air soon finds that he is working in a much more unfavorable climate than he left in Europe. Anarchism will not root itself here as it does abroad, because of an uncongenial environment.

No doubt this seems to the social pessimist a flat contradiction of the figures and the facts. But it is supported by strong testimony out of recent history and out of current events. In the first place, it is shown in the revelations which attended the civil war. That was a convulsion so severe and so searching that if there had been any inherent weakness in our system or in its administration it would have been exposed; and it was a strain so recent that it is practically available as contemporary. That four years' struggle was an impressive lesson, which some have forgotten quite too soon. If, in the main, our population had not been loyal to the American idea, and equal to the responsibility which goes with American privileges, we should have learned it then to our great cost. That we more than held our own; that our foreign citizenship bore itself so well; that the few outbreaks in our cities, encouraged by traitors and their sympathizers, were so soon subdued: these things amount to a demonstration of the power of America to Americanize men. In that struggle we saw how, once planted here, the Teuton, the Briton, the Celt, the Slav, the Scandinavian, all become amalgamated into one people. The roster of our armies is sufficient

proof of this. And when a man has become sufficiently Americanized to be willing to risk limb or life in behalf of the country, it may be alleged that he is fairly well assimilated.

Again, the course of recent events discloses the same hopeful attitude of our so-called "foreign population." The incident already referred to in Chicago is a case in point. Twelve months ago the labor troubles culminating in the Haymarket riot caused the most serious fears as to the state of public opinion in that city with reference to law and order. Its population is overwhelmingly "foreign." Out of a total of 630,000, in 1884, only 143,000 were Americans. There were 209,000 Germans, 114,000 Irish, 41,000 Scandinavians, 28,000 Bohemians, 23,000 Poles, 20,000 English. It became a critical question to know how far this multitude was imbued with American ideas, and how far it sympathized with socialism, resistance to law, disorganization, and anarchy. When the trial of the anarchists occurred it became clear that public sentiment was overwhelmingly against them. There was not the faintest popular response to their wild and destructive demonstration. The turbulent city, from which so much was feared, disappointed everybody by an unmistakable popular sentiment in favor of law and order. That sentiment was again displayed in the municipal elections of the spring of 1887, and in the special election for judges a few weeks later. In both these events there was a clear issue between the principles and the men with whom it was supposed that the foreign element would sympathize, and those that represented thoroughly American ideas. In both cases the result astonished even the most sanguine believers in the essential soundness of the mass of our population. It was demonstrated beyond a doubt that, even in the most "foreign" of American cities, the ideas on which the safety of city, State, and nation alone can rest securely were understood and supported by the majority of the people. It is clear that American principles and American institutions have naturalized our immigrant armies almost as rapidly as the politicians who want their votes.

Quite as remarkable in its demonstration of the sway of what we may call Americanism is the rise of the temperance sentiment of the country, in the very teeth of the prejudices

which our foreign-born citizens bring hither with them. For a long time it has been the habit to cite the rapid immigration to this country of people accustomed to drinking habits, and utterly hostile toward even mild reformatory measures, as a bar to all progress in temperance legislation, and a probable source of delay and defeat to the cause of sobriety and abstinence. The argument has seemed plausible, and the facts have appeared to bear it out. But of late it has become apparent that a tremendous movement is well under way which is likely to put the severest restrictions on the liquor traffic which it has ever borne; and it is a remarkable fact that the movement is not confined to the older States and to regions whose population is largely of the old American stock. It has reached the newer States and involves the foreign element. The adopted citizen is coming to look at the drink problem from an American point of view. The voting population of Kansas in 1885 was (in round numbers) 250,000, of which over 50,000 were foreign-born. In Iowa there were 290,000 native voters and over 125,000 foreign-born. Both these States have within a few years adopted prohibitory amendments to their constitutions. Rhode Island numbers 47,000 native and 27,000 foreign voters. Evidently some impression must have been made upon her foreign-born citizens in order to carry a prohibitory amendment by a three-fifths vote. Indeed, at the election in Rhode Island at which this measure was enacted, great credit was given to the Irish total abstinence societies for the help they contributed; good witnesses declare that the foreigners voted quite as largely for the amendment as the native Americans. In the State of Ohio, one of the foremost leaders in the Prohibition party and an uncompromising opponent of the liquor traffic is a German gentleman of high business standing. If there be leaders of this sort it is inevitable that there should be followers. It is too early in the progress of this movement to command any adequate statistics. But signs like these cited have a value in showing how American thought is reaching our aliens on their least susceptible side. The Europeanizing of American sentiment and practice upon this matter has evidently been less than was feared. The rise of the temperance sentiment in this country, the revolt against the saloon, has been rapid and wide-

spread. It is clear that it has already affected some of the foreign contingent, Americanizing them in a most practical way. It is in the highest degree improbable that the restrictive legislation which is drawing the lines more tightly all over the country could have been secured except for the co-operation, in thought and votes, of the foreign-born, but rapidly Americanizing, population.

And it is worthy of remark that these hopeful signs of the evolution of a new type out of these heterogeneous elements of our population are shown in connection with what some Americans deplore as a weakness in our system, namely, the free exercise of the franchise. It is a fact that our naturalized citizens are voting better than we are willing to believe ; and every vote they cast puts the country on a safer footing. For the most potent factor in shaping the dispositions of these new-comers, and modifying their sentiments, is the fundamental characteristic of American life, which provides that every man who comes here shall have "liberty with responsibility." This is the great solvent which affects all these congregating nationalities. It is the method prescribed by the fathers, which has not yet outgrown its usefulness, because it is based upon a law as broad as the race itself. No nation has ever discovered so direct, so effectual, and, on the whole, so speedy a way to make men out of the poor apologies for manhood that Europe is forever unloading on our docks, as the American way. The day in which it was decided to put the ballot in the hands of every adult citizen was a happy day for America. It was a day which planted us strongly upon a fundamental principle of human nature, viz., that the way to beget trustworthiness is to impose a trust. The quickest process by which to develop political sagacity is to call for its exercise. Hosea Biglow puts a profound truth into his lines :

"The surest plan to make a man  
Is, *think* him so, J. B.,  
Ez much ez you or me."

States rest the more securely upon their foundations in proportion as those foundations are broadened to cover the greatest number of classes and of individuals ; not because there is any

particular virtue or wisdom in numbers, especially where a large proportion of those numbers bring no immediate contribution to the aggregate, except ignorance and prejudice ; but because the best and quickest way to overcome that ignorance and diminish that stupidity is to make the man feel that they lessen his own privileges and add to his own taxes. Democracy is co-operative politics : it makes every voter a partner in the state's business, and contributor to its profits or its losses ; and however inconvenient the process, it is the most effective yet discovered for dealing with the dangerous classes—dangerous on account of their ignorance or discontent—and making them less harmful. It is a mistaken cry which goes up to-day for a restricted suffrage, for property qualifications, for a probation before naturalization, for this condition and for that. It is an unnecessary mistrust of the power of American institutions to Americanize, and of the discipline of responsibility.

It was doubtless a just appreciation of the unspeakable terrors of the situation which led us to sympathize in a measure with the South, when her millions of freedmen were made voters, and thrust into temporary power. No candid man can doubt that the condition of southern society under such a *régime*, if it had been prolonged, would have been political anarchy. And yet we ought always to qualify the sympathy with the reflection that it was the most speedy way out of the difficulty and into a safer and more durable state. The freedman without the ballot would have been a vastly more dangerous factor in southern society than he has been as a voter, and he would have held the menace of his ignorance and his prejudices over the state for a far longer period. "It may be conjectured," says Mr. Lowell, "that it is cheaper in the long run to lift men up than to hold them down, and that the ballot in their hands is less dangerous to society than a sense of wrong in their heads." The political danger in America, north and south, is not chiefly from the participation of the ignorant, but from the neglect of the intelligent, classes. The effect of the ballot in this country has been to secure greater social cohesion and unity. It is a good counter-irritant to the divisive and segregating influence of wealth, social habit, and religious

clannishness. We sign away one of the most powerful agencies in the Americanizing of America when we narrow the voting list. The lesson of personal responsibility for the good order of the community is to be gained in no other way than by the actual exercise of the franchise by the citizen. And one reason why our new populations are so quickly and so easily molded into accord with our institutions, is because they are thrown at once upon their own political responsibility.

Another reason lies in what is so often alleged as the great peril of our system, viz., the massing of men in great cities. Nobody can deny the danger and the difficulty. But the conditions which breed the danger also offer its cure. The massing of these immense populations makes them far more pliable, far more susceptible to progressive influences, to enlightenment and to improvement. The newspaper reaches these people once, twice, three times a day. The club, the labor organization, the institute for instruction, the lecture hall, the political meeting, all tend to keep the minds of these crowding multitudes open and susceptible. There is no chance for them to fossilize. They cannot settle back into their conservative ways and harden there. The currents of city life drift them forward. Dr. Lyman Abbott is quite right when he maintains that even the concentration of evils in our cities is a gain. "If we are going to have ten thousand liquor saloons, by all means let us have them on little Manhattan Island," he says, "where we can see what they are and deal with them." The greatest peril to our institutions is not in the concentration of people within narrow limits; it is in the danger that we shall be so foolish and panic-stricken as to run away from our own safeguards, and abandon the old, time-honored, and thoroughly proven Anglo-Saxon principle of local self-government. If we can keep the administration of our city affairs in the hands of the people who live in those cities, we shall do well enough. If we turn our cities over to the rural populations, and remove the sense of local responsibility, we lose one of the chief means of hastening and maintaining their civilization. The political problem in the modern city is not incapable of a hopeful solution. Much has been gained in late years by wise laws and

by concentration of responsibility. It would be a pity if we were to lose it all by a cowardly terror over the supposed ineffectiveness of our most characteristic and reliable methods and institutions. The New York "Nation" well said, a few years ago: "If our great cities cannot govern themselves the experiment of popular government for the nation is a predestined failure." But they can govern themselves; and they do it well and wisely whenever they try. With all their hordes of immigrants pouring in upon them, they are still able to assimilate them so fast that enough of them side with law and order and good government to keep the power where it belongs.

Next to the privilege of the ballot, the influence of the public school is the most vigorous force in the transformation of the alien to an American. The process of fusion of races and peoples in this country is greatly hastened by the meeting of the children of the immigrants with those of the already Americanized population in the public schools. The systematic and generally uniform work of the public school is a continuous drill in common methods of thought and common ethical standards. The contact with teachers who are themselves generally good exponents of our national spirit is a powerful factor in the process. And, best of all, the mingling of social classes in the schools, the leveling influences which spring from the meeting of the children of all classes in their common education, does an inestimable work in the way of reclaiming the alien and making him into a good American. It is true that there are great districts in our cities in which the adults scarcely know a word of English. But the children of these same people speak it as if it were their mother tongue. It was a wise and fortunate decision of the founders of the American state to establish our system of public schools. They are the most American of all American institutions. The sectarian school would have fostered the isolation of great bodies of people from one another, and would have greatly increased the tendency to the worst form of caste spirit. It would have left multitudes unprovided for, or but indifferently cared for, who of all our population have the greatest need to be gathered into schools. It makes one shudder to think what would have become of the unchurched masses in all these years, if the



state had encouraged denominational schools in place of its impartial, broadly conceived system that reaches every class and every shade of opinions. Spare us our present system of instruction and of mental training in the public schools; make school attendance between certain years compulsory; recognize the necessity that our schools shall be American in teaching and influence; and one could almost assert that the immigration problem will take care of itself.

We must not omit to specify the work of the Christian churches in America in the Americanizing of our aliens. Setting aside the work of the Roman Church, which can hardly be said to foster the elements of a true Americanism, the most casual knowledge of the internal economy of our religious bodies discloses the fact that they are making a most vigorous campaign for the reclamation of the dangerous classes, in which America's most serious perils are supposed to lie. The attention which has been drawn to the foreign missionary work, by the theological disputes over its administration, has diverted men's thought from the real labor field of the American churches to-day. But, as a matter of fact, the most powerful agencies and the most energetic men in American Christendom are to-day turning their strength and their thought to the work of home missions. The eyes of thoughtful Christian workers have long been directed toward the masses of immigrants who come, a horde of practical pagans, into the country. Such books as Dr. Strong's alarmist volume, "Our Country;" such documents as the proceedings of the "Inter-Denominational Congress" of 1886; such work as Mr. Moody's movement for city evangelization in Chicago, are signs of the trend of activity in the churches. It was related at a Saratoga convention a few weeks ago, that a certain club of laymen, when it invites distinguished men to speak before it, gives them full freedom to choose their themes, except that they are forbidden to speak on city evangelization. That shows that the subject has been thoroughly introduced to public attention. A famous Sunday-school in a large city, located in the very heart of a socialistic population, encounters the warmest opposition and the most cordial hatred from the people whose children it aims to reach. They

fear its influence. They know that if their boys and girls once fall under its power they are lost to alienism and anarchy. These are significant facts ; they indicate one of the most powerful forces at work in the molding of the youth of the land.

It is not just, then, to the trustworthy institutions and influences of American life, to ignore or to depreciate the actual work they are doing in the real naturalization of our alien populations. We have planted ourselves upon a great principle, the highest ever reached by a nation, to wit, that if a man is treated like a man he is likely to become a man ; and if he does not, his son will. We have resolved to try the experiment of liberty under law, even upon the law-oppressed and the lawless. So far we have every reason for congratulation. We are achieving a wonderful success ; and the only serious failures of our system have come from a too lax and not from a too rigorous enforcement of its principles. When the scholar and the merchant fail to vote, while the day-laborer and the bar-room loafer are prompt at the polls, our system is not fully applied. The ballot then is oversparred and underballasted. The analogy holds in other particulars ; let the spirit of American institutions be carried to its fullest extent ; let the individual feel his responsibility as a citizen ; let his children be trained in the common school ; let the churches have a free field and no favors ; let law be sustained by the active efforts of the best men and women in the community, and America is in no more danger of losing the institutions or the spirit of the forefathers than she is of losing her climate.

J. COLEMAN ADAMS.

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE ?

A HUMAN being may certainly be born either selfish or generous, reckless or foresighted, cautious or courageous, a vain-glorious fool or a hero-worshiper. He will certainly inherit from his immediate or remote ancestors a mixture of qualities some of which will predominate in the conduct of his life. Prose or poetry will run in his blood, and predestine him for a cart-horse or a Pegasus of a man ; fix him in a commonplace life or crowd his mortal career with extraordinary adventures. Every child is dropped upon the planet at the risk of an exceptional fate, at one end or the other of the range of human character, very bad or very good, very mean or very great. But the vast majority of people escape the risk, and are graduated in the school of experience somewhere near the *juste milieu*, with an average mixture of talents ; and so their surroundings settle the principal questions for them : what they shall be, what they shall do, and what shall be the end of them at last. The snow-flakes fall helter-skelter ; but if there be no tempest the surface of the snow-field is a level plain ; and if the wind drives and drifts, still the curves of the surface, although composed of fortuitous millions of individual parts, are mathematically and beautifully regular. So is human society. A nation survives its wars, pestilences, and famines because few of its men are taller than four feet eight, and few of its women shorter than four feet four. Were a large minority to grow to eight feet, and another large minority to stop growing at three feet, no human society larger than a family would be possible ; and Mr. Galton has taught us why.

The law of the average, which is forever restraining within fixed limits the perturbations of the orbits of the planets and preserving the integrity of the solar system, is a despotic providence also for man's moral nature. You ask, what shall be the

controlling motive of the soul? what shall be the supreme aspiration of the human heart? what chief end and aim shall man have and keep in view from youth to old age? what shall we prefer to live for? and what will best satisfy us when, from the goal at its end, we take a lingering backward look along that race-course where we have sped with varying swiftness, laughing, shouting, sobbing, panting, and stopping often for rest and refreshment? But you ask an exceptional question of the exceptional few who have been aware of the race-course. Most men know nothing about the race; they do not run for their lives; they merely live. They have no supreme motive; their lives are inspired by a mixture of ancestral motives; and the law of the average sees to it that the mixture be a practical one. Were the thousand of millions of human souls to be driven in a single direction by one and the same supreme motive, toward one and the same end in view, whether physical or metaphysical, our theory of the universe would have to be revised and amended from top to bottom; for then in all the universe mankind alone would have escaped from the beneficent domination of the law of average.

As every child was sent to school a hundred years before he was born, he enters the world with a predisposition to become more one kind of human being than another; and, in spite of any and every system of education in infancy and youth, he will grow up—so far as he has any individuality of character—either more of a dogmatist, or more of a ritualist, or more of a philanthropist, or more of a quaker; for these are the four styles which souls adopt in answering the question: What is the chief end of man?

By picking out from the mass of mankind exceptional individuals, and using them as types of possible subdivisions of the race, but with the understanding that no such subdivisions have ever been or ever can be largely effected, it becomes an easy matter to perceive what different answers to the question will be returned; what different theories of it the same thinker will make in youth, middle life, and old age; and how the multitude of common men and women throughout their earthly existence never hear but a murmured mixture of them, indistinct

and incomprehensible. Ask the multitude why God made them, and they reply unanimously : To be as happy as our poverty permits ; to get along as well as we can. Ask the multitude what they strive to attain to ; they reply : God knows ; we know nothing about the future ; we have enough to think of in the present, to protect ourselves and our children from the pressure of the crowd.

Founders of religions arise, and have imperfect success. They profess to give answer to the great question ; but their voice is lost in the general tumult ; the multitude is too earnestly bent on living to regard theories of how to live. Every religious theory of life is based upon some special answer to the question : Why does man live ?

If life be probationary, and a future life be the only real thing, involving indefinitely protracted happiness or misery, a man's controlling motive should be a longing wish to know the future, and the conditions of probation. Orthodoxy preaches that he that believes shall be saved, and he that believes not shall be damned. Its catechism begins with the question : What is the chief end of man ? and an answer to it : To glorify God and enjoy him forever. The history of centuries proves that this answer the multitude can never comprehend ; that in all generations it has been comprehended and lived for only by the elect. It is therefore not *the* answer to the great question, because it expresses the mind only of the few. The many need daily, not eternal, knowledge. The rose of Sharon, the lily of the valley, will not grow in a pine forest. When the crowds have succeeded in enjoying God now, they can afford to think about enjoying him forever ; not till then.

Sacraments have been invented for the comfort and invigoration of the weary, sick, and heart-broken multitudes of mankind. They are based upon *this* answer to the great question : Let the imagination divinely control the conduct of life ; knowledge is not essential ; feel the surrounding heaven, breathe its air, forget the miseries of existence ; the church is the only real world to live in and live for. And, in fact, another body of elect accept this answer, and find it sufficient. They are themselves transubstantiated and etherealized. But the multitude

looks on in blank amazement; imitates their gestures, but knows nothing of their spirit. Therefore this answer also is not the true one, for it is unintelligible to the majority of men.

A third answer is propounded by the Mystics; a lovely race of souls, male and female; the cream of the cream of every religious sect since prehistoric times. The suppression of passion is the object of the illuminated soul; the subjection of hope and fear, not to the reasoning judgment, but to the boundless gratitude of the human heart, for life, and all that life affords; the attainment of that peace of which Jesus said: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you;" peace in want, peace in plenty, peaceful joy, and peace in agony. But they who have realized this heavenly dream have been the elect of the elect, the chosen few. Their peace has been a peace which the world knows nothing of. And were it to become the common heritage of mankind, human society would put on drab, and the material progress of the nineteenth century would stop short. Nothing would be left to do but to blow the trumpet for the judgment day. For this and that choice creature of Christianity who turns a glowing countenance upward and asks: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" this is the divinest answer, and an eternal inspiration. But it is not an answer for mankind at large, and will never be accepted by the multitude.

In the Acts of the Apostles we read that of the early Christians no one accounted anything that he possessed his own. That was pure altruism; that was prime and typical Christianity. Some are born to it; Gaspard Monge, for example, who, while Member of the Academy, Senator of France, and organizer of the defenses of the republic, remained so poor that he often had nothing to eat but dry bread; not to speak of Him who had not where to lay his head, while calling the human race to rest theirs upon his bosom; him, the great prophet of philanthropy, the very paraclete of benevolence, the only successful organizer of socialism. What is the end and object of life? Primitive Christianity replies: Sell all that thou hast and give the proceeds to the poor. To what kind of poor? To every body; for all are poor; some one way, some another.

This was said nearly two thousand years ago ; and the world has become since then a Christian world ; but the Christian world mostly keeps what it has for itself, and still asks : What is the end and aim of life ? Evidently that answer of the early church does not satisfy the conditions. Yet they who are born followers of Jesus find no fault with it ; and, in fact, are glorified and glorify their generation by self-sacrifice. The multitudes sometimes crucify them, sometimes worship them, usually celebrate them, but find it impossible in the very nature of things to imitate them. Would you have flocks of sheep harness themselves to a cannon to defend a city ?

No, none of those four answers to the great question is broad enough for mankind ; each is special, and sufficient for a special class. We want one which all kinds and conditions of men are able to put into practice, because it appeals to their average good-nature ; that is, to the life which has been bestowed upon them from on high, such as it is.

If man be made in the image of God ; if man's attributes reflect God's attributes, like the landscape in each drop of dew, the end and aim of man's life must be the same as the end and aim of God's life ; its habits like his ; its controlling sentiment the same. The answer to the infinite question will best serve, then, for an answer to the finite.

The motto of the State of Rhode Island is : *Non sibi sed toti*. It was borrowed from the escutcheon of the Hutchinson family. Where the Hutchinsons got it is unknown ; but it must have originally come from God ; for it is the motto of the universe, the proper motto for the Deity, who, being free of all necessity of self-preservation, cannot be selfish ; never thinks of himself, of his glory, of his rights, privileges, perquisites ; has no temptation to self-gratification ; need never indulge his little feelings ; therefore loves all and hates none ; shines and rains on the just and unjust alike ; esteems as highly his heretical as his orthodox worshipers ; in fact, them who worship not as them who worship. Having no hopes, fears, regrets, or expectations, no embarrassments in carrying out his plans, no mistakes to rectify, no remorse to brood over, no business speculations, no book on hand, no journey to take, no watch to wind up, no

meetings to attend, no appointments to keep, he never thinks of himself at all, but is always and wholly self-lost in the care of the universe—*non sibi sed toti*—that is, in preserving universal order, and practicing universal good-will. If this be the double end and aim of the divine life it must be the same of human life.

We get the answer, then, which equally suits all, high and low, rich and poor, wise and simple, favored and unfavored by hereditary gifts. The aim of every human life should be simply to preserve order and practice good-will. This reduces Christianity itself to its simplest terms, and that for everybody ; in youth, manhood, and old age ; in the home, the market, and the forum ; in the little spheres of science, literature, and fine art, as well as in that far larger world of varied handicraft now sending out so loud and long and threatening a cry for some practical answer to the question : What is the object of life ?

J. P. LESLEY.



## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

It was a book, rather than books, that had the most influence upon my life. My taste in reading from my earliest days—as soon as I had passed the Bible-story period—was for biography, and the first book of this class that fell in my way was a life of Franklin. It was an ordinary 12mo, and the gilt lettering on the back read thus: “Life of Franklin Norton.” When I picked the book up for the first time, I supposed that it was a life of some estimable Mr. Norton, named, very likely, in honor of the discoverer of electricity. Closer examination, however, showed that it was a life of the great Franklin himself, Norton being the name of the biographer; and I read it with avidity, making up my mind as I read that I would become a printer as soon as I was old enough to have anything to say about my future.

When I finished this biography I wanted “more,” and my father gave me a copy of the famous Autobiography. Never was the “Arabian Nights” read with greater zest than I read this book, and when I had finished it I began and read it all over again. After a second reading I was more determined than ever to become a printer. It was not so much that I wanted to be a printer as that I wanted to be an editor, and I believed that to be an editor one had to begin at the compositor’s case. It has always been a source of regret to me that I never did learn to “stick type.”

Every step in Franklin’s career interested me, and, not having a particularly original mind, I did not scorn to imitate him as closely as circumstances would permit. I was attending a village school at the time, but I begged my mother to take me away, because I wanted to be “self-educated,” as Franklin was. She did not agree with my reasoning at all, but tried to make me see that if I was as much like Franklin as I wanted to be, I would jump at the advantages of education that she was anxious

to give me. I was not at all satisfied, but, as I could not leave school, I determined to get my self-education out of school hours. Franklin's library had consisted of "Pilgrim's Progress," "Plutarch's Lives," "Essays on Projects," and Cotton Mather's "Essays to Do Good;" so I looked among the books in our own library, and to my delight found "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Plutarch's Lives." The "Essays" I could not find, but, supposing all essays to be pretty much alike, I carried off with the other books from our library shelves a copy of an old edition of Pope's "Essay on Man." These books I bore away in triumph to my attic bedroom.

It was a great satisfaction to me that my bedroom was in the attic. I had never read of a self-educated man or woman who had not carried on the great work of his or her education in an attic room. The only regret I felt about my surroundings was that I had a good kerosene lamp to read by instead of a pine-knot or tallow candle. A flaming pine-knot was, to me, the proper light for self-education. When I suggested it, my mother asked me if I wanted to set the house on fire. I explained why I wanted the pine-knot, but, as in the other case, she appealed to my reason by telling me how delighted Franklin would have been with a bright kerosene lamp, with a green-paper shade, such as I was allowed to have. My attic room was all that I could have desired. It was in an old country house, and was reached by a narrow stairway of unpainted boards. There was a large open attic, with my room at the end of it. It ran the width of the house, and on the door I had screwed an enormous brass plate with the legend "I. Gilder" in Gothic letters upon it. This door-plate had been taken from my grandfather's house in Philadelphia many years before. My grandfather's name was John, but when that plate was engraved they used the letter I instead of J, and I had special affection for it on account of its antiquity.

The room itself was not unattractive. To be sure, the walls were whitewashed, and the ceiling sloped so sharply that the end windows were very low—so low that I had to sit on the floor to see out of them. Opposite the door was a large window that commanded the kitchen garden, the barn, and the orchard be-

yond. On the left was the village, half a mile away ; on the right the lane, with its border of tall cedar-trees, whose long shadows I loved to watch as the evening sun sank slowly down into the Delaware. Besides the bedstead, bureau, and wash-stand in my room, there was a table with a writing-desk on it, and a shelf above it crowded with books—not a very select library, but one that had been pretty well read. There was no way of heating the room, and in the winter I enjoyed sleeping up there with the windows open. I could have had a comfortable room downstairs, if I had been willing to share it, but I preferred the independence and the distinction of having a “den” of my own.

Into this den, one bright morning in the early fall, I carried the books that Franklin had read with such eagerness. I laid them on my table and took them up one by one. The “Pilgrim’s Progress” I had read several years before, so I began with Plutarch. As this sketch is autobiographical, I must tell the truth. I blush to record it, but I never got beyond the first half-dozen lines of Plutarch’s first life. I tried my best, and took it up most dutifully, but I couldn’t keep my mind on it. I would look out of the windows and see a cow in the corn-field or the chickens among the tomato plants, and I had either to run and chase them out, or call upon some one else to perform that office. The cows might gorge themselves on corn and the chickens run riot among the tomatoes if I were reading my Franklin, for I should never have looked up. But with Plutarch my eyes could not hold themselves to the page ; and the “Essay on Man” was hardly more attractive. Still, I kept these books on my desk, where it was a source of satisfaction to see their leather covers looking so learned, and, I must add, getting so much praise from visitors to my room. If the visitors had known of my struggle and defeat they would not have complimented my taste as they did.

My ambition was thoroughly aroused by Franklin’s account of how he wrote articles and put them under the door of his brother’s printing-office, of how they were found and published, and how everybody talked about them and wondered who could have written them. I determined to follow his example in this as well as in other things ; so I got out the old, half-used account-

book that served me for "copy paper," and wrote an article on the superior educational advantages of the (then) present time as compared with those of our grandparents. I wrote with a sharp-pointed pen (we didn't have stubs in those days), and yet I made bold, black strokes, not sparing the ink. I had no blotting-paper, so I sprinkled the pages with blotting-sand from a little round perforated box that had belonged to my granduncle, who built the old homestead; and then I folded them carefully and made an envelope myself, which I sealed with red wax and stamped with an old-fashioned brass seal. What with the lavish use of ink, sand, and sealing-wax, the budget must have weighed half a pound. But I did not propose to trust this precious manuscript to the mails. I waited until after the sun had set and night was creeping on; then I sprang lightly over the back fence, where some of the rails were broken, and sped down to the town, and to the office of the sole newspaper printed in the neighborhood. After waiting until the coast was clear, I pushed the manuscript under the door and sped back over the fields, and home. When the next number of the "Register" arrived at the house I could scarcely unfold it for excitement. I scanned every column with eager eyes. On the first page were some verses and a story; on the second, a few editorial paragraphs; on the third, a column of "Scintillations" and some local items; on the fourth, a lot of clippings from agricultural exchanges. I couldn't believe my eyes. I must have gone over that paper a dozen times; and yet, as successive members of the family picked it up, I expected to hear them say, "Why, here is a most extraordinary article, quite equal to Benjamin Franklin, or the 'Letters of Junius;'" but they never did. I watched every issue of the paper for months, expecting to see my article, but it never appeared. No doubt the old colored man who opened the office of the "Register" found the precious document, and from its bulk judged it to be something of more than literary value. When he saw that it was not, he probably threw it in the fire.

I made application at the office of the "Register" for the first vacancy in the compositors' room, but as the proprietor and one man did all the work of composition, and as I was only twelve years old, my chance was not a good one. The editor

said that girls did almost everything nowadays, but he never heard of a female "printer's devil." So I renounced that ambition, and printed with my pen a little paper of my own. The circulation never amounted to more than one copy, and but one number was issued. We all know how slow the work of printing a newspaper on a hand-press is, but it is rapidity itself compared to printing with a pen. It took me hours to print my paper, though it was as small as a sheet of commercial note. I found that it was easier to follow the example of Franklin in the line of his studies than in the work of the printing-office. There was an odd volume or two of the "Spectator" in the house, and I read these essay by essay, writing out, as Franklin did, what I could remember of each. This never gave me the style of my model, but it taught me the beauty of simplicity, and to avoid any attempt at "fine writing."

At about this time a copy of Hugh Miller's "My Schools and Schoolmasters" fell in my way, and for a time I swerved in my allegiance to Franklin. I was always passionately fond of out-of-doors, and was much happier in wandering through the woods and fields than in sitting in the house; so I concluded that after all it was better to be a geologist than a printer. I got a little hammer and a small basket, and wandered for miles about the country, knocking off chips of rock and carrying them home. A shelf was added to my room for the display of my "specimens," but alas! I did not know how to classify them, and I concluded that before I became a geologist I had better learn something of geology. After all, it was Hugh Miller's fascinating book and my fondness for out-of-doors, rather than any real love of the science, that set me to breaking rocks. I soon returned to my first love, and, being fortunately able to adopt the profession of journalism, have never swerved from it from that day to this. A little sketch by Fanny Fern, called "The Story of Horace," being an account of the early struggles of Horace Greeley, added fuel to the flame, and I was more than ever determined to be a journalist if not a printer. It was my privilege to serve in a humble capacity on the "Tribune" in the days when Horace Greeley directed its course, but I never had the pleasure of meeting my famous employer face to face. There was still

another book that influenced me, and that was Bayard Taylor's "Views Afoot." This interesting volume so worked upon me that I took my two little sisters one day and ran away from home. I wanted to see the world, and I didn't want to see it alone.

But to Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography I feel that I owe more than to any other book, and the greatest literary treasure I own is an old edition of this work, in two tiny volumes, printed in London in 1799. I picked it up at a book sale some years ago for fifty cents. It is a very rare edition, I believe, and is not to be found in the Stevens collection of Franklin's works, now in the possession of our government.

JEANNETTE LEONARD GILDER.

## OUSTING SHAKESPEARE.

“Though in thy stores’ account I one must be,  
For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold  
That nothing me, a something sweet to thee :  
Make but my name thy love, and love that still,  
And then thou lov’st me, for my name is *WILL*.”  
*Shakespeare’s “Sonnets.”*

IN “The Nineteenth Century” for May, 1886, an article appeared, in which a particularly preposterous development of the absurd Baconian theory of Shakespeare’s plays was brought before the notice of Shakespearean students. We were assured that Mr. Ignatius Donnelly had discovered a cipher which had been craftily concealed within the folio edition of Shakespeare’s plays, published after his death, and that in two or three months Mr. Donnelly would publish most surprising readings from the cipher. It does not seem that Shakespearean scholars were very much impressed. The best of them all, the late Dr. Baynes, editor of the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” brought out half a year later an appreciative essay on Shakespeare, in which the Baconian theory was not even mentioned. And now Mr. Donnelly feels moved to repeat his assertions and to renew his promises.

In the first place, Mr. Donnelly has persuaded himself that Bacon took special interest in planning cipher systems by which records, such as could not safely be published, might be preserved ready for reading, when, later, the key of the cipher was indicated. As a matter of fact, when dealing with “Writing,” in the third division of his section on the “Organ of Speech” in his “De Augmentis,” Bacon does describe a cipher of his own, which he invented in his youth, at Paris.\* But Mr. Donnelly would have done well to notice that Bacon very

\* The cipher is interesting as anticipating the Morse alphabet, in so far as it depends on the varied placing of things of two different kinds—Italic letters and Roman letters in the case Bacon describes.

definitely expresses his opinion about the qualities which a good cipher should possess. If Mr. Donnelly is right about the imagined cipher in the folio edition of Shakespeare, that cipher would be a very bad one, according to Bacon's ideas. "A good cipher," says Bacon, "must absolutely elude the labor of the decipherer," which the folio cipher has failed to do; and "it must yet be commodious enough to be readily written and read," whereas the cipher in the folio, according to Mr. Donnelly's own account of it, would have been fearfully difficult to write, and, as we can judge from the long delay of Mr. Donnelly's promised volume, and the small portion of the folio which he promises to decipher at first, the cipher is singularly difficult to read, even when its key has been discovered.

Passing over the overwhelming antecedent improbability that Bacon ever wrote a line of the Shakespeare plays, and the extreme unlikelihood that he would have devised so cumbrous a cipher (when a few documents left to be read fifty years or so after his death would have served the full purpose attributed to him), let us consider the evidence in detail.

Mr. Donnelly believes that the words of a hidden narrative were to be placed in such situations in the plays, as printed in the folio edition, that when the key was discovered the whole narrative could be put together, Bacon's authorship proved, and many unsuspected details of his life, and of the history of his period, disclosed. It is not easy to present with gravity the first part of the evidence on which this idea, antecedently so absurd, has been based. We are told that Bacon felt sure some student of Shakespeare would notice the frequent appearance of the words "Francis," "Bacon," "Nicholas," "William," "Shakes," "peere," "Shake," "speare," "spurs," "spheres," etc., in the historical plays; he knew further that the ingenious student of the future would immediately associate this observed fact with what Bacon had said about ciphers in his "De Augustis," and, "having once started upon the scent, would never abandon the chase until he had dug out the cipher." The mixed metaphor is Mr. Donnelly's own.

But now see what curious proof of the existence of special peculiarities Mr. Donnelly has obtained. On page 53 of the



"Histories" the word "Bacon" is the 371st from the top of the first column. Now there are 7 italic words in that column. Multiply 53 by 7 and we get 371! On page 54, we find in the first column 12 words in italics. Multiply 54 by 12 and we get 648. Counting words from the top of the first column of page 54, we come to the word "Chuffes," in which even the lively fancy of a Donnelly cannot recognize any specially Baconian significance. It is rather hard, because the word "Bacon" occurs in the poetic compound "bacon-fed," 32 words earlier, and the word "Bacons," 8 words further on.\*

But Mr. Donnelly is not to be foiled by such a difficulty as this. Nay, he does not even mention it. Not finding anything to suit him on page 54, from which he had obtained the number 648, he turns back to page 53, without any reason assigned, and finds there the 648th word to be Nicholas—the Christian name of Francis Bacon's father. Even this marvelous result is only obtained by humoring the count. Mr. Donnelly admits that in this case words in brackets are to be omitted; and he must have some system of counting hyphenated words as one or two to bring out the desired result, or else such words as "'twere" for "it were," "a clocke" for "o'clock," and so forth, may be considered single or double as required.

Mr. Donnelly appears not to have been deterred by the failure of the method on page 54 from trying it on page after page, until at last, coming to page 67, he obtained something like a

\*I venture to offer Mr. Donnelly a hint, just here. May not these numbers, 32 and 8, be highly significant? Eight is contained four times in thirty-two. Now the word "Bacon" appears only four times in all Shakespeare's plays; and in two of these cases it appears not simply as "Bacon," but in one place as "Bacons" and in the other as part of the compound "bacon-fed." Now, applying a certain rule we imagine we have discovered, we fail to get any Baconian word, but we find two of the "Bacons" out of all the four in Shakespeare on either side of the word we have lit upon—one of them four times as far from it as the other. "Can this be accidental?" Mr. Donnelly should have inquired. Are not the chances thousands to one against the occurrence of so many twos and fours in connection with the word "Bacon"? If any doubt can remain on this point, it ought to vanish when we notice that the numbers 8 and 32 are each multiples of four and powers of two, these powers being also four less one and four plus one respectively. One can go on with such drivel, however, indefinitely.

success—at least, to one so sanguine as himself. There are 6 italic words in the first column of page 67, 6 times 67 is 402, and the 402d word on page 67 is “S. Albones,” for “St. Albans,” the place from which Bacon’s title was taken. It rather impairs the value of this coincidence that if we are to take “S. Albones” thus as one word, so also should we take “S. Nicholas” as one. Mr. Donnelly has already taken just so much of this word as his case wanted; though, indeed, the iniquity which his theory attributes to Bacon, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and all others supposed to be in the plot, is so great, that he might well have taken the whole word—the name of the patron saint of those who commit rascality under cover of darkness—as specially belonging to the imagined cipher system. What he does in one case he should do in the other, only it would not suit his theory to have only “Albones.”

I cannot weary the reader with examples of other methods of counting, invented by Mr. Donnelly to serve as occasion may require. It must be admitted that it is not his fault that no constant rule will serve him. Sometimes he must be free to multiply by the number of words in brackets instead of by the number of words in italics; sometimes to count from the top of the page itself, sometimes from the page before, sometimes from the page after; sometimes to count hyphenated words as single, sometimes as double, and so on. But I cannot follow him in detail, because no sensible reader can be expected to examine many of these inanities. Suffice it that among the words found by these multitudinous devices are “volume,” “maske,” “his,” “greatest,” “therefore,” “shown,” “image,” “but,” “own,” and others, which assuredly no one but Mr. Donnelly will regard as amazingly significant.

One case only will I cite as illustrating Mr. Donnelly’s singular readiness to be startled into conviction by casual coincidence. The reader should carefully note each detail separately, for there is absolutely nothing to connect them together. The number of page 75 multiplied by 12, the number of italics in the first column of another page, page 74, gives 900; and the number of page 76, multiplied by 11, the number of words in brackets in the first column of the same page 76, gives 836. Now, counting

from the top of the first column of page 74, omitting words in brackets, and counting the hyphenated words no longer as two words but as one, the 836th word will be found to be the 304th word of page 75, and is the amazingly significant word "found"! Beginning from the top of page 75, and counting onward in the same way, the 836th word is "out." But counting from the same points, taking in the words in brackets, and counting each hyphenated word separately, we find the same two words, "found" and "out," each as the 900th instead of the 836th word in its respective count!

On attaining this result, about as interesting as the discovery that the number of words in one of the books of the "Iliad" or "Odyssey" chances to be a perfect square, Mr. Donnelly exclaims: "Can any man believe that this is the result of accident? It could not occur by chance one time in a hundred millions. The man who can believe this is the result of chance would, to use one of Bacon's comparisons, 'believe that one could scatter the letters of the alphabet on the ground, and they would accidentally arrange themselves into Homer's Iliad.'" It must be admitted, however, that the error into which Mr. Donnelly falls as to coincidences of the sort is a common one. "What strange hands were dealt us," some one will say at whist; "I wonder what the chances were that those particular hands would be dealt: millions to one against, I should imagine!" The answer is that the odds were more than six hundred and thirty-five thousand millions to one against those exact hands, but that the question of chance is not affected. Every set of hands at whist might be regarded as a marvelous coincidence if we viewed the matter in that way. The real question is, What is the probability that in a given set of hands odd coincidences may be found, if we look carefully for them? and the answer is, that nearly always you can find such coincidences if you look for them with sufficient patience. And so it is with such counting of pages, italics, brackets, words, hyphens, etc., as Mr. Donnelly has fruitlessly undertaken. You are bound to find hundreds of such coincidences as he notes for marvels.

But we must notice also the strange reasoning by which Mr. Donnelly has persuaded himself that the text of the folio has

been altered—"twisted," as he says, "to conform to the requirements of a mathematical cipher"—though Bacon was weak indeed in mathematics. Mr. Donnelly notes the appearance of italicized words, hyphenated words, and words in parentheses, which he insists on calling brackets, and represents as brackets when quoting. He does not seem aware of the fact that when the folio was printed it was the custom to italicize all proper names as they are italicized in the folio, to hyphenate all connected words, such as "lean-on," "get-over," "find-out," etc., and to use parentheses to inclose words presenting an interjected expression or thought, which in modern printing would only be inclosed between commas. (I prefer this old usage myself.)

To show how ready Mr. Donnelly is to imagine peculiarities where in reality all is in order, I note that he regards the lines

"You are too great to be (by me) gainsaid,"

and

"I cannot think (my Lord) your son is dead,"

as printed in an unusual and unnatural fashion; and he asserts that in the first part of "Henry IV." such phrases are not so printed. Yet had he but turned for comparison to the most striking of all those passages in the first part of "Henry IV." which relate to the Percy plot, he would have found the lines

"This bald, unioynted Chat of his (my Lord)  
Made me to answer indirectly (as I said),"

precisely matching the cases which he deems so strange. It would be impossible to convince Mr. Donnelly that lines which he quotes as strange, contorted, confused, etc., are perfectly natural and especially Shakespearean; for he manifestly has not the slightest germ of the faculty which enables the critic to recognize at once the touch of Shakespeare's hand. He finds such expressions as "the dole of blows," walking "o'er perils on an edge" (compare "on the unsteadfast footing of a spear"), and so forth, altogether unnatural. He cannot even understand so simple a passage as

"The lives of all your loving complices  
Leane-on your health, the which, if you give o'er  
To stormy passion, must perforce decay;"

asking gravely how lives can decay, when Shakespeare clearly speaks of Northumberland's health decaying. But the greatest absurdity of all, in this connection, is Mr. Donnelly's elaborate mystification in regard to the lines

“ Or what hath this bold enterprise bring forth,  
More than this being which was like to be ? ”

Of course, “ bring ” is a misprint for “ brought : ” the folio is far from being so carefully printed that that need astonish us. But Mr. Donnelly says the line “ more than this being which was like to be, ” reads like an extract from Mark Twain's recent essay on “ English as She is Taught. ” Yet, even as Mr. Donnelly misquotes the line, it should perplex no one. “ What, ” asks Morton, “ hath this bold enterprise brought forth, more than this condition of affairs which was likely in any case to have come to pass ? ” It should be noticed, by the way, that in the folio the line runs :

“ More then that Being, which was like to be ? ”

“ Then ” is equivalent to “ than, ” and “ that ” slightly alters the sense ; but the point to be noticed chiefly is that the capital “ B ” marks the word “ Being ” as a noun (condition, state of affairs), and not the participle for which Mr. Donnelly has manifestly taken it. The comma, also, after Being, makes the sense obvious. The meaning of the passage should be clear, however, without this evidence from the folio itself.

With a lively imagination for the suggestion of impossibly ingenious cipher systems, and complete freedom from such restraints as Shakespearean scholarship would impose, Mr. Donnelly may read almost anything in the folio edition of Shakespeare. He can make his own history of Bacon's secret Shakespearean life, and find every item of it in the plays as printed in that edition. I have little doubt that in this way he has found already, to his own satisfaction, what would be most surprising if really regarded as the work of Bacon. The first sentence he publicly claimed to have read would of itself astound any one who had made any acquaintance with Elizabethan literature. It begins : “ I was in the greatest fear that

they would say that the image," etc. He might almost as reasonably have made Bacon say: "It was too awfully awful to think that they would say that," etc. Not a sentence published between the years 1550 and 1650, or even until later than 1750, resembles in structure the sentence attributed by Mr. Donnelly to Bacon, a master of the tersest style of which the English language is capable. Mr. Donnelly's marvelous first-fruit was not only a sentence of purely nineteenth-century English, but a very clumsy example even of that.

Finally, Mr. Donnelly pretends to wonder that Englishmen should be wroth with him for striving (as he puts it) to pass the fame due to the author of the plays from one celebrated Englishman to another. The pretense is twofold. No Englishman that I have ever heard of, and no American of English descent (to whom Shakespeare's fame must be as dear as to the native-born Englishman, since birthplace is the merest accident), has ever viewed the Baconian theory of Shakespeare's plays with any feeling resembling wrath. A foolish fancy like that theory may provoke a smile, but certainly no anger; and our amusement can only be intensified by such an amazingly absurd extension of the theory as Mr. Donnelly has wandered into. But the theory, could it be established, would not hand the fame of "gentle Will Shakespeare" to Bacon, the keen logician and potent reasoner; it would bring discredit to the names of both, as also to others esteemed for varied attainments and qualities, whom the Baconian theory associates with Shakespeare and Bacon in a cowardly and shameful plot.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

## THE NEW UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

WE all remember the old one: "The cabin of Uncle Tom was a small log building close adjoining to 'the house,' as the negro *par excellence* designates his master's dwelling. In front it had a neat garden patch, where every summer strawberries, raspberries, and a variety of fruits and vegetables flourished under careful training." It was small, very small as a dwelling-place for Uncle Tom and his wife and the row of little woolly-heads. Inside, its one general apartment was even more limited in space than Boffin's Bower; though, like the bower, a strip of flowery carpet marked off one corner for a drawing-room, while the spot where vegetation ceased was covered by a table that indicated the dining-room, and still another corner was distinguished as the kitchen by a goodly cooking-stove, redolent of griddle-cakes. It was a very small place for so many people to live in, and, to add to their discomfort, they were slaves.

*Nous avons changé tout cela.* That is, to some extent. The cabin is now at the North, instead of the South. Uncle Tom is white, not colored. And the cabin is very much larger, forty or fifty times as large. It is so large now that we no longer call it a cabin, but a tenement, possibly because ten persons live in the space which only one ought to occupy. For, unfortunately, there are more Uncle Toms to occupy the larger space: fifty or sixty times as many Uncle Toms. So each one gets no more space to himself than his southern slave brother had. There is the same one little room for drawing-room, dining-room, and kitchen; alas! it is sometimes also sleeping-room and laundry. For the northern Aunt Chloe cannot move her tubs out into the fresh air, or send the children rollicking out under the sky, over the grass, all over the sunny, wide plantation. Land is expensive in New York; we cannot afford space around the cabin. It is not, as in the old days, "adjoining to 'the house'" of its owner. Oh,

no! the owner lives—Uncle Tom does not know where he lives; somewhere three or four miles off up-town, likely. Or, maybe, as in the olden days the master was a man and Uncle Tom a chattel, so now, perhaps, it is Uncle Tom that is the man and his master a chattel; that is, the master is, perhaps, “an estate,” an enormous, wealthy estate, with heirs scattered here and there, who hire an agent as their southern brothers hired an overseer, irresponsible, unsympathetic, caring only to please his patrons by showing a large balance of profit. And the poorer the tenement the larger the balance. No repairs, no janitor, no supervision to pay for; accommodation so wretched that only the very wretched, who will expect to be crowded and miserable, will apply for it. Oh, landlord or “estate,” too busy to collect your own rents, be not too indolent to require of your agent a strict account when he brings you twenty per cent. instead of six! You would quickly bring him to book if he were suddenly to hand you six instead of twenty. But the time to question him is when it is twenty.

No, the cabin is no longer near “the house;” we cannot afford even the space to build the cabins next each other, even in close rows. We must build them as we do the elevated roads, over the streets, over each other, story after story, behind each other, literally even *in* each other, for I believe it is matter of history that four families sometimes live in the four corners of one room, and get on in tolerable peace till one of them begins to take boarders. If there are bedrooms, they are little more than closets, dark, ill-ventilated, crowded. In the improved tenements that pay six per cent. there is a general laundry for every twelve families. Here there is always hot water, without the necessity for having the heat of a fire and the misery of steaming clothes, all day and every day. When your agent hands you twenty per cent. income on your tenement investments, look him in the eye and ask where he has located the laundry. You will find that no woman in the house can have hot water without making her own fire; it will be a mercy if there is even any water at all above the first floor. It may be August, and her sick child may be wailing in the corner of a room at the temperature of 115°; but she must not let the fire



go out, nor stop her washing to attend to her child; if she does, there will be no food in the house to-morrow for those who are well. But at least, you think, she might put a bit of ice in the child's fevered mouth now and then. Ice? She would look at you as her sister of the French Revolution would have looked at the *grande dame* who suggested that if the poor had no bread they ought to be satisfied with cake. She has no ice; if she had ice, she has no refrigerator; if she had a refrigerator she has nowhere to put it. How long would ice keep in a refrigerator standing next the stove? And there is no other room; even if there were space in the wretched passage-way, the passage is just as hot, and the neighbors would steal the ice.

In front of Uncle Tom's cabin, at the South, in summer, there were "strawberries and raspberries and a variety of fruits and vegetables." So there are in front of the tenement at the North, strawberries and raspberries, oranges and bananas, pears and pineapples, lettuce and squash, beans and cherries and grapes. But they are in carts. They are the refuse, brought down into the poorer streets after they have become unsalable to better customers. They are already beginning to turn black. Poor as they are, however, longing eyes are turned to them from tenement windows. Cheap as they are, those who want them have to hesitate. Yonder a child of six plucks at its mother's gown and begs for a banana: "It's only a penny, mammy, an' 'tain't very rotten!" The mother hesitates; there is a penny on the table, but she had meant it to get a little milk for the child; but maybe the milk is not much better in quality than the fruit. Let her take the penny; the mother cannot even stop work long enough to see that she eats only the part that "ain't very rotten."

The one feature of southern slavery, that the slave could be bought and sold, of course outweighs every other, and makes that sort of slavery the most accursed on the face of the earth. But with that single exception, granting frankly that it is even the greatest exception, the condition of the slaves of New York is a hundred times worse than that of the southern slave. The southern slave had a "chance;" there was a chance that he might have a good master. The tenement-house slave has no

chance; for those who have begun that degradation there is no hope of better days. Uncle Tom, in the Shelby household, had nothing to fear but that sudden loss of wealth might work for him a change of masters; but Uncle Tom of the tenement has to fear his master's growing rich; has to fear that the tinkle of increasing ducats in his pocket will make him rejoice in and increase the extortion that thrives so well on tenants who have forgotten to expect rights. The southern Uncle Tom had his ways of earning; of laying aside, if only penny by penny, something. The northern Uncle Tom never can save; there is not enough from day to day to live even decently; and one break in a day's work, one hour of sickness in father, mother, or child, leaves a gap that it seems as if never again they could bridge over. They never can "catch up." The southern Tom had his family perhaps torn from his arms, never again to lay eyes on daughter or son. Think you that the northern Tom can keep his family about him? As the slave Eliza clasped her boy to her breast and ran away that she might not have to give him up, so slips from the tenement house every day some Eliza with a child in her arms, not to keep him, but to give him up; to lay him in the crib at the foundling hospital, whence he will be taken by others, to be known hereafter not as "Johnny," but as "No. 22,716;" or to give him to benevolent agents who will find him a home at the West. Saddest reflection of all is to think of the callousness that misery produces. Of all the pathetic stories you can tell of Little Nell or Oliver Twist, none so impresses me with the horrors of abject poverty as I am impressed on hearing a mother, when I tell her I am glad her sick baby is better, say calmly: "Lor', yes! Warn't it a mercy it didn't die! It's just orful to have children dyin' now, when it costs so high to bury 'em."

And if the callousness to suffering is so terrible, what shall be said of the callousness to vice? You will remind me of that hideous phase of southern slavery which brought with every daughter born to Uncle Tom a certain sorrow. But Tom's daughter of the tenement is worse off. Hating her wretched home, and seeking diversion elsewhere, she wanders to the dance-house of her own accord. She learns to like it. She is

not a helpless victim, ruined by men; she is a voluntary agent, ruining men. Sometimes she is driven by poverty to a life of shame that she abhors; that is terrible enough; but more often she is driven to like a life of shame. The southern slave girl was sinned against; the northern tenement girl sins. You shudder at the thought of a mother with a daughter ruined; will you not shudder at the thought of a mother with a daughter ruining? Will you not shudder still more at the thought of a mother in whom natural affection is so dulled that she does not care what happens to her daughter? You agonize all day over the tidings you must carry to a mother respectable above the average, that her boy has stolen a sum of money; and when at last you stammer out the words that you fear will kill her, she only straightens herself with dignity, and exclaims: "Well, he ain't brought none of that money here; we ain't seen a red cent of it, have we, Martha?" You bear to another mother the tidings that her son is in jail, and she only says: "Ain't that a shame! D'yer think he'll manage to get off?"

The southern slave had no anxiety for food, shelter, or clothing. Ask the very poor what that means. It means that the defender of slavery was probably right as far as he went when he said that Virginia, before the war, was utterly free from the crimes that spring from poverty. The crimes that spring from poverty are probably two-thirds of all the crimes on the earth. The southern slave was kept in ignorance; the northern slave is kept in ignorance in sight of knowledge. There are schools for his children; there are even laws that his children must go to school; but they can't. They have no clothes, and as soon as they can do anything they must either earn or steal. The southern slave was wronged, stultified, abused, bought and sold; the northern slaves are wronged, stultified, abused, and made vicious. Uncle Tom had to see wife or child mercilessly beaten; the northern Tom learns to beat wife and child himself.

The southern planter acknowledges to-day that one of the worst evils of slavery was the reaction on the aristocracy. Do you suppose there is no reaction on the rich from the tenement-house slavery? One hesitates to speak of retribution; it is so degrading an idea that we cannot do the right thing till we find

out that if we don't we shall suffer. Let us not call it retribution, but reaction. Remember the pestilence breeding in those dens where they are eating bananas that "ain't very rotten." Remember that the sewer pipes connect Murray Hill with some of the worst of tenements. Remember that when your soiled linen is sent to a washerwoman you know not where it goes or whence it comes back to you; you can only be sure that if it is snowy, it has braved what the water-lily does that manages to come white to the surface. When you go to the intelligence office for a wet-nurse, or, worse still, for a nurse to care for your older growing children night and day, remember the haunts they come from, the tastes and habits they bring with them. Remember to what are being driven the girls that will not, or cannot, "live out," and so live in degradation that drags down with them—you know not whom.

But now you will say, granting all this, what can be done about it? Do you advocate going back to slavery? Is it not poverty that is responsible for the home, instead of the home for the poverty? Why do you call these people slaves? Are we responsible? What do you ask of us—that we take a few millions out of our pockets and hand over some nice tenements to them as a charity? Surely it is the employer, not the landlord, who ought to reform. With better wages, a division of profits, the poor could have better homes.

No, I do not advocate slavery; I advocate the abolition of all slavery. Having somewhat roughly removed the mote from our brother's eye, let us now gracefully remove the beam from our own. It is the home that causes the poverty; it is the tenement that is the root of the evil; debasing, unfitting its inmates to be either good or competent citizens. Reform the employer, and exact from him higher wages, before you have reformed the landlord, and you will only have the tenants staying along in the same old places, with their rents raised. We are not responsible for the poverty, but we are for taking advantage of the poverty. We are not to give these people homes as a charity; we are to take money for what we give them; but having taken money, we are to give them their money's worth. If a man pays you \$1.50 a week, you are to give him two rooms and a scullery,

with separate sink and closet. This you can do, and still draw a six per cent. dividend on your investment. We are responsible for the state of things inasmuch as we leave no one responsible. The philanthropist lays the blame on the city, the city on the landlord, the landlord—where is he? He is a myth; he may be a man, he may be an estate, he may be a church organization. There are even rumors that sometimes he preaches from a pulpit. We do not know that this is so, but we ought to know that it is not so. There is an obsolete law about the name of the landlord being posted inside the door of every tenement; but even if this were carried out it would do little good. Few people enter those doors to see those names except the miserable inmates and the agent who collects the rents. The southern planter was known to some extent as a good master or a bad master; the tenement owner is not known at all. You cannot even point the finger of scorn at him. We know the good tenement owners, but not the bad. While they can so securely defy the laws that exist, requiring so many cubic feet of air for each individual, of what use to plead for more laws? Charity? no; philanthropy pays six per cent. But, unfortunately, abuse pays twenty per cent., and the hidden landlord is safe even from scorn.

ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.



# The Forum.

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NOVEMBER, 1887.

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## WARFARE AGAINST SOCIETY.

IN much of the literature under which the press has been groaning in recent years, in regard to what is called the "Labor Question," it seems to be quietly assumed by the disputants, on one side, at least, that the value added to the material undergoing transformation in an industrial establishment is wholly the creation of the operatives through whose hands the product passes ; and hence that the appropriation of any considerable part of that value by the proprietor or manager of the establishment, under the name of "profits," is robbing the deserving laborer of his just reward. This position would be tenable if it were true that manual labor is the only force concerned in the transformation, or requisite to produce it. But, in point of fact, this particular force is but one of several contributing to the result. There are at least three besides, so absolutely indispensable to its accomplishment that without the presence and active co-operation of each and all of them it could not be attained at all.

These are, first, capital ; secondly, inventive genius ; and, thirdly, administrative ability. All these component forces conspire with labor and with each other in the process of manufacture, and are, in the nature of things, mutual auxiliaries. Capital contributes the plant, *i. e.*, the buildings and grounds, the

standing machinery, and the prime movers; also the fuel which is the source of power, and other supplies, and the raw material. Inventive genius is constantly accelerating production and improving the product by applying the principles of mechanics to increase the efficiency of machines; and, finally, administrative ability furnishes that wise application of means to ends without which no human enterprise can be successfully prosecuted. Inasmuch as no value at all can be created in modern manufacture without the joint operation of all these forces, it follows that they are all equally entitled to an equitable distributive share in the value which they unitedly produce. Nor should there be an odious distinction made between the shares severally allotted to them; as we hear, for instance, when it is said that "Labor gets wages; capital gets profits;" as if wages were honorable and profits reprehensible. What both labor and capital get is "earnings," and they are equally entitled to them. Labor may get profits, too, as well as capital, for profits are nothing but the savings from earnings beyond the cost of maintenance.

The relative proportions in which the increase of value created by industry should be distributed among the several factors entering into its production presents an interesting question, but it is not proposed to discuss it here. For present purposes it is sufficient to insist on the point that the labor of the operatives employed in any manufacture is only one of the forces, and not by any means the most important one, contributing to the result; and, therefore, that the claim we hear so constantly reiterated, that the entire net value produced belongs rightfully to labor alone, is simply preposterous. But, in saying this, it is not intended to suggest that the share in this distribution which falls to the operative laborer, when he receives all that is justly due him, is generally sufficient to satisfy reasonable human desire; nor even to admit that this might be the case if all the profits of capital, commonly assumed to be so monstrously excessive, were to be turned over to him. Nor is it intended to deny that the lot of working people, in manufacture or in any other mechanical industry, is often a hard one. That so painful conditions of life as often fall under our obser-



vation should anywhere exist, cannot but be a trying thought to any man of feeling. But such conditions have always been the bitter lot of the large majority of the human race ever since the world was peopled; and it is not apparent that, to whatever extent this lot may be ameliorated for the many, it can ever be universally relieved.

It seems, indeed, to be a prevalent impression that poverty is quite unnecessary, and that the fact of its existence is only a consequence of the present unequal distribution of the world's wealth. Hence the upspringing of anti-poverty societies and other plausible projects for setting things to rights, and for the general diffusion of affluence among men. But this hypothesis is totally untenable. All the world's wealth put together, if equally distributed, would not suffice to make the world's people individually rich, or even to relieve them from the pressure of want—a pressure which, in that case, would be universal. For what the world has to live on from year to year is only the aggregate annual product of all the industries of the world; and what this amounts to, in civilized lands at least, has been pretty well ascertained by inquiries elaborately conducted under public authority. From the results of such inquiries it is quite apparent that if this aggregate product were to be distributed with the most rigorous impartiality among all the inhabitants of the countries investigated, it could, at most, only supply the simple necessities of life, and nobody would be in what are called circumstances of ease.

To come down, however, from generalities to statements a little more definite, we may observe that Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, a gentleman who has devoted some years to the study of industrial statistics, and whose familiarity with facts entitles his opinion to the highest consideration, has furnished us with an estimate which throws, for our own country at least, a very vivid light upon the point in question. As the result of his inquiries, he concludes that the annual production of all the industries of the United States cannot exceed \$200 per head of the population, which would give a total of \$12,000,000,000. An equal distribution of this product would give to each family of five persons, in a population of 60,000,000, or

12,000,000 families, a distributive share of \$1,000 per annum. Now, suppose that one-third of these families, or groups of five, manage to secure an average share of \$2,000 per annum, the remaining two-thirds would be reduced to an average of \$500 only. Suppose one-half of this third to be fortunate enough, or skillful enough, to increase their average to \$3,000, the remaining half continuing at \$2,000, the average share of the two-thirds would fall to \$250, or \$50 only per head, per annum. And inasmuch as the idea of an average implies that as many are below it as are above it, it is easy to see that the only way of removing the scourge of poverty from the entire human race is so to increase the productiveness of labor that want can only be a consequence of willful idleness, or improvidence, or vice.

The present struggle is over the distribution of the product that exists; and the methods employed in conducting it, by those who believe that they are defrauded of their fair share in this distribution, so far as they have any effect upon productiveness at all, tend to diminish its amount rather than to increase it. A strike, for example, that is successful in arresting the operation of an industrial establishment, cuts off, while it lasts, the contribution of that establishment to the general production of the country. A great strike on a large portion of the transportation system of the country, like that of 1886 in the Southwest, which creates a check reaching to and for the time paralyzing many industries, cannot fail heavily to reduce the fund on which the common support of all depends; while, at the same time, instead of securing to the strikers themselves the immediate benefit aimed at, it may be, as that actually was, the means of impoverishing the very men who blindly resort to it in the hope of advantage.

If it is a fact that the grievances complained of by the industrial classes in this country are real; if it is true, as asserted, that these classes receive less than their due proportion of the products of their labor; if it is true that the hours of their daily toil are unreasonable and excessive, these wrongs ought certainly to be redressed; and it is right in them to protest against them, and to employ every peaceable means at their command, individually or in concert, to obtain relief. These

means, however, to be effectual, must consist in appeals to the intelligence of men, and not to their passions; in the presentation of facts cognizable by the reason, and not in frenzied outbursts of rage, or vindictive denunciations of imaginary oppressors; in arguments that convince, and not in senseless declamations that merely inflame.

From the statements above made it is apparent that there is a cause in which labor and capital have a common interest, namely, the increase of the productive power of industry. In this cause, capital, instead of being the enemy of labor, is its indispensable and most valuable ally. For labor, considered as the putting forth of muscular effort on the part of the individual, is capable of being increased in effectiveness only to the limited extent to which skill in application is improved by practice; while capital, by holding out to inventive genius the prospect of adequate reward, may often double, in a single year, the productive power of the laborer, while, at the same time, lightening his task. For illustration of this difference we need only consider the contrasted conditions of any branch of industry at two widely distant periods. Take agriculture, for instance, the simplest, as it was the earliest, of all. Without capital, where would have been the machine reapers, and binders, and threshers, which now transfer the grain crop from the field to the granary with an expedition little less than magical. Compare this acceleration of operations actually realized, with what might possibly have been gained by increased skill in the use of the sickle, the gathering up of sheaves by hand, threshing out the seed with the flail, and separating it from the chaff by hand-winnowers; all which practices were in use, and the only ones in use, early in the present century. In many of our great industries—those of iron and steel, for instance—the masses of finished work now turned out daily would be simply impossible under any conceivably practicable improvement of simple hand labor.

The organizations, therefore, created by the industrial classes of the country among themselves, for mutual support in the vindication of their rights and the promotion of their common interests, would act most wisely if, instead of striving to cut down the profits of their employers (a process which

dries up the source from which their own subsistence is derived), they should seek rather to cultivate friendly relations with capital, and take counsel with its possessors as to how, by joint and harmonious efforts, they might best promote the common object of increasing the productive power of industry. And the individual operative would contribute materially to the same common interest if he would discourage the reckless spirit of wastefulness which too frequently characterizes his class, and leads him to regard injury to buildings, machines, material, or tools belonging to the corporation or proprietor employing him, when such cannot be directly chargeable upon himself, with malicious gratification, as if a loss to his employer were somehow a gain to himself. If, on the other hand, he were to cultivate habits of carefulness and economy in the use of the property confided to him, he would not only contribute to the prosperity of the industry in which he is engaged, and on which he is himself dependent, but he would carry the same habits into his own private affairs, and so, while increasing his comforts and diminishing his expenditures, would be able to add to the amount of his yearly savings.

Labor organizations inspired by a spirit of this kind are capable of being made extremely beneficial. And if they were always conducted on the principles which many of them do actually avow (however they may observe them), viz., mutual assistance in difficulties, and mutual support in the enforcement of their rights by legitimate means, we could have no other words for them but those of encouragement. And if the self-styled "Knights of Labor" would adhere to their declared purpose, "to make intellectual and moral worth, not wealth, the standard of individual and national greatness," we might even pardon them the absurdity and incongruity of their assumed title, in consideration of the nobleness of their aim. The misfortune is that these highly commendable professions are contradicted by the customary practices of those who make them; and that these practices are usually not only morally reprehensible, but socially and politically dangerous. The practical methods employed by labor organizations for the enforcement of their demands are strikes, boycotts, and what may be called general

blockades. The first of these, the strike, is of so frequent occurrence as to have become one of the most common incidents of industrial life. Its frequency has so greatly increased of recent years as daily to fill with its details whole columns of our public prints, where, twenty years ago, such incidents were of so rare occurrence, and so insignificant when they occurred, as scarcely to find a place at all.

It is not necessary to deny the abstract rightfulness of this method of proceeding to effect any object deemed desirable, even though we question the wisdom of employing it. It may be occasionally successful in accomplishing its immediate object, but it quite as often fails; and its failure usually entails disaster upon those who resort to it. But if it were always successful, and always sure to be so, it is in the long run unwise; for it destroys confidence in the stability of conditions on which the safety of business enterprises depends, alarms and drives away capital, and sometimes actually kills a flourishing industry, or transfers it to a different locality.

Such must be the effects of frequent or habitual strikes, even when conducted by pacific and what may be called legitimate methods. Every man possesses the unquestionable right, acting separately or jointly with others, to cease working for another, whenever the conditions under which he is employed are unsatisfactory, provided he violates no contract in so doing. The efficacy of the strike depends in theory upon the hypothesis that the employer is so far at the mercy of his operatives that he must either yield or be ruined. And if the industrial world can furnish him no workmen but those particular individuals whom he has been employing, he has no choice but to surrender. He is under no obligation, however, to retain these particular persons in his service, nor to refrain from employing others, if he can find them, to do the work that they refuse. His right to fill their places is as perfect as is theirs to leave them vacant. It is at this point that the strike, considered as a coercive process, breaks down. The theory of the strike cannot be carried out unless the employer can be effectually obstructed in the exercise of this right; and, therefore, such obstruction is invariably attempted. It usually, at first, takes the mild form of dissuad-

ing applicants from offering themselves for the vacant places ; but as this is never more than partially effectual, it invariably ends in efforts to drive such applicants from their work by intimidation or by open violence. Attempts of this kind are infringements of personal right and of the public peace, and those who practice them are amenable to the penalties of the law denounced against the disturbers of social order ; yet such is the weakness of executive authorities in a country where the turbulent no less than the peaceful have votes, that serious misdemeanors of this description, where the offenders are numerous, and especially when they are organized, go often not only unwhipped but even unnoticed of justice. Thus we have seen, in some of the grave strikes the country has witnessed—which, had they been confined to the simple cessation of labor on the part of one set of operatives, would have caused but a momentary interruption of activity during a period sufficient to enlist another to replace them—a great industry, the sole support of some thousands of persons dependent upon it for subsistence, by this system of terrorism and angry violence suddenly arrested in its beneficial operations, and paralyzed for months.

In cases like this, of hostilities long protracted, whatever may be the final conditions of peace, it is the aggressors who are invariably the heaviest sufferers ; for even success, if secured, which is rarely the result, and is hardly ever complete, brings with it no compensation for the loss of all the earnings that might have been received during the long period of enforced idleness ; while the capitalist, on the other hand, often finds an advantage in the temporary suspension of operations, and is enabled, moreover, to work off his accumulated product at prices improved by the cessation of supply.

Such are the effects of strikes on a scale comparatively limited, of which the intent is to coerce an employer, corporate or individual, into compliance with some demand which he is unable or unwilling to concede. Originally, the demands thus made were usually for an increase of pay, or for the prevention of a reduction ; but they have recently extended to a variety of objects besides. A favorite and at present very general demand is for reduction of the hours of daily labor ; but others are fre-

quently made for the discharge of men not belonging to labor organizations, and who are opprobriously distinguished as "scabs;" or for the removal of an unpopular foreman or superintendent or paymaster, or for the reinstatement of a fellow-workman removed for inefficiency, neglect of duty, insubordination, or some other cause making him unacceptable to his employer. And since the adoption by the Knights of Labor of the principle that "an injury to one is the concern of all," a cause so frivolous as this last mentioned has been adjudged sufficient to justify the arrest of all the wheels of industry throughout several entire States, and a threat to inflict the same penalty on the whole country from one end to the other.

The menace here referred to was repeatedly uttered during the continuance of the great southwestern strike of 1886, by the originator and chief director of that movement, the doughty champion of labor, Martin Irons of St. Louis. It suggests the remark that the theory of the strike which was first put into practice on that occasion, and has been since further illustrated in the so-called sympathetic strike of the coal-heavers of New Jersey and the 'long-shoremen of New York city early in the present year, presents the organization styling themselves Knights of Labor in a new attitude toward the state. Heretofore, labor organizations have had the form of trades unions; that is to say, associations of men all engaged in some single common industry; and their design has been to defend the rights and promote the interests of that industrial class alone. The Knights of Labor have conceived the more comprehensive project of combining into one corporate body all industries, with the view of employing their united strength for the enforcement of any demand made, or the redress of any grievance complained of, by any branch or even any individual member of their order, by means of coercion applied, not to the offending corporation or capitalist, but to the whole community.

When the Confederate States of America went severally through the solemn and rather farcical performance which they styled "resuming their sovereignty," they seized on the forts and arsenals and revenue cutters belonging to the federal government within their reach, and arrested the operation of the

laws of the United States everywhere within their borders. When the Knights of Labor on the great network of railroads in the Southwest, known as the Gould System, took that vast organism, created for and ministering to the public convenience, out of the hands of its owners, they similarly took possession of its workshops and roundhouses, "killed" all its locomotives, side-tracked its trains, unlinked its cars, stopped the shipment of freight, and defied the authorities equally of the State and of the nation. These acts, in the former case, we styled rebellion; what shall we call them in the latter? Mr. Martin Irons called them war; and he was right. He coolly justified his proceedings on the ground that he was merely exercising the legitimate rights of a belligerent. War it was, in fact, though not a war of pitched battles, in which armed forces met in bloody collision on the field; and that it was not war in this sense was only because the weak-kneed executive authorities of Missouri and Illinois failed to rise to the greatness of the emergency; and because, possibly or probably, the insolent insurgents might have quailed before the aroused majesty of the State, as they did in fact when an appeal was at length hesitatingly made to the military arm; but it was war in the rigorous enforcement of one of the most effective of the belligerent measures employed in actual warfare, the obstruction of commerce and the crushing out of industry by blockade. It is literally true that, for several months in 1886, the entire population of an area largely exceeding one hundred thousand square miles, and numbering not fewer than five millions of persons, was subjected to the privation of many of the ordinary comforts of life, to say nothing of the materials of industry, and the fuel necessary to maintain machines in motion, and utterly cut off, at the same time, from the customary markets for their accumulated products. And strange as it may seem, this state of things the sufferers apparently regarded very much as they might be supposed to look upon some disturbance of the order of nature, beyond human control; and it was endured with the same patient and helpless resignation with which we are accustomed to submit to the ravages of a cyclone or the visitation of a pestilence; while, at the same time, the miserable instigator of all this violence, and the author of this



wild subversion of social order, proclaimed at intervals his purpose, in certain contingencies, to extend the same system of lawlessness over the entire Union; and declared that, from the moment in which he should give the signal, not a wheel should turn anywhere within the territory of the United States from Maine to Texas.

More recently we have had, immediately under our own eyes, an example of similar character. In the month of January last some handlers of coal in the neighboring State of New Jersey had a difference of some kind with the mining or transportation company by which they were employed; and instead of having the matter out with their immediate employers, which was the only sensible course to pursue, they proposed to coerce the great city of New York into fighting their battle for them. To this end they issued a vermilion edict that, until their demand should have been satisfied, not an ounce of coal should be delivered on the piers of New York; this, too, in the middle of a winter of great severity. But, recognizing that the blockade of a city of a million and a half of inhabitants and a water-front of ten or fifteen miles was an undertaking of no little magnitude, they solicited and obtained the active co-operation of that numerous class of laborers who monopolize the business of shipping and discharging freights in the port of New York. These men had nothing to do with the quarrel, to be sure, and they had no grievance of their own. It was a case of pure sympathy, or of love of mischief for its own sake; but the peculiar relation of these men to the shipping business of New York made them, for the moment, at least, seemingly masters of the situation, and they proceeded with great zeal to enforce the blockade. In this they were so successful as for weeks to cut off absolutely from the whole population of this great city the supply of an article of prime necessity to the comfort and even to the preservation of life. The effect of a state of things like this, long continued, in an inclement season like the last winter, must have been in the end universal and intolerable distress. The distress which it actually produced fell upon the class least able to bear it—the poor who were dependent for domestic comfort upon petty purchases made from day to day; while citizens in better

circumstances had generally a sufficient supply to enable them to stand a siege of some duration, and dealers had on hand the stocks previously laid in, but on which the stoppage of supply enabled them to raise their prices. There was anxiety, however, among all classes, and serious suffering in many cases, before the blockade was finally broken.

But what an abominable, not to say disgraceful, state of things was this, that the chief city of the western continent, with a population of between one and two millions, and wealth exceeding a thousand millions of dollars invested in commerce and manufactures, should see all its flourishing industries paralyzed and its inhabitants practically held to ransom, by an insurrectionary rabble, on the paltry pretext of a petty matter of difference between a private corporation and a handful of the laborers in its service. Martin Irons was right; this is war. But war waged within a State by individuals claiming to be citizens of the State, no matter under what name banded together, and no matter for what alleged grievance, real or fictitious, is constructive treason; and those who engage in it are lawless insurgents and felons, and should be treated as such. The instigators of such movements are enemies of the human race, against whom all good citizens should array themselves in solid phalanx. The toleration of their practices can have but one ultimate outcome—the complete subversion of social order, the institution of the reign of violence, and the triumph of anarchy.

There are many who are sensible of these dangers, who nevertheless shrink from the heroic method of dealing with them. There is no other method adequate to the exigency. The weak and inefficacious expedients for averting them, sometimes suggested professedly in the spirit of benevolence, but quite as often prompted by fear, such as laws requiring this thing and prohibiting that, creating boards of arbitration, regulating hours of labor, establishing holidays, and the like, are only tampering with the evil, which they serve to aggravate rather than to repress. This is one of the cases in which the only efficacious way of proceeding is to take the bull by the horns. Mild and deprecatory language is here out of place; it is necessary to assert courageously the majesty of the law. Let

men strike, if they will ; but let them understand that to attempt to enforce a strike by violence is criminal ; to endeavor to maintain one by blockade is felony.

Professor Richard T. Ely, in the FORUM for August, has laid down what he calls the conditions of industrial peace. He has presented to this end fourteen specifications ; but from among these he has omitted the one which is before all others indispensable, which is that the habitual disturbers of industrial peace shall cease the habitual practice of the methods of war. The arts of peace can flourish only under the laws of peace. They can never be successfully carried on under the articles of war ; and industrial peace will never be worth having so long as it continues to be only an armed truce. Let the supremacy of law be first fully recognized and respected by men of all classes, whether employers or employed, whether capitalists or operatives, and then Professor Ely's fourteen points of industrial peace, so far as they are in the nature of things realizable, will all come of themselves.

F. A. P. BARNARD.

## SHOULD FORTUNES BE LIMITED?

NEAR the close of 1885 a citizen of New York died who left to his children a fortune estimated at one hundred and eighty-two million dollars, besides making a number of minor bequests. A political committee of one hundred, appointed in the same city in October, 1886, comprised eight members whose estimated wealth reached an aggregate of somewhat more than three hundred million dollars, and at least two of the most colossal fortunes were unrepresented in this number. Estates rising into the tens of millions are to be found in various other cities, and, taking the country through, one might designate twenty-five persons whose united wealth, according to current estimates, is not less than two-thirds of a billion dollars, or about one per cent. of the total wealth of the United States, supposing this to have increased over fifty per cent. since the census of 1880. Were all the property in the country held in equally large amounts, the whole would barely suffice for two thousand five hundred proprietors; or, supposing these to have families averaging four persons each besides themselves, it would supply a population a trifle larger than that of the little town of Yonkers, as stated in the last census.

I see no reason to believe that the tendency to increasing accumulation at the upper end of the possessory scale has reached or is approaching its limit. A great fortune, with ordinarily careful management, possesses an enormous power of accretion. Even when invested in good securities at a very moderate rate of interest, a fortune that rises into the millions affords ample means of making yearly additions to principal. If invested in real estate in any of our growing cities, it yields increasing income from decade to decade as the land advances in value, putting it in the power of the owner to lay aside an increasing surplus; while, in the hands of a shrewd speculator,

not over-scrupulous in his dealings, its power of increase may be still greater. In January, 1880, the New York "Commercial Advertiser" reported the rumored additions during the preceding year to ten or twelve of "the great fortunes identified with Wall Street" at eighty million dollars.

It has been a popular notion that the heirs of great fortunes, as a general rule, speedily disperse what their fathers have accumulated; but, if this be a rule, it is a rule with numerous and conspicuous exceptions. The fortune left by the elder Cornelius Vanderbilt was largely increased in the hands of his son, and it is understood that the sums left by the latter to his sons are increasing rapidly. A fortune of five or six millions, left by a New England millionaire, was reported to have grown within a dozen years to upward of twenty millions, and many similar instances might be cited. Another popular idea is, that in the absence of primogeniture and entail, death and the division of estates among offspring will prevent the establishment of families in which wealth shall continue from generation to generation. This, like the other notion referred to, is to be accepted, if at all, with much reserve. To say nothing of those cases—of which we have had some very notable ones—wherein the ambition to found a wealthy family leads to the selection of some one or two children to inherit the bulk of an estate, there is nothing in the principle of equal division, even when carried out to its fullest extent, that can be depended upon to prevent very great and permanent inequalities of wealth. When one man leaves a hundred thousand dollars to his family, and another to an equal number of children leaves a hundred millions, the portions left to the latter will be one thousand times as large as those left to the former; and, supposing the heirs in successive generations to be as numerous in the one line as in the other, there is no reason, in the nature of the case, why the proportions should not continue the same indefinitely. It may be said that in one generation or another the sums resulting from the division of the larger fortune would be more likely than the smaller sums to fall into the hands of spendthrifts, and be dissipated; but, on the other hand, the superior power of accretion pos-

essed by a large fortune would tend strongly in the opposite direction.

John Stuart Mill\* says: "It may be affirmed that in a majority of instances the good not only of society but of the individuals would be better consulted by bequeathing to them a moderate than a large provision," and he speaks of this as "a commonplace of moralists, ancient and modern." In regard to the right of the state to interfere in the matter, he says: "Even the simplest exercise of the right of bequest, that of determining the person to whom property shall pass immediately on the death of the testator, has always been reckoned among the privileges which might be limited or varied according to views of expediency." The principle of compulsory division of property among the children, embodied in the French law in force since the revolution, assumes the right of the state to control the property of deceased persons; a right which, having been thus asserted and established for one purpose, might be exercised for others, so far as the public interests, or the interests of those immediately concerned, might require. Mr. Mill, while approving of the aim of the French law—to "counteract the tendency of inherited property to collect in large masses"—does not think the means adopted the most judicious. He says:

"Were I framing a code of laws according to what seems to me best in itself, without regard to existing opinions and sentiments, I should prefer to restrict, not what any one might bequeath, but what any one should be permitted to acquire by bequest or inheritance. Each person should have power to dispose by will of his or her whole property; but not to lavish it in enriching some one individual, beyond a certain maximum, which should be fixed sufficiently high to afford the means of comfortable independence. The inequalities of property which arise from unequal industry, frugality, perseverance, talents, and to a certain extent even opportunities, are inseparable from the principle of private property, and if we accept the principle, we must bear with these consequences of it; but I see nothing objectionable in fixing a limit to what any one may acquire by the mere favor of others, without any exercise of his faculties, and in requiring that if he desires any further acquisition of fortune, he shall work for it."

Mr. Mill declares that he sees "no reason why collateral inheritance should exist at all," and refers with apparent approval

\* "Political Economy," book ii., c. ii., s. 3.

to the view of Mr. Bentham and other high authorities, who have proposed that, "if there are no heirs either in the descending or in the ascending line, the property, in case of intestacy, should escheat to the state."

From the point of view of the public interest, much might be said in favor of special legislation having in view the dispersion of such colossal fortunes as have been referred to above, apart from any inquiry as to the manner of their acquisition, or the conditions affecting the distribution of wealth in general. Even if it be true that the men who have built them up are usually men of rare capacity for the advantageous management of large masses of capital, it is not to be expected, in the nature of things, that those to whom such masses of capital descend will, as a rule, possess the same qualities. Moreover, if the architect of a great fortune could transmit to his descendants his business talents as well as his riches, the advantages to be hoped by the public from the exercise of such talents would be much more than counterbalanced by the dangers to be feared from a selfish and unscrupulous use of them, in connection with the tremendous power which a colossal fortune gives over production and distribution, and even over public opinion and governmental action. On the other hand, there is no doubt of the evil influence of excessive wealth in setting examples of luxury and extravagance, corrupting public manners, and even in seducing art—of which it is often claimed that wealth is the especial patron—from the representation of true beauty, and making it the slave of a perverted taste and of a senseless emulation in the display of fantastic novelties.

While a policy aiming at the dispersion of the very large estates of the country would be perfectly legitimate and in accordance with the views of eminent thinkers by no means wanting in conservatism, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any measure, or series of measures, directed simply to this end would afford an adequate means of dealing with the great problem of equitable distribution which now presses itself on public attention; for, in principle, small estates for which no honest equivalent has been rendered are just as objectionable as large ones of a like character, and they have the disadvantage of with-

drawing a larger number of persons from productive industry. I know it is denied by able and popular writers that any such problem as has just been stated is legitimately before us. These gentlemen dwell with great emphasis on the vast services rendered by certain men in increasing production or economizing distribution. One might think, for example, from some of their statements, that the reduction which has taken place within the last twenty years in the charges for transportation between the West and the seaboard had been mainly, if not wholly, due to a marvelous capacity for directing railroad business possessed and exercised by such men as Jay Gould and the late Commodore Vanderbilt; whereas the obvious truth is, that a number of causes have been operating within the last quarter of a century, which must have led to a large cheapening of transportation under any ordinarily efficient management. The Homestead Law, enacted in 1862, set a high premium on the settlement of the public-land States and Territories, while thousands of miles of railroad, built mainly at the public expense, facilitated access to the vacant lands, and furnished the settlers with a means of marketing their produce. These subsidized roads in the remote West served as feeders to the main trunk lines farther east, and, in connection with the general growth of population, so increased their business that it became an easy matter to do that business at a smaller relative cost. In the meantime, a revolution in the manufacture of steel enormously lessened the expense arising from the wear of rails, while improvements in the construction of locomotives and rolling-stock resulted in further economies.

It is to such causes, rather than to any phenomenal power of management on the part of a few men, that we owe the bulk of the reduction which has taken place in the price of transportation; and, if we except the sort of management that has been directed to "freezing out," or "squeezing out," small shareholders and small corporations, and to keeping the price of transportation as far above its cost "as the traffic would bear," it is not to extraordinary management, but mainly to such causes as those just mentioned, that the great Wall Street fortunes identified with railroad investments owe their origin.



The capacity to manage a large business enterprise efficiently is unquestionably a potent factor in the creation and conservation of wealth ; and any policy, or course of action, which should have the effect of denying it the rewards necessary to secure its activity, would afford a costly example of "saving at the spigot and losing at the bung." General Francis A. Walker urges, in a noteworthy article on the source of business profits, published in the April number of the "Quarterly Journal of Economics,"\* that where competition is fully operative, the profits of a man of business—that is, his gains over and above the ordinary interest on capital and ordinary wages for his own time—are not obtained by stinting his workmen in their wages, nor by taking toll from consumers in the form of extortionate prices, but are really created by his own efforts, being the direct result of the superior creative efficiency of capital and labor under his direction. It is very important to discriminate between the legitimate gains so made and those which arise from monopoly, combination, or the defects of competition ; and we need not quarrel with economists who may choose to reserve the word "profits" for gains of the former class ; but of the gains which pass under the name of "profits" in actual business, a large proportion—often by far the larger proportion—falls outside of this definition of that word. How largely competition has ceased to be an effective force, not only in trade and transportation, but in numerous and most important branches of production, has been pointed out with more or less of detail by various writers, and is abundantly illustrated in the news columns of the daily press, by reports of newly formed combinations to obtain for temporary or permanent ends the advantages of monopoly, or by accounts of the doings of corporations, syndicates, or "trusts," established for a like purpose. The truth is that, through organization and concert, the greater capitalists are fast acquiring an advantage over the masses precisely similar to that which an army possesses as against an undisciplined mob ; and monopoly, like an advancing conqueror, is annexing province after province in the industrial realm over which King Competition has hitherto been supposed to rule. Even the old monopoly of the soil, incident to

\* See also chapter iv., part 4, of his "Political Economy.

the existing system of land tenure, is developing under modern conditions new effects, which enlist on behalf of its overthrow the interests of millions who might formerly have shared in its profits. This fact is especially apparent in connection with the constantly increasing proportions of the urban population, the prodigious increase in the price of land on which cities grow up, and the extent to which this land, with its unearned increment of value, falls into the hands of a small percentage of the people ;\* but it is also becoming conspicuous in the increase of large farms and ranches, and in the development of rural landlordism as a feature of American industrial life.

Mr. Robert Giffen, in England, Mr. Edward Atkinson, in this country, and other writers, lay especial stress on the improvement which, they claim, has taken place in the condition of the working classes. I cannot stop here to inquire into the accuracy of their data, but even the largest improvement contended for falls far short of being commensurate with the general increase of wealth, and bears a still smaller ratio to the increase in productive power that has occurred within a corresponding period. If it be said that the increase of wealth, so far as it has not been absorbed in improving the condition of labor, has been fruitfully used in compensating the capital, industrial direction, mechanical invention, and other agencies without whose aid it could not have been created, I answer that a large proportion of it can be distinctly traced to a different destination, that is, to persons or classes into whose possession it has come without their having in anywise contributed to its creation.

In short, there are causes at work under whose operation the prizes of economic life fall largely into the laps of idlers, or are held out as the rewards of barren or pernicious activities. The removal of these causes would go far to prevent the accumulation of great estates, besides saving to the producers the sums now received by the smaller beneficiaries of unjust distribution ;

\* To the evils arising from this cause I called attention as long ago as 1871, in the course of a series of articles on the land question, printed in a weekly journal then published in New York under the name of the "National Standard," of which Mr. Aaron M. Powell was editor, and to which some of the more prominent contributors were Wendell Phillips, T. Wentworth Higginson, W. J. Linton, and Lydia M. Child.

while, by establishing in society a just relation between industrial exertion and the enjoyment of its fruits, it would encourage industry, stimulate production, and thus supplement more equal distribution with an enormous increase in the amount to be distributed.

Now, among the causes in question, monopoly (including, of course, monopoly of land) towers high above all others. Hence the suppression of monopoly, or its controlment in the interest of the public, is the foremost thing to claim attention. But, as one means to this very end, it may be necessary to adopt more efficient measures than any above suggested for the dispersion of the larger existing fortunes; for while monopoly tends to the creation of colossal estates, they, in their turn, by the facilities they afford for stupendous combinations, become a most formidable engine for the extending and upbuilding of monopoly; and if there is a limit beyond which the existence of liberty to accumulate does not work sufficient good to compensate society for the evils wrought by its exercise, a heavy tax especially levied on all property in excess of that limit would be in perfect accordance with public policy.

Two of the measures that have been proposed as checks upon monopoly may here be barely noticed. The first is the well-known proposal of John Stuart Mill, to take for public uses by taxation the whole of the unearned increment in the value of land. In any country which is rapidly increasing in population and industrial development, and which still has abundant room for further growth; in which cities are springing up or extending their borders, and land, within a single life-time, or even within a few years, is in many cases seen advancing to as high a price per square foot as it formerly brought per acre, such a tax would save, for the benefit of the public, enormous sums which now pass unearned into the possession of a comparatively small proportion of the community. The value of this plan of the great English economist would depend largely on its being adopted at an early period in the settlement of a country. It would yield far larger results here than in Europe, while in Australia or the Argentine Republic it would still more nearly fulfill the requirements of a complete measure of land reform.

The other measure referred to above relates to monopoly in connection with transportation and certain other matters. It involves public ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and, in cities, of telephones, gas-works, water-works, and possibly street railroads. Such works, it is argued, are necessarily monopolies and, therefore, cannot be left to uncontrolled private management. This being the case, it is the simplest and fairest way for the public to purchase or construct them, and manage them through its own agents, thus taking the chances of profit and the risks of loss; because the only alternative left—that of regulation—involves, not only vexatious interferences with private property, but greater practical difficulties than public ownership and administration. One of the difficulties encountered where public administration of railroads exists, is the pressure for the construction or extension of lines brought to bear by those interested in advancing the price of real estate in particular localities or regions; but under the scheme of land reform noticed above, to say nothing of any plan more radical, all advances not due to improvements made by the owner would inure to the public benefit, and the motive for such pressure would not exist.

While the two measures mentioned—land reform and public acquisition of railroads, etc.—are especially designed to cut off unearned gains by which private fortunes are so largely fed, they would tend to limit the growth of such fortunes in another way, namely, by narrowing the fields of investment within which property may be piled up. A large part of the real wealth of the world, of its existing stock of labor products, is too perishable to admit of accumulation and preservation in large quantities. The part which is adapted to this purpose consists chiefly in the species of wealth known as capital, comprising railroads and their rolling-stock, ships, buildings, machinery, implements of labor, live-stock, and other objects, more or less durable in themselves, and capable of yielding returns that pay in advance for their final replacement. In this field of investment ownership was formerly very widely distributed, the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the civilized world being then carried on chiefly in households and small shops. But modern inventions have here wrought a revolution; the pro-

digious advantages which they give to production on a large scale, with minute division of labor and unity of direction, having resulted in concentration of ownership as well as of management. It is possible, however, to combine unity of management with division of ownership. Joint-stock association has done this to a considerable extent, and the much-berated "soulless corporation" should receive due credit for its work in this direction as well as in bringing together the masses of capital necessary to modern enterprise. Both these ends might be further advanced by affording every possible legal facility for the formation and working of those more democratic associations in which every member has just one vote, whatever the amount of his stock.\* But there are many indications that, for the running of railroads and certain other enterprises requiring such centralization of interests and direction as to exclude competition, no arrangement will be permanently satisfactory short of that which combines the widest distribution of ownership with the completest centralization of management, namely, possession by the public and administration by public agents. That this will considerably narrow the field of investment offered by private ownership of working capital can hardly be considered an objection to it, in view of the extent to which such ownership is becoming concentrated. It is surely desirable that the masses should still possess some capital, even if, in order to do so, they have to possess it jointly in their corporate political capacity.

But, besides the property owned in the form of capital, there is a vast amount which does not consist of real wealth, actual products of labor, of any kind. Property in land, so far as it is limited to the land pure and simple, apart from all improvements in or on it, is of this character, its value being due to the command which its ownership gives over the future products of labor. Public securities—those of nations, states, cities, etc.—afford another example of property owing its value to the same cause. Still another example is seen where human beings are held as slaves; these would be a mere expense and incumbrance but for the master's command over their future labor

\* This should be regarded as an essential distinction of co-operative associations, though it is not found in all which assume that name.

and its produce. It was a marked advance, both in civilization and in sound economy, when the field of investment in property deriving its value from command over future products of labor was narrowed in this country by the abolition of slavery, and it would be an equally important step in the same direction if it were narrowed again by withdrawing the present opportunities for unlimited investment in land, while it is well worthy of popular consideration whether the best interests of the masses do not demand that it be narrowed still further by the adoption of a ready-money policy in public finance.

One suggestion more, and, though last, not least. Popular education, sufficiently extended, and with due regard to the needs of political, industrial, and domestic life under modern conditions, would most powerfully promote a more equal distribution of wealth.\* It would also cause an enormous increase in the efficiency of labor and capital as applied to production. In this latter way alone it would make royal compensation for that reduction in working hours which is its indispensable condition, leaving as profit all its priceless service in extending the power of man in other directions and in sweetening, refining, and dignifying human life.

EDWARD T. PETERS.

\* See Lester F. Ward on "Universal Education" in "Dynamic Sociology," vol. ii., pp. 593-607.

## THE USE AND ABUSE OF THE VETO POWER.

THERE is hardly a provision of our federal Constitution so plain that considerations of interest or of party have not, at one time or another, made its extent or limitation a matter of discussion. Language that seems and is absolutely clear in its meaning, is strained, by every device of ingenuity or violence, to every degree of varying interpretation. To a candid and unbiased mind could anything be more unambiguous than this :

“Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States : if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law.”

In other words, there is no limitation whatsoever upon the power of the President to veto any bill which is presented to him. His function in that respect is as broad as that of the legislature which passed it. It is noteworthy that the same word, “approve,” is applied to him and to the legislature alike: “if he approve,” and “if approved by two-thirds of that House.” It is one of the few instances where the independence of the legislative and executive branches is violated, and a legislative function is vested in the President to the extent of defeating any measure he disapproves, unless thereafter it receive a two-third vote in each branch of Congress. In one respect, therefore, it is as idle to discuss the use and abuse of the veto power as it would be to discuss the use and abuse of the power of Congress “to establish post-offices and post-roads.” In short, the power being clear, its use or abuse is in the discretion with which it is exercised. And that depends on the wisdom of the president who exercises it.

and not on the extent of his authority. His sole responsibility is to the people whose trust it is his to discharge.

This view is now so generally accepted that, even in the heat of party friction, little or no question is made of the constitutional authority for such action. Notwithstanding the indignation which many felt at some of President Cleveland's recent vetoes, I recollect no instance in which his authority to make them was seriously questioned. Indeed, in this respect there has been an entire revolution of public sentiment since that high-tide in the discussion of the veto power which occurred in the campaign of 1848. At that time, and previously, in the halls of Congress, on the stump, in the press, the veto power was characterized as the very essence of tyranny, "the one-man power," "a royal prerogative," "a monarchical institution," "anti-democratic," "a despotism which threatens to undermine the pillars of the republic." Its removal from the Constitution was urged. Candidates were pledged in party platforms to refrain from its exercise. Strangely enough, the Whigs, who are associated with the theory of a strong centralized government, were vehement in these denunciations of the veto power; and the Democrats, all whose sympathies have professedly been with the unembarrassed and free course of "the will of the people" as expressed by their representatives, were as ardent in its defense. And, amusingly enough, very little has been heard of this frightful menace to our liberties since the Whigs, in that campaign, elected a president of their own, whose exercise of the veto power could of course work nothing but beneficence, since it would be exercised, if at all, on their side. It makes all the difference in the world whose ox is gored. When that very aggressive bull, Andrew Jackson, gored the National Bank, or his smaller successor Tyler or Polk gored it again, or gored bills for internal improvements, there was no epithet hard enough for the veto prerogative. Good old Generals Harrison and Taylor, in their respective candidacies, were compelled to give a construction to the veto power which should satisfy their great Whig constituencies. Honest men, it could never have occurred to either of them that there was the slightest need of any commentary from him upon language so clear to the ordinary "plain, blunt man." But, under the party exi-



gency, each declared himself with that all-round-about comprehensiveness which left the matter exactly where it was before. Said Harrison :

“ I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the Constitution of the United States solely as a conservative power ; to be used only, first, to protect the Constitution from invasion ; secondly, the people from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded or not well understood ; and thirdly, to prevent the effects of combinations violative of the rights of minorities.”

And Zachary Taylor, or whoever wrote his letter, said :

“ The power given by the Constitution to the Executive to interpose his veto is a high conservative power ; but, in my opinion, should never be exercised except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste or want of consideration by Congress.”

Was there ever such owlsh gravity ? Let us hope these doughty warriors had the sense of humor to appreciate the delightful fun of the situation ! If either of them could have uttered his own honest mind, he would have said that the veto power is indeed a high conservative power, and only to be exercised when the President in his own unlimited discretion and courageous wisdom thinks it ought to be exercised.

In the convention which framed the federal Constitution in 1787 there was substantial unanimity in giving the veto power to the executive. There was difference of opinion as to whether the power should be limited or absolute, and as to the department with which it should be lodged. Mr. Madison argued in behalf of a proposition to intrust it to both the judiciary and the executive. But, aside from the clumsiness of such an arrangement, it was a sufficient objection to it that, as the constitutionality of a law would be an issue upon argument before the Supreme Court, it was hardly proper that the bench should have previously committed itself on that issue. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Wilson were for giving the executive an absolute veto upon legislation. Dr. Franklin and others had too clear an appreciation of the popular jealousy of executive power to consent to this. It was remembered that the British crown had refused to assent to needed legislation except on con-

dition of the increase of its own prerogative. The veto power was, therefore, limited by authorizing the two Houses of Congress to override it by a two-third vote of each of them.

With this limitation it is a guarded and desirable power. On the one hand, it subjects legislation to a salutary check, the value of which has been verified by experience, as anticipated by the framers. On the other hand, it can hardly be made an instrument of grievous, never of permanent, suppression of the people's will, so long as its exercise is itself subject to the revision of the people's representatives, and so long as our frequent elections make an appeal to the people so easy. It is far superior to the veto under the British Constitution, which, because it is absolute, if for no other reason, has fallen into utter disuse, and has not been exercised for nearly two centuries. Not being with us an absolute power it cannot properly be used arbitrarily to defeat legislation, nor need there be any timidity in assuming the exercise of its discretion, as would be the case if it prevented reconsideration by the legislature of the matter at issue.

The first and strongest argument in favor of this power, in the minds of the framers, was that it would guard the executive against the encroachments of the legislative department of the government; and that without it the executive would be utterly defenseless, liable to be stripped of every legitimate function until its independence should be entirely gone and itself merged in the legislative power. In fact, the veto has rarely—notably, however, in some critical instances hereafter referred to—been resorted to for this evidently most controlling reason for bestowing it. The possession of the power may have operated as itself a check, and legislative encroachment on the executive may have been sometimes nipped, even before the bud, by the consciousness that presidential approval would not be forthcoming.

The second object of the veto power, in the minds of the framers, was to subject legislation to a revision additional to that afforded by the two legislative branches. It could not have been foreseen that, within a hundred years, owing to the increased pressure of legislative business, as many bills would be introduced in Congress during a single term as in all the first fifty years of its existence, or that there would be such a rush of

measures through the closing hours of a session as is seen nowadays. Thus, in the session ending March 3, 1887, more than half of all the laws passed bear date within its last ten days, four-ninths within the last week, and more than one quarter on the very last day—half a day at that. Had this been foreseen, it would certainly have been an added argument for this constitutional provision. It was foreseen, however, that haste, inadvertence, demagoguery, and the lack of that responsibility which is dissipated when shared by many, and most felt when resting on one man, would sometimes result in improper legislation, and that this could be prevented only by interposing a check which would insure its reconsideration. It has turned out that this second function is the one which has found most exercise.

A third important office of the veto power, not urged by the framers, has been developed by experience and aided by the diffusion among the people, by the press, of information with regard to legislative enactments. It is that the veto of a bill is often the most efficient method of eliciting public sentiment concerning it. The ordinary congressional debate and progress of a legislative measure awaken little public attention; but the moment one man has set up his opinion against that of two or three hundred men, and has challenged the popular verdict as between himself and them, every one is interested. It is true, though far from always just, that most frequently the popular sympathy tends to the one against the many; and a snappy veto message is read and applauded while often the much more valuable and convincing researches of the promoters of the vetoed bill hardly reach the public ear. But attention is arrested, and public sentiment makes expression and impression of itself, as it never would do otherwise. In this sense the veto becomes, with our modern facilities for reaching all the people of the United States thirty-nine minutes quicker than Puck can put a girdle round about the earth, an appeal to the people.

Forty years ago, when the exercise of the veto power was put to its severest criticism, it was sometimes urged that it ought to be limited to bills of questionable constitutionality. It was claimed that the earlier presidents refrained from applying it on mere grounds of expediency. But alike on principle and in fact this

claim was found untenable. How shall the President be a better judge of the constitutionality of a bill than the Congress which passes it? Not in any sense a judicial officer, his judicial opinions are no weightier by reason of his official position. On the other hand, on questions of expediency, he at least represents the great average majority of the citizens who elect him; and here his official position puts him in the way to form a fair estimate of the public interests. An examination of the record shows also that of Washington's two vetoes, while one was put on constitutional grounds, the other was based entirely on the impolicy and inconvenience of dismissing certain dragoons—a mere matter of military arrangement. It does not appear that this was criticised, though many of the framers of the Constitution were then in public life. Indeed, in the constitutional debates, Madison had said that the veto power “would be useful to the community at large as an additional check against [not unconstitutional, but] unjust and unwise measures,” thus using language which suggests the very largest discretion—a discretion equal to that of the legislature. Mason, of Virginia, had also, in the same debate, said of the veto power, that “it would have the effect of hindering the final passage of such [unjust and pernicious] laws,” and “would discourage demagogues from attempting to get them passed.”

And yet there is no doubt that up to the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the accepted gauge of the veto power was of smaller dimensions than after his exhibition of its application. It is to be said, in support of this earlier view, that great jealousy of anything like arbitrary action on the part of the executive power was a prevailing sentiment of the time. To allay this, Hamilton had argued in the federal convention that, for something like a century, even the King of Great Britain had not dared to interpose his veto against an act of Parliament, and that an elective American president would be still more obsequious: to which, by the way, it is an answer that the English veto is an absolute one, rendering the vetoed legislation impossible, and therefore is too despotic for practical use; and also that experience has shown that the very freedom and elasticity of our system have made it comparatively easy for a president, appealing to the people, to

do things which a monarch, with no appeal except to his own power, would hesitate to do. It is further to be said in support of this earlier view, that the veto power in no way points toward the positive enactment of legislation, but is simply a negative upon it in the first instance, operating as a check to insure reconsideration; and that, therefore, it is not a proper occasion for its exercise when mature deliberation has been already had, when the will of the representatives of the popular majority has already been clearly expressed, and when there has been no haste, fraud, or inadvertence; because, in any such case, its interposition, even if technically constitutional, is the setting up of the will or opinion or stiff-neck of one man upon

“the simple plan  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”

There is no doubt, therefore, that Jackson gave a new breadth to the veto power; and, although his interpretation of it has been vindicated by later practice and acceptance, yet at the time it shocked the conservative sentiment of the country and was an unexpected blow from the executive shoulder, characteristic of the aggressive nature of the man. It was the first time that what was regarded as the popular will, as expressed by its chosen representatives on issues which had had full popular discussion, was deliberately overridden by the one-man power. So strong was the feeling that in 1835 a constitutional amendment reducing the revisory two-thirds to a bare majority of both Houses of Congress was proposed and ably argued. Washington had vetoed two bills, neither of them being of great popular interest. Madison vetoed five bills, on none of which can it be said that popular opinion had then expressed itself. Monroe vetoed one bill, on the ground of lack of authority in the Constitution for its enactment. This small number of eight vetoes in forty years is evidence of the conservative view that then prevailed as to the exercise of the veto power. But Jackson, Polk, and Tyler vetoed, directly and by pocketing, twenty-three bills, of which three were for a national bank, two were tariff bills, ten were for internal improvements such as are now regarded as indispensable to com-

merce, and including coast-works, lighthouses, river and harbor improvements, etc. ; one was a French spoliation claims bill, and the rest were for various purposes. All were measures of a progressive sort, the product of the enterprising and enlarging spirit of the Whig party, which, as an organization, has been dead for thirty years, but "still lives" in the very pulses of our national life; while its ancient rival, fortunate only in its Democratic name, survives all wrecks of time, but points to a past with scarce a vestige of achievement to mark it, and to a present in which the disappointed and melancholy mugwump, just now whistling to keep his courage up, finds only the consolation that it might be worse. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the Whigs—especially in those great commercial States which thought they suffered from the Hunker policy of the dominant party—chafed under the arbitrary exercise of a constitutional prerogative that negatived the voice of the most progressive spirit of the time. It was almost beyond their endurance when, in retribution for their folly in nominating John Tyler only on the ground of partisan expediency, he proved true to his earlier avowals and associations, but false to the party which had trusted and honored him, and thus dashed the cup from their lips. Then, too, to have glorious Harry Clay, their idol, who stood before them for everything that would add prestige to the American flag, beaten by James K. Polk, who had been selected by their antagonists on the ground that among their candidates he stood most for reaction and for the intrenchment of slavery! It is interesting to note to what extremities of ingenuity the Whigs went for criticism. When Polk vetoed a river and harbor bill, one of their writers declared that the power to raise revenue and to expend it in providing for the common defense and welfare of the United States, in other words, the money power, is by express provision of the Constitution lodged exclusively in Congress; that the effect of this is to exclude any other department from intervening against its exercise; *ergo*, that to veto an appropriation bill like that for improving national rivers and harbors was "absolute usurpation."

There is a kind of bastard veto, which I have referred to as the "pocket" veto, and which is plainly an abuse, unauthorized

by the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the people and of their representatives. The language of the Constitution is, that if the President approve a bill "he shall sign it;" if not, "he shall return it" for reconsideration:

"If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law."

In this latter provision there is no qualification of the duty of the President to return a bill not approved by him, excepting only when he is prevented by the adjournment of Congress. In that way Congress can release him from that duty, but in no way can he release himself. It is clear, of course, that if, as first occurred in Madison's time, a bill reaches the President at so late an hour that he cannot seasonably give it due consideration, then "the Congress by their adjournment prevent" not its consideration by him, but its consideration in time to permit him "to return it with his objections." If, therefore, on consideration, in such a case, he does not approve it, "it shall not be a law." But a practice has grown up by which, if a bill comes to the President during the last ten days of a Congress, even though his convictions are clear as to the bill, and, in fact, it does not meet his approval, nor therefore is the adjournment of Congress at all the cause that prevents his returning it, yet he deliberately lets it sleep to death in his pocket or desk. In this way he deprives Congress of a right given it expressly by the Constitution, to reconsider the measure and to enact it into law by a two-third vote. If the two facts could be made clear, first, that the President does not approve the bill, and second, that his failure to return it with his objections is not caused by the approaching adjournment of Congress but by his own purpose either to avoid an issue or to defeat Congressional reconsideration, why, then, would he not be impeachable? As a matter of practice, these two facts can, of course, never be proved; yet everybody knows that they have run together. In such a case there is certainly a marked abuse of the veto power; and, while it cannot be reached by any remedial judicial process, it is a fit subject for popular criticism.

In this connection an interesting question has arisen. Suppose that within the last ten days of a Congress a bill is presented to the President, which, by reason of "their adjournment" he has not time to consider. Suppose that on consideration after that adjournment he finds that he approves the bill. Under the unqualified language of the Constitution, which says that "if he approve, he shall sign it"—language which is irrespective of Congress and its adjournment or non-adjournment—why shall he not sign it even after Congress adjourns, of course, within a reasonable time? Not only is the letter of the Constitution in favor of this view, but it certainly is in the interest of good legislation that it should prevail. Otherwise, two practical evils result. One is, that a good measure, approved by Congress, President, and everybody else, may fail, because the President cannot consider it before the arbitrary time of twelve o'clock, noon, of March 3, to which arbitrary period of time the Constitution in no way limits him. The second is, that with a rush of bills piling up on his desk in the last few days before adjournment, the President, in his reluctance to stand in the way of the general legislation of Congress, is liable, hastily, and as a mere perfunctory act, to sign bills which, on examination, he finds he does not approve.

Down to the beginning of President Cleveland's term, there were one hundred and ten veto messages and fifteen explanations of pocket vetoes. In fifteen cases the bills afterward became law by two-third votes in Congress. There were eight vetoes and one pocket message before Jackson, four vetoes and seven pocket messages by Jackson, six vetoes and three pocket messages by Tyler, two vetoes and one pocket message by Polk, nine vetoes by Pierce, four vetoes and three pocket messages by Buchanan, one veto by Lincoln, twenty by Johnson, forty by Grant, and four by Arthur.

There can be little doubt that in both respects experience has vindicated the wisdom of granting this power. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. And, reviewing the past, it is not easy to find instances where a veto has worked anything approaching irreparable harm, or where the President exercising it may not be regarded as acting in harmony with his convictions and po-



litical principles, certainly with his sincere prejudices. Grant's opportune veto of the Currency Inflation Bill was one of the essential steps in that splendid financial policy which saved the nation from the perils of irredeemable paper-money and strengthened its credit beyond all precedent in history. Six times did President Hayes, one of the least popular and most meritorious of the presidential line, interpose his veto when Congress, with a hostile majority, undertook to starve the executive into submission by insisting on accompanying every appropriation for the maintenance of the government with riders removing the safeguards that had been thrown around elections in the reconstructed southern States. These vetoes, like Andrew Johnson's veto of the Tenure of Civil Office Bill, which became a law notwithstanding his objections, are interesting examples of what the framers regarded as the first and most important function of the veto, to wit, resistance to the encroachments of the legislative power—a power against which they, mindful of the tyranny of majorities, especially attempted to guard, by resorting to all sorts of checks; such as two congressional branches differing in their constituencies, numbers, and lengths of term; such also as the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States; and especially by lodging a limited veto in the President.

It is a power likely to be exercised more and more freely. The delicacy with which the early presidents resorted to it is a thing of the past. Even grim Jackson pales before Johnson, his brother Tennessean, in the number and obstinacy of his vetoes. The latter, and also Hayes, Grant, and Arthur, exercised the power freely, and all on the broadest possible grounds; Grant oftenest, though many of his vetoes, especially some half-dozen relating to special pensions, were for the correction of manifest errors in the vetoed bills. As the business of the country increases, as legislation piles up its bills still higher, and as the whole social and political network grows more complicated in its demands and conflict of interests and its multiplicity of interferences, more and more will be the necessity of cutting Gordian knots with the swift, sharp edge of a single blow, and of having an executive brave enough to take the responsibility

of interposing his veto in order to secure the sober, second legislative thought, yet wise enough to do so only when the essential interests of the people justify the wielding of so keen a weapon, but not its dulling with too frequent use in cutting stubble.

Indeed, President Cleveland has switched the veto sickle to an unprecedented degree. No framer of the Constitution dreamed of such a slaughter of the innocents, and yet in no instance has any power been exercised by him that is not conferred by that charter. In Polk's time, a Whig orator, since then a cabinet officer, held up his hands in horror, and said :

“ President Polk has used this power in a more arbitrary and capricious manner than any of his predecessors. He has done that which no President of the United States has ever before ventured to do or thought of doing. He has vetoed a mere private bill making an appropriation to discharge an obligation of the government to private citizens, the justice of which has been repeatedly admitted by committees of both branches of Congress.”

What would he have said could he have foreseen that Grant would do the same thing in twenty-six cases of private bills, and Cleveland in one hundred and twenty-seven. At the time he spoke there was force in his criticism, because there was some public response to it. To-day it is a waste of breath. The change shows how rapidly public sentiment shifts, and how often, when it is predicted that the heavens are falling, it turns out to be only a rose-leaf. Cleveland, during one term of Congress, has vetoed one hundred and forty-three bills, not including bills which he has pocketed. This is more, in one-fiftieth of the time, than all his predecessors vetoed, and nearly four times as many in two years as the most prolific of them vetoed in eight. One hundred and twenty-four of his vetoes, however, are of one class—special pension bills—and as such may, to some extent, be counted under one head.

These special pension bills are passed by Congress in great numbers each session, on the ground of meeting deserving cases which are not covered by the general law. Most of them are just bills, although now and then a meritless case goes through. It is undoubtedly true that President Cleveland inadvertently and pardonably, under the tremendous pressure upon his time, approved some of the latter sort, as it is also true that he

vetoed many which were deserving, and as to which he was afterward shown to have been in error. Some of his blunders were exposed on reconsideration. If, on the one hand, the committees of Congress, which usually give careful attention to these claims, failed to give it in some cases, the account was balanced by a proportionate blundering of the President in applying his veto where he should not have done so. The expense involved in these vetoed bills is not large, comparatively—altogether about the salary of the lieutenant-general—and no constitutional principle is at stake. While, therefore, the President is credited with checking a tendency to careless legislation, yet, with the injustice done to some petitioners, it is a question whether it was wise to lift the triphammer of the Constitution so many times to kill a few flies—now and then an innocent one—and whether a smaller number of more carefully culled examples would not have worked as much good and preserved more respect for the veto power. But all this is a matter of discretion, and the President has the same right as any citizen to give to his opinion what effect he can. This is to be said for him, that he cannot be charged with inconsistency on the ground of vetoing some of these pension bills and signing others less meritorious, because there were so many of them presented to him at once that, probably, it was physically impossible for him to look into the merits of more than a very few. On the other hand, unfortunately for the President, on whom the *cacoethes scribendi* seems to grow, the language of some of these vetoes, offensive alike to good taste and good feeling, is not proof against the charge of an abuse of the veto power.

As to another class of the President's vetoes, the charge of inconsistency is stronger. Bills for the erection of public buildings are not so numerous, nor are the facts concerning them so uncertain, that their merits cannot be examined. Of these Cleveland has vetoed nine. In every instance the question was whether at a given place the business of the United States warranted a public building. It was a question of detail, the determination of which might well be left to the legislative and money-appropriating department. By what process the President approved public buildings for towns like Huntsville, Ala.,

and Owensboro, Ky., and vetoed them for large cities like Dayton, O., and Lynn, Mass., it is difficult to see. This line of vetoes has been marked by a favoritism which cannot easily be reconciled with consistent discretion.

Inconsistency is chargeable against the veto of the Dependent Pension Bill, the only veto of much moment in the whole long list. Its propriety is a matter of fair difference of opinion. It was entirely within the authority of the President, and he is entitled to every presumption of honest conviction in regard to it. It is, however, at variance with his last annual message, which substantially recommended pensions in cases of "destitution and dependence, not as an incident of their service, but with advancing age or through sickness or misfortune." This broad language, of course, means the pensioning of veterans of the Union army who are destitute and dependent, from whatever innocent cause. And yet it was a measure to that effect which he vetoed. But the veto was especially inconsistent in view of the fact that the President had just signed the Mexican Pension Bill, which gives a pension to all destitute and dependent soldiers of the Mexican war. As many of the latter had borne arms in the later civil war against the United States, it is a pretty severe discrimination, very like an abuse of executive discretion, to sign a bill in their behalf and to veto a considerably less comprehensive bill in behalf of soldiers who never had a drop of traitor blood in their veins, who risked their lives for the Union, and who are to-day so destitute and dependent as to come within the requirement of "total inability to procure their subsistence by daily labor."

Of other bills vetoed by Cleveland, three were for private claims, one for distributing seeds among Texas farmers, two concerned ports of delivery, one, a right of way through an Indian reservation, one, the bridging of a lake, and one, anatomical science in Washington. They are, to use an old turn, fair enough matters for the interposition against them of a veto by any president who thinks that against them a veto ought to be interposed. As to the whole hundred and a half, it will probably occur to the student that the list is remarkabler at her for its length than for its value, and that they are hardly compara-

ble in the importance of their subject-matter with those which Jackson and Johnson and Hayes returned to Congress in their battles with it upon issues vitally affecting the financial system of the government, its reconstruction after the civil war, or the maintenance of the constitutional independence and stability of its executive department; and that, on the whole, it would be as well if, recognizing something of the conservative view which the early presidents took of the exercise of the veto power, our present laborious and painstaking chief magistrate had exercised it, not necessarily, indeed, with their now outgrown forbearance, but with such forbearance as should save any risk of derogating from the ultimate impressiveness of a high constitutional prerogative—a power not too good for homely use, yet too valuable to be wasted, or exposed to contempt from undue familiarity.

JOHN D. LONG.

## IS THE NEGRO VOTE SUPPRESSED?

THE question of the alleged suppression of the negro vote in the South has for some years been comparatively quiescent, but now the framers of political platforms are striving to bring it to the front, and it may be that they will succeed, as they have succeeded before, in arousing sectional animosity. We are, however, encouraged to believe that, in the estimation of the people of the United States, four years of civil war sufficed for all purposes, and that the desire of our fellow-citizens North and South is for peace and harmony. We believe further that the people of the United States are disposed to recognize in public opinion the most effective instrumentality for the redress of every wrong. It is becoming clearer every day that peace and not strife should characterize the mutual relations of North and South—sections of a great country which purports to be a federation of commonwealths based upon fraternity and good faith. Twenty-four years of reflection and “counting the cost,” it does seem, should convince all men and parties that the continued effort of certain journals and politicians to imbitter the people of the more populous section of the country against the twelve millions of their fellow-citizens in the South is not exactly the best means of promoting the national welfare.

For some years we in the South have been congratulating ourselves that we had all gone manfully to work repairing the waste places, and seeking, under unwonted conditions, new avenues to profitable industry. Some of these avenues we have discovered, and are hopefully entering them. Of one thing friends and foes may rest assured, that the people of the southern States are not so foolish as to believe that their peace, their prosperity, or even their safety can be assured if a moiety of the population is treated with injustice and denied its rights in the state. And though the assertion will be challenged, I never-

theless affirm that a sense of moral and religious responsibility is restraining and directing us in our state polity and practice; and, considering the tremendous hindrances and obstructions that have been in our way, I think we have had more than an average success in discharging the obligations imposed upon us. The results of our efforts are our sufficient vindication with all, save the blind partisans who have condemned the southern people to outlawry.

Take the State of Georgia, of which I may properly speak. In 1861 our estate was worth, say, in round numbers, \$672,000,000. In 1865 the frightful depletion and waste of war made the account stand \$191,000,000. The State returns for 1886 place our taxable property at \$306,507,578, and the returns for the present year show an increase of probably \$12,000,000 over the last. We have increased the school enrollment from 49,578, white and black, in 1871, to 309,594, in 1885. In 1871 the colored children in our schools numbered 6,664; in 1885 we were providing for 119,248, and we may infer, in advance of the returns for the years 1886 and 1887, taking former increments as a guide, that the colored children now attending public schools in this State number 140,000. To whom should the credit of this showing be given? Surely not to the men who, so far from evincing a zealous and intelligent interest in the education of the freedmen of the State, either misappropriated or stole the funds which had been set aside for their schools. No sooner had carpet-bag ascendancy and misrule ceased, than the southern man, the truest friend of the negro, inaugurated the system and policy that reflect such credit upon the sincerity and humanity of the South. Republicanism practically declared that all the negro was and all he had were captured assets of the party, and should be held for its exclusive use. Who ever heard, in the evil time of reconstruction, greed, and misrule, anything of the present outcry against wrongful or neglectful treatment of the freedman?

I believe I fairly represent the overwhelming preponderance of public opinion in Georgia when I say that it is deemed a wise policy, resting on principles of justice, to have the colored people of the State educated; and, so far from placing

obstructions in the way, to afford all proper and possible facilities for that end.

Friendly relations habitually exist between our white and black citizens, and are never disturbed except on those occasions when the exigencies of party politics call for an agitation of race prejudices. It would be well if those in possession of the secret of the present party scheme for "firing the negro heart" would disclose at least a part of the ulterior purpose of the agitation. This is due the country, for the stake is of vast consequence to all, and no doubt involves more than the wisest among us can foretell. The cry is now raised that in the South the negro has been defrauded of his vote. And this is only an incident of the outrage. The principal evil and wrong in this alleged denial of suffrage to the colored man consists in the injury reflected upon the white man "in general;" and we will supply the full commentary on the text, and say, upon the Republican party "in particular." The outcry against this enormity might be pathetic if it were not uttered, as it is in certain notable instances, in such inconsequential and inconclusive terms as to make it ridiculous. Governor Foraker, in presenting the argument, makes such an ingenuous exposure of the esoteric policy of his party as to induce a smile. Speaking with extreme acrimony of the frauds which, he alleges, are constantly perpetrated on the negro vote, he says:

"So long as these election frauds affected only local results the great mass of the people appeared to be, and probably were, largely indifferent about them. They did not realize, at least not keenly, that they were injured by the triumph of fraud in the election of even Congressmen and electors. So long as the general result was satisfactory, it was easy as well as agreeable to believe that in so far as such wrongs would not right themselves, it was the duty of others to correct them. But a change has been wrought. The dream of indifference was rudely interrupted by the presidential election of 1884. The people of Ohio, and of every other northern State, were then made to understand and appreciate that when a man is not allowed to vote in Mississippi, or any other State, or when he wrongfully votes for himself, and his neighbor also, or when in any other way he interferes with the expression of the popular will and its honest ascertainment, their rights are directly and importantly affected. . . . The consequence is, that Mr. Cleveland is President because the white Democrats of the South not only cast for him the votes which rightfully belonged to them, but also those 38 votes which they fraudulently appropriated to their own use. . . .



That the South was made 'solid' by bloody and fraudulent methods is as indisputable an historical fact as the war itself. That it is now so maintained by improper methods is shown by such circumstances as the formal farce, called a congressional election, in the State of Georgia, last October. In Ohio, and every other Republican State, there are cast in each district at a congressional election an average of about 30,000 votes. There are about the same number of votes in each of the congressional districts of Georgia, but at the election of October 6, 1866, the votes cast were as follows . . .

In other words, with a total vote of less than 28,000, ten members of Congress were chosen to represent the State of Georgia, and to wield as much power in shaping national legislation as any ten Congressmen of Ohio and other States who were chosen upon a total vote of 300,000."

The vote of the State of Georgia, for the year 1866, all told, was 148,805 whites and 99,428 blacks. But Governor Foraker says this vote ought to be at least 300,000, and according to his estimate of 30,000 votes to a district such it would be. But the fact is, that the whole vote of the State does not amount to 250,000. Since 1881 there has not been, in Georgia, such a state of excitement in our politics as to evoke the full vote. In that year, as I well remember, there was a convention of the Republican party, which met in the Representatives' Hall of the capitol. That convention was very largely composed of colored men. Its president was a negro, of hue deep enough to have perfectly satisfied Wendell Phillips. He was chosen, we suppose, in pursuance of the programme, over Mr. Akerman, a member well known as an ex-Attorney-General of the United States. Among the noted acts of this convention were a bitter resolution or two on the Cadet Whittaker case, and a resolution that the negroes of Georgia were entitled to two-thirds of the offices in the State. The doings of that convention give the all-sufficient explanation of the light vote cast in the last congressional election in Georgia. That convention had so little of the spirit of concession and forbearance, and seemed so indifferent to the feelings and rights of its white members and its white constituents, that a degree of disgust and hopelessness for the triumph of Republicanism in Georgia was created, which continues to this day. This fairly accounts for the slim vote which gives such offense to Governor Foraker and his political friends.

By recurring to the table given in Governor Foraker's article

in the FORUM for August, of the congressional vote of 1886 in the State of Georgia, it will appear that in the 1st Congressional District there were only 2,061 votes cast, with 17 scattering. Of course, this was because there was no such opposition as to call out the vote of the district. The proof of this is to be found in the vote of the 1st District in the election preceding the last. In that contest Mr. Norwood's vote was 10,857; Mr. Pleasant's, Republican, 6,012; total, 16,869. This minority vote of 6,012 was, no doubt, largely made up of colored voters. The vote appears, in Republican eyes, grievously small; but lack of numbers and not intimidation or suppression accounts for it. Then we have for the 2d District, in one of the counts in this indictment, a vote of 2,411 for Mr. Turner, with 7 scattering. His vote in the election for the 49th Congress was 7,828. Mr. Crisp's vote in the 3d District, now 1,704, was, in the previous election, 9,963; his Republican opponent receiving 93 and 4,286 votes in the same elections. The whole vote of the 3d District then was 14,342; now, as the Republicans give it, it is 1,704.

In the 4th District, in the election for the 49th Congress, Mr. Harris received 10,608 votes; Mr. Milner, Republican, 4,156; Mr. Persons, Independent Democrat, 5,473; making, for the district, 20,237 votes. Now the vote is, 330 independent, and 2,909 for the present representative. In 1884 Mr. Hammond received in the 5th District 9,008, and Mr. Martin, Republican, 5,130, making for the district 14,138. In the last election Judge Stewart received 2,909, and scattering 1 vote. In the 6th District Mr. Blount, in 1884, received 7,922 votes. Now he gets 1,722, and scattering 1 vote. In the 7th District, Mr. Clements called out a vote in 1884 of 10,496, and his Republican opponents got 3,417, 570, and 283 respectively, making 14,766 for the district. In the last election the district cast 5,043 for Clements, and for an independent Democrat 1,537. In 1884 the vote of the 8th District was: Reese, 7,834; Martin, Republican, 3,250; scattering 38. In the last election it was, 2,322 Democratic, 33 Republican. In the 9th District in 1884 we had 8,137; now the vote is, Candler 2,355, and Republican 27. Lastly, we come to the 10th, Mr. Stephens's famous district. In 1884 Mr. Barnes received 9,166;

Wright, colored, 1,277; Craig, Republican, 161; and scattering 26, making for the district, 10,630. The last vote was 1,944, scattering 7.

Now, in behalf of the Democrats of the State of Georgia, I appeal to all fair-minded men everywhere and of all parties. In the election for the 49th Congress the vote of Pennsylvania fell short of the number of electors in the State by more than 100,000 votes. For Congressman at large 897,437 votes were cast, while the aggregate of votes for Congressmen in the several districts was 795,359. Mr. Osborn, the successful candidate for Congressman at large, was no doubt a gentleman of exceptional popularity, and this fact made the disproportion in the vote. Or was that disproportion the result of fraud or intimidation? Now take the legal vote of the State of Georgia as 248,233, and then compare the vote cast in the election for members to the 49th Congress with the vote which the State is entitled to cast. That vote was 125,991, and was polled under no unusual excitement; yet there was enough of excitement and opposition to bring out in the 4th District, in 1884, almost as many votes as were cast in the whole State in 1886, when there was no opposition. This is a large State, spreading over nearly or quite sixty thousand square miles. Very many of our polling-places are away from the voters' homes fully a half-day's journey. Is it reasonable to suppose, in the absence of all the usual incentives for casting a party vote, that men will leave their homes and pressing business cares and interests to cast a merely formal ballot? Then consider that in Georgia no one is allowed to vote who has not paid his taxes, it matters not what is the color of his skin. The defaulters for taxes among our colored population are numerous, and the number is becoming greater year by year. As long as the present law stands upon the statute-book it must be enforced, and it will not be an easy task for an objector or fault-finder to frame an argument against its spirit or its practical tendency; but to say that a colored man, or a white man, or a man of any hue whatever, is not allowed to offer himself as a candidate in Georgia, or after his candidacy is denied a fair poll, is to assert what no man may say truthfully. There are numerous reasons which account for the disproportion in the

southern States between the Democratic and the Republican vote. First, as we say, the once weighty element in the Republican party in the State of Georgia was repelled, if not eliminated. The white members of the party were made to feel the power of the colored majority, and, as we have before said, withdrew, and they stay apart still. The jealousies and bickerings in the larger fraction keep what strength might be marshaled by that fraction ineffective, and without aim or organization. If it is right and proper for the Republican State of Rhode Island to shut out as many, probably, as 30,000 of her citizens from the ballot on a property qualification, surely the State of Georgia, by a parity of reasoning, may exclude the voter who will not pay his taxes.

Partisan zeal and partisan catch-words have made us all familiar with the "solid South." All enemies of the South and of the National Democratic party mean it for a reproach. As for the white vote of the South, there is every reason why it should be "solid;" the very instinct of self-preservation demanded that it should be so. Why should not the white men of the South stand together when it seemed that the whole world was against them? And even had all the external forces been arrayed against them, their condition would have been tolerable had it not been for the danger and eternal menace of the element within. For one, I believe that an overruling Providence led us safely through our wilderness of troubles and perplexities. Loss of life, loss of property, was not our severest affliction. Humiliation, worse than death, became almost a habit of our minds. Adventurers without name, when they happened not to be infamous, were our oppressors. In the precincts of the Freedmen's Bureau the man who had been a slave became a pet, while the beggared master was made to feel that he was an outcast. All this time these men were heartily in accord with the teaching of Wendell Phillips, that :

"Treason should have been punished by confiscating its landed property. We all see now that magnanimity went as far as it could safely go when it granted the traitor his life. His land should have been taken from him. . . . That land should have been divided between the negroes, forty acres to each family. . . . Then, again, those States should have been held as

Territories until a different mood of mind among the whites, and the immigration of Northern men, wealth, and ideas made it safe to trust that section with State governments."

In those days what else could we do but become "solid"? We never saw the hour, in all those frightful days of trial, when we would not have warmed to the man in the North, let him be what he might, Republican or Democrat, who expressed for us a word of sympathy or showed a disposition to deal with us fairly. But it was not deemed worth while to take the southern whites into the account so long as the ownership of the negro pertained to the Republican party. Holding him, that party could do without us, and for two years or more after the war an unqualified tyranny ruled the South. We then saw that our last chance was with our old slaves, and we set to work to strengthen our cause with their aid. But we soon found that the effort was hopeless. Appeals that never failed before went for nothing, the minds of the colored people being paralyzed by the superstitious terrors of the oath that bound them to the "Loyal League."

There was nothing left for it but to watch and wait. The 700,000 votes we cast for Greeley could avail nothing against Mr. Phillips's "forty acres and a mule," to say nothing of that fearful oath. We lived to see the day when the pictures of Troup and Crawford looked down in the halls of the Georgia State Capitol on thirty negro members in one of our legislatures, and we thought we saw a determined effort so completely to Africanize our State and the States of the South as to leave for all time to come no doubt of Republican domination on our soil. It would have been sheer lunacy on our part had we helped our enemy, the Republican party, to do its perfect work by aggravating our troubles through foolish and wicked oppugnance to the colored man. From the "surrender" to the present moment our will and our deeds prove that we have taken the course in regard to the freedman that our best interests and the dictates of religion and wise policy would suggest.

We therefore will not suffer the charge, so roundly and so persistently made against us, of defrauding the negro out of his vote, to go unchallenged. We deny, as roundly as our

enemies assert the charge, that the negro is denied a right to vote; indeed, there is no such interference with the free exercise of the franchise in the South as we see practiced by employers of labor in the North. No man who valued his character for truth and honesty could assert of my State what Senator Wallace said of his, from his place in the United States Senate:

“No such political domination has ever existed anywhere as now dominates and controls the Republican organization, and through it the power of that great State. Sixteen thousand black and white Republican voters in Pennsylvania are sufficient to elect a Congressman, but it requires 44,000 of their opponents to do so.”

What says that solid and staid intellect, strong as pure, and pure as able, ex-Senator Thurman?

“Mr. President, there is great danger. The question is, whether this country shall be governed with a view to the rights of every man, the poor man as well as the rich man, or whether the longest purse shall carry the elections, and this be a mere plutocracy instead of a democratic republic. That is the danger, and that danger, let me tell my friend, exists far more in the North than in the South.”

Why do those professing acquaintance with the spirit and methods of our government attempt to excite the public mind by alleging what they call an inadequate vote. These men know that many cases could be quoted where the smallest majorities have determined the fiercest contests. One vote might do this. Twelve hundred votes, we might say, determined the last presidential election. And when we come to speak of disproportion between the number of votes cast and the representation in Congress, cases in point are innumerable. We remember that in the election of 1876 the vote stood, in six of the middle States, for the Republicans, 1,842,212, for the Democrats, 1,804,341. This vote gave the Republicans 75 members of Congress, and the Democrats 46, being 29 members for a majority of 37,871. In the same year Indiana sent for the Republicans nine members to the House of Representatives, and for the Democrats four, notwithstanding that the Democrats had a plurality of 5,000 votes in the State. In the same year, with a majority against them of 110,000 votes, the Republicans of Pennsylvania had two-thirds of the congressional delegation from that State.

It is my earnest belief, and with all sincerity and solemnity I declare it, that the present agitation of the question of negro suffrage by the Republican managers means serious trouble to the country. For ten years of administration, with every branch of the government in their control, the Republican party never moved a finger to correct abuses that they would have the world think have become intolerable in the two years of Mr Cleveland's administration. And now, when we hear scarcely a murmur of complaint in the localities which ought to be the centers of trouble between black and white; when the negro has his newspaper to represent him; when there are thousands of negro teachers in the land, and organized religious denominations, with their conferences and their presbyteries and associations, to sound the alarm; in the face of these clear evidences of improvement under Democratic administration, certain disturbers of the peace are seeking to lash the public mind into a rage about the negro and his wrongs. The people of this great country are in effect counseled to turn from the consideration of the many weighty problems which confront them, and never rest till the negro vote is again and securely in the grasp of the Republican party.

We have questions of taxation to settle, of coast defense, of revival of our merchant marine, of building a navy; but all these must be passed by as of small account till the negro vote in the South is driven back into the Republican camp. It matters not that more than 75,000 laboring men were on strike in the United States last January, and at this writing tens of thousands are only calming down from a state of exasperation. The discontent of the laboring class, almost everywhere in the Union, gives but little concern to the Republican plotter. But about the oppression of the negro and the suppression of his vote, of which the agitators are happy to inform the colored man, nothing too emphatic and denunciatory can be said, and nothing too radical can be done.

If we in the South have, after all, forfeited the confidence and respect of our brethren of the North, we are in a sad plight, and so is our country. I ask our northern friends to take up the roll of members elect from Georgia to the next Congress, and, in

fact, that from any other southern State, and compare these men with their colleagues from any other State or section. If those who are charging on them by innuendo that they made their way to their seats in Congress by fraud or intimidation, knew these maligned gentlemen as well as I do, they would credit them with a sensibility of honor that would "feel a stain like a wound," and a love of truth and honesty that would cause them to refuse the presidency if it had to be won by fraud on any one, black or white.

For myself, I can truthfully affirm that when I returned to my home after the close of the war, I made up my mind that by every means, and with all my strength of body and of mind, I would do the work of a peace-maker, whose most ardent wish was to see our unhappily estranged people reunited. I have labored steadily and earnestly in the cause of harmony and pacification, and to my knowledge there are thousands of southern men who are heartily co-operating for this noblest of aims; and we intend that no ends of personal ambition or of party advantage shall be attained by such methods as would justify the reproaches which are now cast upon us.

ALFRED H. COLQUITT.



## THE PANAMA CANAL FROM WITHIN.

THE Paris International Congress, in the session held May 29, 1879, decided in favor of a sea-level canal from Limon Bay to Panama. According to the "Compte Rendu des Séances," the total number of delegates was 136, of whom 74 were Frenchmen and 62 foreigners. When the vote was taken 98 delegates were present. Of these\* 74 voted in favor of the Panama line, 8 voted against it, and 16 abstained from voting. Of the 74 who voted for Panama 42 were Frenchmen, and 9 of these either actually held, or had held, situations on the Suez Canal. These facts explain the general feeling that the Panama enterprise must lead to complications between the United States and France—complications all the more likely to arise since the Lesseps management is understood to be hereditary. The political attitude assumed by M. de Lesseps in Egypt, at the time of Arabi's revolt, is not yet forgotten.

It must be admitted that the history of the canal will never be known; but some glimpses of the facts may be caught here and there in looking over the pages of the company's only organ.† This "Bulletin" is but another name for M. de Lesseps. The hand may be the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob throughout. It is M. de Lesseps who declares that "the Panama Canal will be more easily begun, finished, and maintained than the Suez Canal;" and his argument is always to this effect: "The work is vigorously attacked all along the line, and every one is animated by the best spirit. I succeeded at Suez and I will do even better at Panama." The

\* The figures, as given in the "Compte Rendu," 78, 8, and 12, are inaccurate, and do not agree with the detailed report. Lieutenant Wyse, in "Le Canal de Panama," omits the abstentions, but gives the correct figures for the votes.

† "Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique." Semi-monthly since Sept. 1, 1879.

president was not to hold his place by any precarious tenure. The by-laws of the company \* provided that no holder of less than twenty shares should vote or utter an opinion at a meeting. If, nevertheless, he wished to be present, there was but one part of the hall open to him. The number of these silent partners was, in 1885, approximately 100,000. There must have been nearly as many at the beginning.

In August, 1879, M. de Lesseps called for subscriptions to 800,000 shares of stock, but without success. In December he went to Panama with ten distinguished engineers, two of them Americans, to study the line of the canal.

On the 1st of January, 1880, the first stroke of the pick was made at the Pacific terminus by Mlle. Ferdinande de Lesseps. On the 14th February, 1880, the engineers made their report, † estimating the quantity of earth to be removed at 75,000,000 cubic meters, and the cost at 843,000,000 francs. M. de Lesseps reduced this estimate of cost to 658,000,000 francs. In April, 1880, the Academy of Sciences appointed, at the request of M. de Lesseps, a committee to examine the scientific questions that might arise in the cutting of the canal. This committee received frequent communications from M. de Lesseps on subjects interesting in themselves, ‡ such as rainfall, quarantine, borings on the isthmus, etc. These were received as information, and duly published in the "Bulletin" under the august name of the Academy, which lends dignity to any publication.

Services apparently more real, but essentially similar to those rendered by the committee of the Academy of Sciences, were performed by the Superior Consulting Commission, composed of men of the greatest capacity and integrity, who accepted, at the request of M. de Lesseps, the duty of considering and answering questions prepared by the company and laid before them. § These questions, relating to technical details, were always answered by the commission, but there is nothing to show that practical effect was given to any one of the answers. The com-

\* See particularly p. 781 of the "Bulletin." † *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 401, 536, 548, 663, 728, 911, 1360, 1490.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 709, 717, 834, 862, 1083.

mission closes its last report\* with these words: "And [the commission] restricts itself, for the rest, to calling the attention of the general manager to the observations on details presented by several of its members, and mentioned in the minutes attached to this document." The minutes and observations were probably uninteresting, for they have not been published.

In September, 1880, an estimate of cost was made, amounting to 530,000,000 francs,† much below M. de Lesseps's reduced estimate; and it was added that Messrs. Couvreux & Hersent had undertaken to finish the canal for 512,000,000 francs,‡ exclusive of various general expenses. Allowing for these and for the unforeseen, the total cost is estimated at 700,000,000 francs. On the 15th November, 1880, M. de Lesseps announced that the company would be immediately constituted, with a capital of 300,000,000 francs in 600,000 shares, and that the "total cost" of the canal was calculated at 600,000,000 francs. Reservation having been made of 10,000 shares, the 590,000 remaining were offered and taken in December. In a report§ dated March 3, 1881, M. de Lesseps says:

"But two things need to be done: to remove a mass of earth and stones on a line 65 kilometers long, and to control the river Chagres. . . . The canal is, therefore, an exact mathematical operation."

Early in 1881 || engineers, workmen, and machines had been sent forward, and on the 1st October of that year it was announced that the period of organization would close with the end of the year 1882. On the 29th of June, 1882, ¶ the president reported the situation as entirely satisfactory. At the same time he announced the purchase of the Panama Railroad, and asked for authority to issue 250,000 five per cent. bonds of 500 francs each. These were issued and taken.

On the 7th of September, 1882, a severe earthquake was felt

\* "Bulletin," p. 1084.

† *Ibid.*, p. 263.

‡ This statement, though repeatedly made, is incorrect. Messrs. Couvreux & Hersent never signed the agreement.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 441.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

at Panama, although it had been proved at the Paris Congress that no such thing could happen. The "Bulletin" found comfort in the reflection that M. de Lesseps had determined to build his canal without locks; but a more obvious cause for satisfaction would seem to be that the Panama Canal was still very much in the air. In May, 1883,\* appears the first regular report of the excavations, with the notice that a statement of the cube produced would be given every month. The sum total of the extraction up to March 1, 1883, was said to be 500,962 cubic meters. The promised monthly table was continued, more or less regularly, to the 1st of February, 1885, when it was announced † that various difficulties interfered with the report, and that, for this reason, the results obtained would be given thenceforward, not in "dry, crude, telegraphic figures," but largely, and with complementary explanations.

On the 3d of October, 1883, 600,000 bonds of 500 francs each were offered at 285 francs, and all were taken. Just before this (on the 28th of September ‡) M. Dingler, Chief Engineer and General Manager of the canal, gave a lecture in Paris on the great enterprise, with M. de Lesseps as prompter. In this lecture, which was enlivened by the questions put by M. de Lesseps, M. Dingler made the admission that the mass to be removed was very nearly 100,000,000 cubic meters, instead of 75,000,000. At the close of the performance M. de Lesseps expressed his appreciation of the patriotic feeling which had brought to the help of his enterprise what Lord Palmerston called "*les petits gens*;" and the audience laughed at the noble lord's bad French. It is not known that Lord Palmerston made any pretensions to scholarship, and yet no one can believe that his French was more faulty than the English of M. de Lesseps. Be this as it may, the spectacle of this "great Frenchman" entertaining a French audience with feeble fun at the expense of a dead enemy is instructive. There have been and there are, fortunately, French-

\* "Bulletin," p. 767.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1147. The mass extracted up to February, 1885, amounted to 10,198,118 cubic meters.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 879.

men who could not descend to this kind of thing.\* “These ‘small people,’” said M. de Lesseps, “have accomplished the two greatest works of this century.” One of these works is, of course, the Suez Canal; the other, equally of course, is the Mont Cenis Tunnel, which does not appear to have been the work of the small people. It was undertaken, to be sure, by the small kingdom of Sardinia; but the minister who planned it, and secured, at last, the reluctant co-operation of France in the great work, was Cavour. If M. de Lesseps thinks himself worthy of a place by the side of Cavour, he will find very few to agree with him.

The testimony of other journals, not always discreet, is frequently cited by the “Bulletin.” The “Gazette Maritime et Commerciale,” of February 2, 1884, has a charming passage:

“The work on the Panama Canal presents a comforting and even seductive aspect. If you come across any shareholder who has doubts, send him here.”

There were then, even in 1884, some shareholders who did not believe everything that was told them. They were not without justification. If anything is calculated to inspire the unscientific man with confidence, it is the deliberate judgment of engineers on a question of engineering; and it must have bewildered the stockholders to be told, in the report of July 23, 1884,† that the mass of earth to be excavated for the canal, estimated at 75,000,000 cubic meters in 1880, and at 100,000,000 cubic meters in 1883, was now, for the third time, exactly calculated, and found to be not less than 120,000,000 cubic meters.

On the 5th of September, 1884, the “Bulletin”‡ contained a letter addressed by M. de Lesseps to the great financial establishments of Paris, as well as to the correspondents of the company, stating that the company had then at its command the sum of nearly 233,000,000 francs, and that the 387,387

\* Compare Ernest Renan’s noble words in the “Nouvelle Lettre à M. Strauss:” “*Une de nos faiblesses, au contraire, à nous autres Français de la vieille école, est de croire que les délicatesses du galant homme passent avant tout devoir, avant toute passion, avant toute croyance, avant la patrie, avant la religion.*”

† “Bulletin,” p. 1037.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1061.

bonds of 500 francs each, to be issued on the 25th of September, 1884, would add to this amount 129,000,000 francs. Of these bonds only 318,245 were taken, but M. de Lesseps was delighted with this result. In 1885\* it was announced that the Americans were already at work building a fleet of sailing ships in order to take advantage of the opening of the canal. It would be interesting to know what has become of this fleet.

The report presented to the shareholders on the 29th of July, 1885, fills thirteen pages of the "Bulletin."† Here M. de Lesseps congratulates the shareholders and himself on the perfect harmony which exists between them, the natural fruit of the entire sincerity with which the company had explained the state of its affairs. In illustration of this sincerity, he says‡ that the cutting at La Culebra, "the knot of the problem," involves the removal of 20,000,000 cubic meters; the previous statements had fixed the amount at 8,000,000. As with the cut at La Culebra and the cube of the whole excavation, so it is with the cost of the canal.§ This is positively fixed, once again, at not more than 700,000,000 francs on the day of inauguration; and this in the face of the fact that, in September, 1884, the company was actually paying interest on 1,026,622,500 francs. The report closes with the announcement that the president had applied to the government for an authorization to issue lottery bonds to the amount of 600,000,000 francs. The small shareholder is managed with great adroitness in these reports and in the "Bulletin." Accustomed himself to small economies, he was undoubtedly fascinated and flattered by the freedom and *nonchalance* with which millions and hundreds of millions were handled by "his" company, and misgivings could hardly take definite shape in his mind so long as his interest was punctually paid. Still less did he ever reflect that the money paid to him as interest came out of his own pocket.

The reports of work for 1885 show a total of 8,212,000 cubic meters; and the whole amount of the excavation, up to January 1, 1886, was 17,860,118 cubic meters. The French

\* "Bulletin," pp. 1208, 1245.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1257.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 1249-1262.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 1259.

Government, before acting on the application for authorization of a lottery loan, dispatched, in January, 1886, an engineer, M. Rousseau, to inspect the canal and report on its actual condition. M. Rousseau's report has not been published, but the "Bulletin" of July 1, 1886, gives a summary of the conclusions he had reached. He held that the cutting of the isthmus, a possible work in itself, had gone too far to be abandoned, and that to give it up would be a disaster for the stockholders, as well as a blow to French influence in America. The enterprise was worthy of regard and support, but, as there was no government control over the plans and the outlay, or the direction of the work, in an undertaking which involved serious contingencies, it was plain to him that the government ought not to give to the company counsel or guarantee of any kind whatever. He added: \*

"Though, as I have said, I consider it possible to dig the Panama Canal, I have not in this report concealed my belief that the termination of the work, with the resources counted on, and in the time specified, is more than problematical, unless the company decides upon making important reductions and simplifications in its plans."

The Chamber of Deputies, on the 24th of June, 1886, named a committee to examine and report upon the company's application for authority to raise a lottery loan. This committee having been unable, after six meetings, to agree upon a report, decided to let the matter lie over until October. M. de Lesseps, informed of this decision, withdrew the company's application, and addressed an indignant letter † to the shareholders:

"They put me off. I will not be put off. True to my past, when they try to stop me I go on. Not by myself, it is true, but with 350,000 Frenchmen, who share my patriotic confidence."

Like another distinguished character, M. de Lesseps seems to have been less eager for the company than for the contributions of the 350,000 Frenchmen; and he tells them, accordingly, that bonds will be issued for the 600,000,000 francs.

The annual meeting took place on the 29th of July, 1886. The president's report was full of encouragement. Everything

\* "Bulletin," p. 1553.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1558.

was in the best condition, stores of material were accumulated, the Bishop of Costa Rica was sure the canal would be opened in 1889, and several chambers of commerce desired that the company should receive government support. Unfortunately, the hostility of evil-minded men had forced the company to borrow money at disadvantageous rates. The period of active execution, begun on the 1st of January, 1883, had now lasted three years and six months, and this was all that M. de Lesseps could say of the work for the control of the Chagres: \*

“New studies, which have been submitted to our Superior Consulting Commission, seem to offer the means of making considerable simplifications in the works for controlling and drawing off the waters of the Chagres.”

Of the Culebra cut, declared by the “Bulletin” † to be “the most important of all. the one that may be considered as representing in itself alone the digging of the canal,” this is what the president reports, after forty-two months of vigorous action:

“The reorganization of the working stations, in order to receive thirty new large excavators, has proceeded side by side with the removal by the old machines. The monthly product has ranged, according to circumstances, between 43,000 and 110,500 cubic meters. A development of plan for the complete utilization of all the apparatus, and the entrance upon the stage of French contractors—Messrs. Artigues and Sonderegger—who have already won their spurs on the isthmus, put us in a position to reckon from this time on the realization of our aims.”

Nothing is said of the contractors for the Culebra section, ‡ who, having begun their work in June, 1885, were to deliver it finished in October, 1886.

On the 3d of August, 1886, the new issue of 500,000 bonds of 1,000 francs each was offered at 450 francs; and 458,802 of the half million were taken. § The excavation for 1886, as reported in the “Bulletin,” amounted to 11,727,000 cubic meters. For the first six months of 1887 the amount was 7,030,000 cubic meters; and the whole extraction, from the beginning of the work to the 1st of July of this year, is found to be 36,617,118 cubic meters. The monthly production

\* “Bulletin,” p. 1571.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1179.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 1589.



for 1886 was estimated by the president\* at 1,000,000, and that for 1887 at 2,000,000, cubic meters. There is not the faintest sign of an approach to the latter figure; and the reader of the "Bulletin" very soon learns to distrust its statements, as well as its estimates. Whatever can be tested fails to stand the test, and even the general meaning of an article or a report is invariably contradicted by subsequent revelations. If articles on the Suez Canal, the Bourse quotations of stock, the opinions of newspapers, and the itineraries of M. de Lesseps had been left out of this publication, it would have been reduced by half, and would have told just as much and just as little as it now tells to those seeking information. An extract from "Le Voltaire" † shows how discipline was enforced among the shareholders. At the meeting of July 29, 1885, a shareholder rose to say that he was not satisfied with the statements of the report as to the cost of excavation, and that he called for an investigation. To him rose another, hot with zeal: "Never! when M. de Lesseps has spoken, there is no need of an investigation!" There was a tempest of applause, and then a cry: "Down with investigators!" Silence having been restored, M. Charles de Lesseps finished the seeker of facts with this home-thrust: "If I were in your place, and had so little confidence in the action of the council, I should sell my shares, for at present prices there would be nothing but gain." Blood will tell. Culture and courtesy and regard for right are not less hereditary than the presidency of the Panama Canal Company.

It is now four years and a half since active operations were begun on the isthmus. If the "Bulletin" is to be believed, the plans have been carefully studied and systematically followed; there has been no lack of funds; and the working force, every way sufficient, has been animated by the best spirit. What has been done? Taking the "Bulletin's" figures, 36,617,118 cubic meters have been extracted, out of 120,000,000. This is the whole performance. The control of the Chagres River is just where it was before the meeting of the Paris Congress, and the Culebra hill is barely scratched. For such a

\* "Bulletin," p. 1579.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1273.

result the cost has been prodigious. The company, on the 1st of July, 1887, was paying interest on :

600,000 shares capital stock (all paid in), interest at 5%	300,000,000 francs.
Loan, June 29, 1882, interest at 5 % . . . . .	125,000,000 “
Loan, October 3, 1883, interest at 3 % . . . . .	300,000,000 “
Loan, September 25, 1884, interest at 4 % . . . . .	159,122,500 “
Loan, August 3, 1886, interest at 3 % . . . . .	458,802,000 “
	1,342,924,500 francs.

The yearly burden of interest on this amount is 50,378,960 francs. By its own showing, therefore, the company has disposed of 223,820,666 francs a year; but there is reason to believe that the amount is larger. The loans of September 25, 1884, and August 3, 1886, left in the company's hands, the former 69,142 bonds of 500 francs each, and the latter 41,198 bonds of 1,000 francs each. The 69,142 bonds, it was announced, would not be issued without a special vote of the council, and M. de Lesseps declared, in a letter of August 6, 1886, that the 41,198 bonds had been canceled. No notice has been given of a special vote liberating the 69,142 bonds of the company's four per cent. loan, but there have been on the Bourse, since the 12th of April, 1887, 477,387 four per cent. Panama Canal bonds. It is an act of faith to conclude that the 41,198 bonds have been canceled.

The funds reported as available on the 30th of June, 1887, amounted to 143,233,428 francs. A new loan was offered on the 26th of July, of 500,000 thousand-franc bonds. Of these bonds, offered at 440 francs, only 258,887 were taken. These added to the company's resources 113,910,280 francs, and swelled the indebtedness to 1,601,811,000 francs, and the yearly interest to 58,145,570 francs. The visible resources of the company are, therefore, barely sufficient for one year's expenses, taking the story as it is told by the "Bulletin," with all its evident suppressions and glosses and mystifications. Allowing no more than their fair value to these, it is plain that the company is ruined. The concurrent testimony of disinterested scientific men, Europeans and Americans, is that the mass of the excavation to be made is even now greater than the com-

pany's highest estimate for the entire work. It has cost, therefore, 1,600,000,000 francs to do nothing at all. If all this money had been furnished by M. de Lesseps and his friends, who could know what they were doing, it would have been mere waste to spend it on an enterprise conceived in vanity and prosecuted without seriousness and without intelligence; but we have all been told with wearisome iteration that the Panama Canal was the work of poor proprietors, of people, that is to say, who had no money to lose. M. de Lesseps has used the magic of his name to beguile these simple-minded folk, and to wheedle them into risking the hard-earned savings which they kept—such was their knowledge of the world and of finance—laid away in a corner. It is they, and not he, who will suffer by the failure of the canal, for his cheerful spirit is not to be quelled by the misfortunes of others, nor even by the reflection that his place in the history of his time is already marked out by the side of that minister who, with a light heart, led his country into the most fatal of wars.

GEORGE C. HURLBUT.

## SHALL UTAH BECOME A STATE?

It is forty years since the people called "Mormons," expelled from the State of Illinois by the pressure of an odium excited by their religion, organized and made an emigration *en masse* across the public domain of the United States, in search of a country where they could found a community on their own religious and social ideas. This great body of men, women, and children, among whom were very few persons of foreign birth, were for a whole year on the national domain, out of the limits of any State, marching slowly through the wilderness, until they got beyond the Rocky Mountains. The whole country knew that they carried their polygamy and their church organization along with them; they were within reach of the federal power until they passed out of the United States; yet not a finger of the law was lifted against their practice of plural marriage.

I was at that time more than thirty years of age, and was just as conversant with what was taking place as I am with what is going on to-day. The state of public sentiment was one of entire indifference to the polygamy of the Mormons, provided they took it where it would no longer be in contact with the civilization of the country in the matter of marriage. In July, 1847, the head of the column reached the neighborhood of the Great Salt Lake. It was some months, however, before they were all gathered in; but, when all had come, they amounted to a population of 20,000 souls. They immediately raised the Stars and Stripes, founded the community which they contemplated, called it the State of Deseret, and soon after applied for admission into the Union. The country was then a province of Mexico. At the termination of the war between the United States and Mexico this province of Utah became, under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the property of the United

States. It was organized into a Territory by an act of Congress passed in 1850 ; and then occurred, if not a direct sanction of polygamy, what was, at least, a marked manifestation of public indifference about it. Brigham Young, the civil and religious leader of the Mormons, was made by the Government of the United States Territorial Governor, and he held the office for seven years. He did not seek it ; it was offered to him, and he accepted it. Every well-informed person in the United States knew that he had numerous wives, and numerous families of children by his several wives.

The government could just as well have sent a non-Mormon to be governor ; but Brigham Young was selected because it was assumed that his people were to be a community by themselves, and because the people of the United States did not care enough about the polygamy to take any public action against it. This torpor and indifference continued for a period of fifteen years, during which plural marriages were greatly multiplied in Utah.

In 1852, during the first term of the governorship of Brigham Young, plural marriage was officially announced as a doctrine of the Mormon Church, and published abroad as well as at home. In that period there began to be a considerable influx into the Territory of persons who were not Mormons, and who are now known there as "Gentiles." The Mormon civilization, in respect to marriage, thus came in contact with that other civilization that has always existed throughout this Union. In 1862 the country rather suddenly awoke to the necessity of exterminating polygamy. This change from a state of indifference and non-action to measures of suppression, coming after manifest neglect, not to say encouragement, has been, like other paroxysms of public virtue succeeding public toleration of a supposed evil, productive of about as much harm as good.

In 1862 an act of Congress was passed, making polygamy unlawful in the Territories, and punishing it as bigamy, with fine and imprisonment. At first the Mormons honestly believed this law to be unconstitutional, because polygamy was an article of their religious faith. But in 1879 they learned, from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that marriage being a civil relation between men and women, it is no infringe-

ment of religious liberty for the legislative authority to prohibit a man from having more than one living wife. Still, after this decision, there were very few prosecutions for polygamy in Utah under the act of 1862. That law was allowed to become almost a dead letter. It was not amended until the end of twenty years. In 1882 a new statute was passed, now known as the Edmunds Act. It re-enacted the provisions of the act of 1862, which had made polygamy bigamy, and it also created a new misdemeanor, which it wrapped up in a single word.

Its third section reads :

“ If any male person, in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter cohabits with more than one woman, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than three months, or by both of said punishments, in the discretion of the court.”

At the same time, the Congress which created this new misdemeanor of “ cohabitation,” without the least legislative definition of the offense, entirely neglected to provide any appellate process by which the Supreme Court of the United States could review and correct the errors of the territorial judges in these “ cohabitation ” cases. Here, then, was left open a field for the most latitudinarian construction of a single word by the territorial judges, who are all Gentiles, not elected by the people of the Territory, but appointed at Washington, and animated by an extraordinary zeal to carry out the “ heroic ” treatment of the great problem of polygamy, which has been supposed to require “ drastic ” remedies. The consequence has been a judicial administration of the Edmunds law by the territorial courts which is a disgrace to the jurisprudence of the United States. Aged men, who married their plural wives long before there was any prohibitory law, and who, after the passage of the Edmunds Act, honestly confined their marital relations to one of their wives, doing nothing whatever but caring and providing for the others, according to their sense of moral and religious duty, and not dwelling with them at all, have been by scores convicted of unlawful “ cohabitation ” with more than one woman, heavily fined, and imprisoned in the penitentiary for the longest

possible terms, in loathsome association with the most abandoned criminals. This sort of "public justice" is taking place in Utah almost every day. It is disgusting to read, as it has been my duty to read, the accounts of these persecutions, perpetrated without the least necessity, and made possible by the fact that the territorial judges have known that their forced and outrageous constructions of the statute are not subject to revision by the highest judicial tribunal in the land. I am willing to believe that the omission to provide any appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States in these "cohabitation" cases was an unintentional oversight on the part of Congress, but it was none the less a great wrong.

It has become a common practice with the territorial judges to make an ostentatious show of clemency, by asking the prisoner, after conviction for unlawful "cohabitation," if he will obey the law in the future. If he will make this promise, it is intimated that a light sentence will be imposed for his past offense. Again and again the answer has been, "I cannot obey the law as you interpret it. I married my plural wives for time and eternity, in the full belief that such marriages were innocent in the sight of God. I cannot renounce my duty to provide for women who are dependent upon me, although since this law was passed, I have had no sexual relation with any wife but the one with whom I have dwelt." This has not been accepted as a sufficient submission, and the man has been sentenced to the utmost penalties of the statute. What is the more extraordinary in this artificial and absurd construction of the law is, that it has been regarded as aimed against the Mormons alone, and not as including ordinary fornication; so that in Utah a man may dwell or be in the same house with any number of prostitutes, and may have sexual connection with every one of them, and yet he cannot be convicted of unlawful "cohabitation with more than one woman," under the third section of the Edmunds Act. That law is held in Utah to have reserved all its terrors for cases where there was a claim of a marriage relation with more than one woman, according to the Mormon belief and practice. It is not strange that, among a people like the Mormons, this abominable construction has been regarded with horror and

indignation, especially in towns where prostitution was unknown until Gentile vice had penetrated there along with Gentile virtue. I am addressing a public that I must suppose has some sentiments of decency, yet I know not how many people will regard this matter as I do.

It is not to be inferred from the facts which I have stated, indisputable as they are, that I am disposed to contend that the direct or indirect sanction given to polygamy, or the tacit toleration extended to it, tied the hands of Congress. To use a legal phrase, *laches* are not to be imputed to the sovereign as a surrender of authority ; or, in other words, omission to exercise a power does not abrogate it. But the *laches* of a sovereign may give rise to a moral obligation toward those who have been led to do what is afterward made a crime. While I freely concede that the acts of 1862 and 1882 were constitutional exercises of power, I fearlessly assert that the toleration extended to polygamy from 1847 to 1862, and from 1862 to 1882, imposed on the people and Government of the United States a duty to shape their policy very differently from the mode which has been lately followed.

But this matter has now assumed an entirely new aspect. The Mormons of Utah have assembled in convention, and have framed a State Constitution, under which they will apply at the next session of Congress for admission into the Union. Their proposed Constitution contains a stringent prohibition of polygamy. It is of no sort of consequence to the people of the United States whether the Mormons, in thus offering to base their new State on the same civilization that prevails throughout the Union, in the matter of marriage, are consistent or inconsistent with their professed religious belief, past or present, about that institution.

There are very few persons outside of the pale of the Mormon Church who are qualified to state accurately its religious doctrine of marriage, or to determine what is or is not consistent with that doctrine. I doubt if there have been ten men in Congress for the past ten years who have known correctly what that belief was formerly or what it is now. The belief is quite immaterial, because the sole question for the people and



Congress of the United States, is whether the Mormons now offer satisfactory and reliable guarantees that they can and will put an end to polygamy themselves. They are a large majority of the population, and they make a certain offer. It is equally unimportant what has led them to take this step. Those who have been in favor of the "heroic" measures pursued by the federal government may, if they choose, assume that they have driven the Mormons into submission. Others say that the whole thing is designed as a trick, and that when Utah is once in the Union the Mormons will change their Constitution or restore polygamy in some way. It would be great folly to repulse them on the shallow suggestion that they are people who are not to be trusted; because the real question is, whether, after Utah has become a State under the proposed Constitution, it will be possible for the Mormons, by any contrivance whatever, to restore polygamy, or to create any legal or constitutional status of plural marriage. In the presence of this question their religious belief becomes of no consequence whatever.

I presume that no person, at the present day, who understands the relation between the Government of the United States and those peculiar dependencies called Territories, will dispute the following proposition: That Congress is at all times under the obligation of a public trust to bring every Territory into the Union as a State, whenever its inhabitants desire it, and they have population and resources sufficient to sustain a State government. The sole source of the power of Congress to create and govern those peculiar political bodies which are denominated Territories is Section 3 of Article IV. of the federal Constitution, commonly called the Territorial Clause. The section was framed for the purpose of creating a plenary legislative power not only to dispose of the public lands, but to create and govern political bodies of the settlers and to bring them into the Union as States. This was the constitutional doctrine for which I contended thirty years ago, in arguing the Dred Scott case before the Supreme Court of the United States. It was the doctrine accepted by the minority of the judges, and it is now almost universally held to be the true doctrine. Notwithstand-

ing the confusion and uncertainty arising from the want of a judicial decision in that case, in the proper sense of decision, there is now, I venture to say, no public man of reputation in any part of this Union, no well-instructed jurisconsult or publicist, who believes that Congress has any constitutional authority to acquire, hold, and govern territory within the limits of the United States and out of the limits of any State, excepting what was conferred by Section 3 of Article IV. To that section, and to that alone, could Congress resort as a source of power to permit or to prohibit slavery in any one of the Territories; and it is to that source that the congressional power to prohibit polygamy in any Territory must be referred.

It was a want of proper perception of this constitutional doctrine that led the late Stephen A. Douglas into his untenable idea of "squatter sovereignty"—a fiction to which his acute and strong intellect resorted in order to find for the people of a Territory an inherent right of self-government akin to that of the people of a State. His generous mind revolted at the idea of a body of settlers on the public domain having no other power to govern their own affairs than such as Congress might choose to dole out to them.

If he had confined his constitutional inquiries to Section 3 of Article IV., as the source of the power to create and govern Territories, and had recognized the trust which it imposes on Congress so to shape and manage them as to bring them into the Union as States, with a republican form of government and with the full panoply of Statehood, he never would have gone in pursuit of the *ignis fatuus* of squatter sovereignty. It is now conceded that Congress has a constitutional authority to regulate the social relations in a Territory; but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that this authority is held as a trust to allow of the formation of those Territories into States, and not for the purpose of indefinitely prolonging the territorial condition, thereby keeping open a field for the exercise of federal patronage and power.

There may be, in the social condition of a particular Territory, at the time when its people seek for admission into the Union, special circumstances which require special treatment. But it

is the manifest duty of Congress so to deal with such a peculiar state of affairs as not to obstruct the entrance of that community into the Union as a State, and not to prolong the territorial condition for the purpose of keeping up the exercise of federal power. If the social peculiarity which is supposed to require removal is one that the people of the proposed State can themselves deal with, and they offer safe guarantees and compacts which will insure its removal by the State power in place of the federal, there can be no good reason for continuing to exclude them from the privileges and rights of Statehood, because of a peculiarity of their social condition, their manners, their customs, or their religious beliefs.

The following is the provision of the proposed Constitution for Utah, on the subject of polygamy :

“ Art. XV., Sec. 12.—Bigamy and polygamy being considered incompatible with a ‘republican form of government,’ each of them is hereby forbidden and declared a misdemeanor. Any person who shall violate this section shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, and imprisonment for a term of not less than six months nor more than three years, in the discretion of the court. This section shall be construed as operative without the aid of legislation, and the offense prohibited by this section shall not be barred by any statute of limitation within three years after the commission of the offense ; nor shall the power of pardon extend thereto until such pardon shall be approved by the President of the United States.”

As a further security, the power of amendment is limited by the following proviso :

“ Provided, that Section 12 of Article XV. shall not be amended, revised, or in any way changed until any amendment, revision, or change as proposed therein shall, in addition to the requirements of the provisions of this article, be reported to the Congress of the United States and shall be by Congress approved and ratified, and such approval and ratification be proclaimed by the President of the United States, and if not so ratified and proclaimed said section shall remain perpetual.”

I am not unaware of the depth and magnitude of the constitutional question which arises on these provisions. But after full and, I trust, dispassionate study, I am prepared to express my entire conviction that it is perfectly competent to a State, especially to a new State, when it enters the Union, to make a compact with the United States that will effectually limit its own

sovereignty in a matter peculiar to itself and its social condition. Within the limits of this article I cannot develop the grounds of this conviction. I must content myself with saying here, that every State in the Union has in many ways limited its sovereignty by compacts with the United States, and that, in my belief, it will be found perfectly practicable and easy for the federal government, in any case where a State undertakes to do what it has solemnly covenanted not to do, to provide and enforce the needful remedy; not by taking action against the State itself, in its political and corporate character, but by preventing individuals from availing themselves of the State privilege of doing that which their State has covenanted shall not be done. Thus, in this matter of polygamy, if the people of Utah, after they have entered the Union under the proposed Constitution, shall undertake, in any way, to create or authorize a legal or constitutional status of plural marriage without the consent of Congress, the federal government will have no difficulty in counteracting that attempt and rendering it utterly nugatory. The Mormons are perfectly aware of this, for they are not wanting in sense and intelligence. The covenant which they propose that their new State shall make with the United States is a full answer in itself to the imputation that they design to do something false, or that they are so foolish as to believe that they can circumvent the people of the United States.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

## CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM.

HAS Christianity any communistic flavor? This has become a living question and it demands an honest answer. By Christianity we mean the religion taught in the Bible. By communism we mean the doctrine which makes society the unit and every man a fraction, which declares individual rights to be simply communal concessions, and which, therefore, seeks to prove that private property is theft in disguise. This doctrine has many shades and degrees. It has been loudly proclaimed as a new gospel, by men who have cried in the same breath, "*Écrasez l'Infâme!*" and "Behold in us the saviors of the world." This has not greatly troubled us; for self-elected Messiahs are not durable, and even dynamite has small dangers unless it is backed by argument. The order of the world will never be changed by pikes and torches; they are easily answered.

But of late years the communistic doctrine has begun to present itself in another shape. It has laid aside the red cap, and put on the white cravat. It invites serious and polite inquiry. It quotes Scripture, and claims to be the friend, the near relative, of Christianity. So altered is its aspect that preachers of religion are discovering that it has good points, and patting it on the back—somewhat timidly, as one might pat a converted wolf who had offered his services as watch-dog. They are careful to disown any sympathy with the old, unregenerate, bloody communism. Its method and its spirit were violent and unjustifiable. But perhaps, after all, its fundamental principle was right. Perhaps our institution of private property contradicts the teachings of the Bible, and ought to be abolished, wholly or partially, to make room for something better and more truly Christian.

Two modern instances will show the drift of the times in this direction. A couple of years ago a well-known and much-honored clergyman of New York declared that "the early church

at Jerusalem was distinctly communistic," and that this was the "animus of the New Testament." No one contradicted him. Last year a candidate for the chief office in the same city clearly affirmed that every man who owns his home is a robber of the community, and supported his theory by an appeal to the law of Moses. Sixty-seven thousand citizens practically approved his doctrine by voting for him.

We do not doubt, for a moment, the purity of heart, the unselfish benevolence of motive, which lie behind these teachings. The sight of human suffering, the bitter cry of the poor, the sharp contrast between luxury and want which the city presents to us continually, make good men almost ready to open their arms to any theory which promises relief to the wretched. But the awakening of philanthropy ought not to mean the sleep of reason. When the most earnest communist says to us, "Your Bible is on our side," the first thing we have to do is to find out whether he knows what he is talking about.

Two cases are quoted from the Bible to prove that it has at least a partial leaning toward the new theory of property. The first is the Hebrew Year of Jubilee, which is used as an argument for the nationalization of land. Now, there is not a word of historic record to show that the Year of Jubilee ever went into practical operation; nor is there a single passage to indicate that this peculiar institution, given to a peculiar people under peculiar circumstances, was ever intended to be an example for all nations at all times. It would be as reasonable to argue in favor of universal circumcision, or to impose the Jewish law on all butchers. But waiving these objections, and looking at the Year of Jubilee as a pattern for us, we see that it was simply an iron-clad law of entail, more rigid than England has ever known. It provided that the land should always remain in the families among whom it had been divided at the conquest of Canaan; it could neither be alienated by an individual nor confiscated by the state. If a man was forced to sell his land by stress of poverty, the utmost that he could dispose of was a title to the usufruct for as much of the fifty years as might remain before the next Jubilee. At any time he might redeem it, and at the end of the fixed period every

man inevitably "returned unto his possession." \* Suppose a company of Irish emigrants arriving in Judea under the operation of this law : they could have bought city property, for that was specially exempt from its provisions ; they could have rented farms from the native aristocracy ; but not one of those Hibernians, nor one of their children, nor one of their grandchildren, could ever have acquired a permanent interest in one square inch of the soil of the country. Any man who admires this system is at liberty to say so ; but it is hardly probable that any one will try to put it into practice, nor does it look much like what we commonly understand by the nationalization of land, which is to make the earth as free as the air and the light to all men.

The second case which is quoted from the Bible in favor of communism is the example of the early church at Jerusalem. It is described in the second and fourth chapters of the Book of Acts. The characteristic feature of it is, that the believers in Christ "were together and had all things common ; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as every man had need." But this does not look very much like a denial of the rights of private property. For if a man cannot really own anything, how can there be any buying or selling ? If the fact of birth gives every one an equal claim upon all the good things of the world, how could these Christians, a mere handful in the city, defend their funds against the Jews and the heathen ? What right had they to confine their benefactions, as they did, to their fellow-believers, instead of sharing all things with their brother-men ? It would be an unfortunate thing for the orphans of the Five Points if the churches of New York should adopt the strict plan of the Jerusalem Christians. For, in point of fact, their experiment was simply the assertion of the right of every man to do as he chooses with his own ; and they chose to live together and help each other. It was a fraternal stock company for mutual aid and protection. No man was bound to come into it unless he wished ; but if he did come in, he was bound to act honestly. Read what St. Peter said to that unhappy fool, Ananias, about his land : "While it remained, was it not thine own ? And after it was

\* Leviticus, xxv. 13-34.

sold, was it not in thine own power?" It would be difficult to imagine a stronger statement of the rights of property under the most trying circumstances. Of course it is possible for any band of men who like the Jerusalem system to re-establish it to-day: but its result of pauperism in the primitive church was not particularly encouraging, nor would it bring us one step nearer to the communistic ideal of general ownership and distribution by the state.

There are some other cases which are not frequently quoted by our modern theorists, but which have a direct bearing upon the relations of the Bible to the rights of private property. There is the case of Naboth and his vineyard. Naboth was a land-holder. He had inherited a field from his ancestors. It belonged to him, and therefore no one else had a right to build on it or to cultivate it. The vines which he had planted there were his own. He could eat the grapes, or make wine out of them, or give them to the village children. The unearned increment which had come to that field from the building of the royal palace in the neighborhood was a part of Naboth's property. He could do with it all as he liked—keep it, or rent it, or sell it.

Ahab was a king. He represented the state. He was the anointed of the Lord, and he wanted that vineyard. He had not the nerve to take it by violence, nor the cleverness to squeeze Naboth out with a tax. So he tried to buy it, and failing, took to his bed and turned his face to the wall. But Queen Jezebel was a woman of larger resources. She contrived a plan to get rid of Naboth; and then she invited her husband to go down and enjoy the confiscated property. And as he stood in the vineyard, trembling with uncertain pleasure, that man of iron, Elijah the prophet, found him, and cursed him in the name of the just God, promising that his race should perish in shame because of the evil that he had done. It was not merely because he had connived at the death of a man. Many a king of Israel had done worse without incurring a special revelation of divine wrath. But Ahab had violated a sacred right of property. He had trampled upon a principle of divine justice which made that poor man's vineyard his own, to have and to hold against all comers, whether they were greedy kings or envious beggars. There is



not the slightest hint that Naboth was wronging anybody in owning that land; but there is the plainest teaching that in trying to take it away from him against his will the King was a thief; and for that God promised that he should die among the dogs, that he should perish as a landless vagabond.

It must be admitted that the Old Testament holds out scanty encouragement to the advocates of confiscation. But perhaps we shall find something in the New Testament to support the notion that private property is unjust and ought to be speedily abolished. What shall we say then of Jason of Thessalonica, and Lydia of Philippi, and Titus Justus of Corinth, and Philip of Cæsarea, who all received the apostles into their own houses? Were these people engaged in perpetuating a cruel and oppressive distinction between the rich and the poor? Turn over to the Gospels. There was a man in Bethany named Lazarus, who had a house in which he sheltered the Christ whom the community had rejected. There was a man named Zaccheus, who was rich and who entertained Jesus at his own house. Is there any suggestion that the Master disapproved of these property-owners? There was a man named Joseph of Arimathea, who had a garden and a new sepulcher in which he made a quiet resting-place for the body of him whom the people had despised and crucified. Was he a selfish robber? Christianity never would have found a foothold in the world, it never would have survived the storms of early persecution, had it not been sheltered in its infancy by the rights of private property, which are founded in eternal justice, and therefore are respected by all lovers of righteousness, Christian or heathen. And it is difficult to see how the religion of Jesus could have sanctioned these rights more emphatically than by using them for its own most holy purposes.

But some one may say that this is only the lower side of Christianity; that there is a higher side which enforces charity and unselfish benevolence and universal brotherhood, and that in the development of this the lower side is destined to disappear, and communism will become the order of society. Truly, it would be difficult to exaggerate the hearty emphasis which is laid, not only by Christ and his apostles, but also by the Old Testament writers, upon the duties of kindness and generosity and com-

passion for the needy. But these teachings are perfectly consistent with those other instructions of the Bible which enjoin diligence in business, and fidelity to contracts, and respect for the property of others. Indeed, the two sides are inseparably united, like the reverse and obverse of a coin, so that you cannot destroy one without making the other meaningless.

The Bible teaches that God owns the world. He distributes to every man according to his own good pleasure, conformably to general laws. Under the operation of these laws a man may acquire such a title to certain things that for any other man, or community of men, to attempt to dispossess him without full compensation is robbery. Nor is there any difference in this respect between the property of the rich and the property of the poor. If it be fairly acquired by honest industry, lawful inheritance, or just exchange, the one is as sacred as the other. The ægis of divine protection is extended over the one billion four hundred and eighty millions of dollars which the wage-workers of New York and New England have laid up in their savings banks to-day. And if the bulk of this capital should go, as it probably will, into the purchase of homes for families, the law of God will still declare that it must neither be stolen nor confiscated, nor even coveted, by private robber or public thief.

There is a fundamental and absolute difference between the doctrine of the Bible and the doctrine of the communizer. For the Bible tells me that I must deal my bread to the hungry; while the communizer tells the hungry that he may take it for himself; and if he begins with bread there is no reason why he should draw the line at cake. The Bible teaches that envy is a sin; the communizer declares that it is the new virtue which is to regenerate society. The communizer maintains that every man who is born has a right to live; but the Bible says that if a man will not work neither shall he eat; and without eating life is difficult. The communizer holds up equality of condition as the ideal of Christianity; but Christ never mentions it; he tells us that we shall have the poor always with us, and charges us never to forget, despise, or neglect them. Christianity requires two things from every man that believes in it: first, to acquire his

property by just and righteous means; and, second, to "look not only on his own things but also on the things of others."

This condemns the reckless greed of the gold-worshippers, and the cruelty of conscienceless corporations, and the dishonesty of law-dodging sharpers; but it condemns equally the communistic theories which propose to sweep away or disregard the rights of private ownership. When Mr. Henry George says that the public lands which are still held by the state ought to be retained, or distributed according to a new system, he is simply propounding an economic theory which may or may not be sound; but when he says that the real estate which has become private property ought to be practically confiscated, by taxation or in any other way, he is simply teaching us to call theft by a longer name. It is not a question of expediency; it is a question of righteousness. If the Bible is true, Mr. George is either thoroughly unrighteous or invincibly ignorant.

It was necessary for us, in the first part of this article, to express our confidence in the sincere philanthropy and generous motives of many of the men who have been drawn into a partial approval of communistic doctrines. And it is necessary for us now, in the last part, to assert our profound sympathy with them, in hatred of all tyranny and oppression, in hearty desire for the amelioration of society and the relief of all unnecessary suffering. Surely that is at least one of the objects of Christianity, to improve the present condition of humanity, to make the whole world not only holier, but also happier. If there are any men and women who live in fat contentment with their own physical comfort, and shut their ears to the cry of the distressed, they are no true disciples of the compassionate Jesus, and the Bible promises that they shall have a heavy reckoning at the day of judgment.

But we do not believe that the evils of society can be cured by moving one step along the line of communism. History warns us that every experiment in that direction has been a dead failure. Free corn filled Rome with hungry idlers. The communistic poor laws of 1815 made England howl with want and shame and crime. There is no reason to suppose that men in the mass are any more wise or kind or benevolent than they are as individuals. The idea of an all-absorbing, all-controlling, all-

disbursing state is a Frankenstein monster. Even to coquet with it in theory is to increase the miseries of society, which Christianity for centuries has been steadily diminishing. It is in the interest of no separate class, but of all mankind, that we hold fast to the old-fashioned doctrine of the rights of property coupled with the duties of charity. The asylums and hospitals of New York city are now supported mainly by the Christian benevolence of about three thousand persons; what will become of those institutions if the springs which feed them are destroyed? Does any one think that the Board of Aldermen, or the Labor party, or the city at large, would do the work better?

The advocates of the new theory of property, in their revision of the Bible, would give us an improved version of the parable of the Good Samaritan. They tell us that when the proud Levite and the selfish priest had passed by the wounded man, a kind communist came down that way, and began to whisper in the sufferer's ear: "My friend, you have been much in error. You were a thief yourself when you were amassing your private wealth; and these gentlemen who have just relieved you of it with needless violence have only begun, in a hasty and unjustifiable manner, what must soon be done, in a large and calm way, for the benefit of the whole community." Whereupon, we are to suppose the man was much enlightened and comforted, and became a useful member of society. But Christ says that it was a Samaritan, a man of property, riding on his own beast and carrying a little spare capital in his pocket, who lifted up the wounded stranger, and gave him oil and wine, and brought him into a place of security, and paid for his support. And to every one he says: "Go thou and do likewise." Here is the open secret of the regeneration of society in the form of a picture. And if we want it in the form of a philosophy, we may get it from St. Paul in five words:

"Let him that stole steal no more [reformation], but rather let him labor [industry], working with his hands that which is good [honesty], that he may have [property] to give to him that needeth [charity]."

HENRY VAN DYKE.

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE ?

MR. ROMANES, in his thoughtful paper upon this question, has well observed that it is the necessary preliminary to that other raised some years ago by Mr. Mallock, "Is life worth living?" But there is yet an inquiry still more fundamental, upon which Mr. Romanes does not touch. Mr. Mallock has glanced at it in one of the most brilliant chapters of that very brilliant book, "The New Republic." The scene is in Otho Lawrence's cool villa by the sea. The time, the dinner hour. The host has resolved to try the experiment of a *menu* for the conversation, because it seems to him "absurd to be so careful about what we put into our mouths, and to leave chance to arrange what comes out of them." The first topic for discussion is "The Aim of Life." Mr. Rose has been insisting, with a soft solemnity, that the aim of life is life; and that successful life consists in the consciousness of exquisite living, in the making one's own each highest thrill of joy that the moment offers; be it some touch of color on the sea or on the mountains, the early dew in the crimson shadows of a rose, the shining of a woman's limbs in clear water, or ——— But here a sound of "Sh," breaking softly from several voices, indicates that the hedonist is approaching perilously near a violation of the proprieties; and the host, turning to Dr. Jenkinson, asks him hastily what his view of the matter is. The doctor replies, in his sharpest voice, "Do we any of us know what life is? Hadn't we better find out that first?" Hereupon Mr. Rose declares that life is a series of moments and emotions; "a series of absurdities too, very often," Dr. Jenkinson adds. "Life is a damned nuisance," Leslie mutters to himself. Mr. Storcks avers that it is matter, which, under certain conditions, not yet understood, has become self-conscious. Lord Allen thinks it the preface to eternity. Surely Mr. Mallock is right. Our view of the object of life will vary indefinitely with our view of its real signifi-

cance, its true explanation. The first step toward the answer of the question which the editor of the FORUM has proposed to us is to find out what life is.

But Mr. Romanes apparently thinks that we may omit that question. He thinks every one will agree that "the object of life is that of making life desirable, first to myself and next to those about me." (I quote his own words as I find them.) And a little later on he writes: "In all systems of [religious] doctrine the implied basis is the same, and it is nothing else than that which has been furnished by ethical thought in the well-worn phrase, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'" "The reason," he continues, "why it is the chief end of man to glorify God is because, according to Christian belief, this is the happiest thing for him to do. 'It is good for us to be here,' so that we may enjoy God forever. Hence the altruistic desire of all Christians that others should be as they are, partakers of the highest joy of which a creature is capable." He adds that "the object of infidelity is the same as that of religious faith, namely, to bring the human mind into such harmony with what is believed to be its true environment as will, in the long run, prove most conducive to its well-being or happiness." From which he concludes that "the difference between the Christian and the infidel is not a difference of aim, but merely a difference of what they severally believe to constitute the truest welfare of the race." Now, in what I am about to write I do not propose to discuss "the aim of the infidel," and that for several reasons, of which I will here mention only one. "The infidel," like the Man of Rousseau's theories, is a pure—or impure—abstraction. He does not exist. He never has existed. As a matter of fact, those who reject Christianity, or the other positive religion, whatever it may be, of their fathers, are led to do so by many different motives. Sometimes the motive may be political, such as a dislike of religion, founded upon the belief that it is a main instrument of tyranny; sometimes licentious, as an impatience of the ethical bonds imposed—to cite the verse of Mr. Swinburne—by "creeds that refuse and restrain;" sometimes pecuniary, as in the case of Judas, when money is to be made by apostasy; while sometimes it may be the "honest doubt"

of which Lord Tennyson sings, as in the case of Littré, happily described by M. Caro as "that saint who did not believe in God." I am not, however, concerned with Mr. Romanes's account of the object of infidelity, but with his account of the object of Christianity. Mr. Romanes tells us roundly that the reason why religion teaches us to glorify God is because it is the happiest thing for us to do; that the implied basis of religion is given in the phrase—due, as he supposes, to ethical thought—"the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Now, this assertion I entirely deny. And I conceive that in making it Mr. Romanes has been the victim of intellectual confusion, which I shall proceed to point out.

What, then, is the very foundation of religion, in the largest sense of the word, and as distinguished from the various systems in which it has found more or less adequate expression? I conceive that foundation to be unquestionably the sense of ethical obligation. Nor is it difficult to see why this is so. The special attribute of man, Aristotle tells us in the "Politics," is that he is a moral being, enjoying perception of good and evil, justice and injustice, and the like. It is this, he considers, which marks man off from the rest of animated nature. For myself, indeed, I cannot deny the rudiments, at least, of the moral sense to creatures inferior to man in the scale of being. I believe, with Professor Huxley, that "even the highest faculties of feeling and intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life." But, however that may be, certain it is, as Jean Paul Richter writes, that "in the higher nature of every fully endowed man there is an instinct of obligation or sense of responsibility." And this instinct or sense is the first thing about us. "Nothing is more sure to me," said Plato, "than that I ought to be as good and noble as I can." In the boundless immensity of our ignorance this is clear, though all else be doubtful. Put aside, prescind from, all theories of life offered us, whether by religion or by philosophy, and yet this primary fact remains, that I possess the power of willing good as good, and the consciousness that I ought to will it. Life, then, whatever else it is or is not, is a period of moral probation. That is the most certain of all our certitudes. And upon that foundation must we build if we

would know what is the object of life, or, as the old philosophers called it, the *summum bonum*. Thus, Aristotle holds in his "Ethics" that the chief good of man consists in an activity of the soul in accordance with its excellence; that is, as he says in another place, with virtue. Or, to translate his dictum into the language of an even nobler philosophy, the end of life is to bring the individual will into harmony with the universal will, to follow the dictates of that internal monitor which says, "Thou oughtest." Religion accounts that internal monitor divine. Its essence, as Kant sums the matter up, lies in the recognition of our duties as God's commands; in its proclamation of the absolutely binding nature of the moral law. This is what Christianity means when it declares the end of man to be the doing of God's will. "Oh, my God, I am content to do it; yea, thy law is within my heart," exclaims the Psalmist, in words referred by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to Jesus Christ; and they apply, in their degree, to all his disciples. The sanction of the moral law is not derived, as Mr. Romanes considers, from the fact that it is our interest to obey it. He is greatly in error in supposing that the reason why it is the chief end of man to glorify God, is because this is the happiest thing for him to do. That is not the reason. And that Mr. Romanes can suppose it to be the reason is a melancholy testimony to the absolutely unethical nature of his philosophy. The moral law is absolute. The obligation of the Categorical Imperative does not arise from the fact that we shall be comfortable if we obey it. A thing is right simply because it is right. Neither personal nor tribal advantage is the measure of ethics. The idea of obligation has not its root in the idea of utility. The concept of justice is not derivative; it is original. Honesty may be the best policy; but a thing is not honest because it is politic. "Virtue alone is happiness below," Pope declares, in his splendid verse; and he is right. But it is not because of the reward inherent in it that virtue is virtue. "The idea of duty differs by the whole diameter of existence from the idea of self-interest." True it is, and the first of truths, that

"Because right is right, to follow right  
Were wisdom, in the scorn of consequence."



Consequence! It is beside the question. "Better were it," says Cardinal Newman, "for sun and moon to drop from heaven, for the earth to fail, and for all the many millions who are upon it to die of starvation in extremest agony, so far as temporal affliction goes, than that one soul should tell one willful untruth, though it harmed no one, or steal one poor farthing without excuse." This is the language of the theologian. But the philosopher gives a like judgment. "The dictum, 'All's well that ends well,' " Kant happily observes, "has no place in morals." And morals have no real place in any philosophy which bases itself on the doctrines of utilitarianism. Indeed, this is frankly confessed by the teacher who, more than any one else, in modern times, has contributed to the diffusion of those doctrines. "By the principle of utility," writes Bentham, "is meant that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party in question. . . . Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do."\* And elsewhere he expressly declares that the words "ought" and "right" and "wrong," and "others of that stamp," have a meaning only when interpreted in the sense of useful. I do not impute this view to Mr. Romanes. But he must pardon me if I say that the only notion of moral obligation, so far as I understand, which has place in his philosophy, is a purely naturalistic notion; and I repeat, that so to conceive of it is to divest it of its moral character, is to perform a mortal operation upon it. This has been put by Kant with admirable clearness and force in a well-known passage of the "Critique of Pure Reason." "The word 'ought,'" he writes, "expresses a species of necessity which nature does not and cannot present to the mind of man. The understanding knows nothing in nature but that which is, or has been, or will be. It would be absurd to say that anything in nature ought to be other than it is in the relations in which it stands. Indeed, the word 'ought,' when we consider merely the course of nature, has

\* "Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation," c. i.

neither application nor meaning. . . . Whatever number of motives nature may present to my will, whatever sensuous impulses, it is beyond their power to pronounce the word 'ought.' The ethical faculty enunciates laws, which are imperative or objective laws of freedom, and which tell us what ought to take place, thus distinguishing themselves from the laws of nature, which relate to that which does take place."

To sum up, then, I say first that Mr. Romanes is as utterly in error in his theory of the religious conception of duty as he is in supposing that the phrase, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," expresses any ethical thought whatever. I say, secondly, that if we go by that experience which is most personal to us, the first fact about human existence is that it is under the moral law. And so I maintain that its object is a moral object. Not "the emotional happiness of love," not "the intellectual happiness of thought," as Mr. Romanes would have us believe, are the ends of life. Ah, no! Better the teachings of the American poet who has done so much to purify and elevate the lives of millions:

"Not enjoyment and not sorrow  
Is our destined end or way;  
But to act that each to-morrow  
Finds us farther than to-day."

Farther: more advanced on the  $\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , as Plato calls it, that upward path of moral perfection which is a true Pilgrim's Progress. Yes: if we would know the object of life, John Bunyan is a better guide than Mr. Romanes; for however antiquated his dialect, the thought which underlies it is true for all time. Take, if you will, Mr. Carlyle's version of that thought: "'*Es leuchtet mir ein,*' exclaims Teufelsdröckh. There is in man a higher than love of happiness; he can do without happiness, and instead thereof find blessedness. Was it not to preach forth this same higher that sages and martyrs, the poet and the priest, in all times, have spoken and suffered; bearing testimony through life and through death of the godlike that is in man, and how in the godlike only has he strength and freedom? Love not pleasure, love God. This is the 'Everlasting Yea,'

wherein all contradiction is solved, wherein whoso walks and works it is well with him."

It is well with him! For this is a law of our being, that precisely in proportion as we lose our lives for a worthy object, do we find them; precisely in proportion to our self-abnegation is our elevation in the scale of existence. Does any reader exclaim that this is a stern creed? Well, but life is a stern affair. And our wisdom is to see it as it is. The source of the fascination exercised by the highest philosophy of ancient Greece, and by the noblest of non-Christian religions, lay precisely in this recognition of the facts. The last word of Stoicism was resignation. The primary precept of Buddhism is to root out desire. Christianity recognizes the facts as fully. Christianity, too, is primarily an ascetic doctrine. But it transfigures human life by the light shed from that Great Exemplar who pleased not himself. Its doctrine of divinely appointed and all-pervading duty as the paramount law of human existence, gives human existence a meaning and an end of transcendent value. Duty: it is the first word and the last; and the most precious!

"Stern Lawgiver! yet dost thou wear  
The Godhead's most benignant face;  
Nor know we any thing so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face.  
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,  
And fragrance in thy footing treads;  
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,  
And the most ancient heavens, through thee, are strong."

W. S. LILLY.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

A MAN'S intellectual development may owe much to the happy accident of a pregnant and stimulating book assimilated at the right moment; and the special tastes of a man of letters may be the result of a bent given by an older author when the tree of life was but a twig. Yet, speaking for myself only, as every man must, I cannot now put my hand on any one book which I believe to have helped me in "the formation of character and the direction of life," to use Mr. Hale's phrase in defining the object of this series of papers, although I can name books readily enough which have guided me into paths of pleasure and of profitable study. Perhaps, after all, this is merely a verbal discussion, an unprovoked splitting of the hairs of needless definition. As Mr. Lang has told us: "In one sense, there are no books that do not help a man, and in another, it may be doubted whether any books help him at all." At one time we may find counsel in books; at another, comfort; and whenever we will, we may go to the friendly shelves for rest and refreshment and relief. If we seek wisely we are never denied: the invisible legend over the door of every library is, "Knock, and it shall be opened to you."

Almost my earliest recollections of literature cluster about the innocent volumes of "Rollo's Tour in Europe," read to me, a little child, in the early winter evenings. Now, as I look back, at times I wonder whether Rollo was not a prig, and whether the omniscient Uncle George was really as wise as he seemed to be then. The children of to-day feed on less unsophisticated food, but these simple-minded books of travel have not yet lost their charm; quite recently I have seen a little maid of ten take very kindly to "Rollo," and lose herself confidently in the record of his wanderings.

I was nearly ten myself when I was sent to boarding-school

and first made acquaintance with Mayne Reid's books. Since arriving at man's estate I have never dared to read again those tales of deadly adventure in which we boys reveled and exulted; we rode over the prairies, and we lay in ambush for the redskins or the greasers, and we were full of strange oaths, *Caramba!* and *Carajo!* A year ago I was able even to resist a most alluring tome taken up for a moment at a bookstall in Paris, and declaring itself to be "Les Chasseurs de Chevelures," in which might vaguely be recognized "The Scalp-Hunters." Perhaps it was by comparison with the careless rapidity of "Osceola, the Seminole," that at first "Ivanhoe" proved hard reading. Barely ten years old when "Ivanhoe" was attempted, three times the seemingly interminable talk of the swineherd caused me to stick at the threshold, like the little pig under the gate. But when at last the portal was passed, and entrance was had into the enchanted palace of delight which the Wizard of the North has created by his Aladdin-lamp of midnight oil, who could resist the magic of the wonder-worker? No healthy boy ever lived who did not long to break lance in the tourney and to go forth as a knight, with *Desdichado* on his shield. After "Ivanhoe" came the rest of that noble array of novels over which "Waverley" rules by right of primogeniture only, for, as often happens, some of the younger sons were stronger and braver and better than the first-born. The stalwart urchin who liked "the fightingest parts" of the Bible had a sound taste: the easiest passages of Scott to recall at will are the tourney in "Ivanhoe," the man to man encounter in "The Talisman," and the altogether incomparable battle of the clansmen in "The Fair Maid of Perth," when the Gow Chrom fought for his own hand.

The healthy love of fighting which we have come by honestly from our Norse ancestors has done not a little for the success of Mr. Haggard's somewhat sanguinary tales. And perhaps the popularity of "Tom Brown's Schooldays" was helped by that never-to-be-forgotten fight between Tom Brown and Slogger Williams. Read while still at boarding school, Mr. Hughes's book excited in me, as it has done, no doubt, in many another boy with literary ambitions, the longing to write a story of life in an American school—a longing still unsatisfied. It is curious

that three of the best and most boyish boys in fiction should be Toms—Tom Brown, Tom Bailey, and Tom Sawyer.

At fourteen I went for a year and more to Europe, where I picked up Robert-Houdin's "Confidences d'un Prestidigitateur." Whether I read it first in English or in French I don't know, but I do know that I have read it half a dozen times with unflinching pleasure. It is one of the best of autobiographies—and Longfellow has suggested that autobiography is what biography ought to be. Robert-Houdin's life of himself is an enchanting book; it reveals to us a simple, manly character, strong in struggling poverty and unspoiled in success. Robert-Houdin had an extraordinary acuteness, a keen dramatic insight, and an abundant histrionic facility. In his "Confidences" he tells us most modestly how he came to make over modern magic, modifying the art from top to bottom, inventing new principles and striving for new ideals. Already I had a taste for what is called conjuring—a mean name for the wonderful feats now performed by Robert-Houdin's disciples; and this taste was intensified by the reading of his book, which set me to educating my eye and training my hand, and to studying the most modern means of working miracles. To Robert-Houdin I feel I owe a double debt; first, for the great satisfaction I have had in such slight skill as I acquired in his art; and secondly, for such an insight into its underlying principles as to keep me clear of all danger from the evanescent delusions which follow one another in fashion—table-turning, thought-reading, spiritualism, and what not.

When I returned to New York, I went up to Columbia College after a scant year of special preparation, taking with me an inadequate supply of Latin and Greek. To my ceaseless regret, that thorough grounding in the classics which may make a man a scholar was never mine. The battles and the marches of Xenophon and Cæsar were tasks to be toiled over, not struggles to be enjoyed; and to this day even the "Iliad" is but a school-book. Although this insufficiency of Latin and Greek held me back when I was in college, yet I enjoyed Horace, the most modern poet of antiquity; and I felt the force of the beautiful melodrama of Euripides. The technical skill of the Greek dramatists was obvious, even though my grip on their language

was not firm enough for me to grasp the poetry; and I could admire the grand effect of the simplicity imposed on the poet by the physical conditions of the Greek theater, and by him seized adroitly and made to serve as an advantage. Despite the difficulties of his Greek I delighted in the contagious gayety and exuberant humor of Aristophanes, whom Mr. Arthur Pendennis, at a like stage of his development, "vowed to be the greatest poet of all." Aristophanes teaches that burlesque is a form of art, and that it may be a vehicle for the highest lyric poetry. The reading of "The Clouds" and "The Knights" strengthened in me a fondness for local comedy, for a comedy which seizes and fixes the features of its time as well as of all time.

Horace and Aristophanes are fitting ushers for Molière, who is the greatest of all writers of comedy, holding his own by the side of Shakespeare even. For the dramatist of to-day Molière is a sounder exemplar than Shakespeare, as the theater of our time has broken away from the traditions of Shakespeare, while it has been developed along the line which Molière traced. Before they can be acted now, Shakespeare's plays require rearranging to an extent not suspected by those who have not compared the latest acting edition with the author's text; but Molière's comedies call only for a cut or two here and there, and not always even for this. No doubt Shakespeare was as adroit in stage-craft as any man of his age; but the best stage-craft of his age is now outworn. Between the age of Elizabeth and that of Louis XIV. the technicalities of playmaking—technicalities which are of vital import when the conditions of the theater are considered—were improved rapidly, and with Molière's help stage-craft was so far elaborated that the "Précieuses Ridicules" and "Tartufe" may still serve as models for the comic dramatist, whereas the comedy of Shakespeare is a most unsafe guide for the poet of the present who wishes to see his plays performed.

When I was a sophomore at Columbia College my father asked my old friend, Professor Drisler, to draw up for my use a list of books. My lasting gratitude is due to Dr. Drisler that he did not lay out a regular course of reading for me, a boy of unstable tastes and wavering investigations. Probably I should have neglected the course; as it was, I read most of the little group

of books he proposed—suggestive and stimulant, all of them. As these led me at once to others akin to them, I am not now certain whether or not Mr. Lowell's essays and Mr. Matthew Arnold's were both included, but I know that I began to read them both at this time, and that they opened my eyes to the meaning of literature and to the possibilities of criticism. The pictorial sharpness of Mr. Lowell's style and his aggressive Americanism had most influence, and the gentle suavity of Mr. Arnold was valuable chiefly as a corrective. Both critics might have taken for a motto that scrap of an opera-buffa which Stendhal adopted—*venjo di cosmopoli*—for each is cosmopolitan in the truest sense, being at home even in his own country. Mr. Lowell would surely exempt Mr. Arnold if he were to repeat now his assertion that "British criticism has always been more or less parochial;" and Mr. Arnold would recognize in Mr. Lowell one of those who, by some subtle alchemy of their own, have managed to mingle the finest aroma of culture with a full flavor of their native soil. From Mr. Lowell and Mr. Arnold to Sainte-Beuve was an easy step and so, perhaps, can a student of letters best be brought under the influence of the three most truly national and yet most cosmopolitan critics of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Among the volumes in Dr. Drisler's list was Schlegel's "Dramatic Literature," and to this I owe a first appreciation of the principles of dramatic art; yet it is not a treatise to be urged on the attention of readers at this late day. In a man's life, as in the history of the world, certain writings may be of inestimable service and yet are not to be recommended any more now that they have done their work. They have been succeeded by other writings which they made possible. Though they form the corner-stone of the first pier of the bridge of progress, the foot-path for passengers hangs now so high above them that there is no need to climb down to the water's edge just to see how they look. Schlegel's lectures have gone the way of all polemic literature. In the main they were an attack on the false theories of the French classicists—theories which obtained in his day and which are almost forgotten in ours. Schlegel made an assault and won the fight, and those who defended the pseudo-classicism of the French drama are dead, and the weapons Schlegel use against



them are as out of date as the theories he combated. Controversial literature is the most perishable of commodities, and Schlegel, unlike Burke, had not genius enough to give permanent value to transitory polemics.

From Schlegel I went to Lessing, who was both keener in insight and essentially richer in genius. He took a far more practical view of plays and players than Schlegel, and his *obiter dicta* on the drama and on the art of acting may still be studied with profit. One day, in talking over the germinant books about the stage with M. Francisque Sarcey, Lessing's name came up, and that most acute analyst of the acted drama bore witness promptly to the abiding value of Lessing's criticism, and said that he was delighted whenever he found himself in accord with the author of the "Dramaturgie."

The liking for Lessing, the love for Molière, and the enjoyment of Aristophanes may show that the trend of my interest was toward the drama. "I could wish that my whole life long were the first night of a new play," says Farquhar's Young Mirabel, and I might almost echo his wish. For a young man with a theatrical bent, Sheridan has a potent fascination. The apparent ease of his wit, its indisputable brilliancy, the variety and movement of his comedies, may for a while blind one to the hardness and thinness of much of his writing. But he is almost the last of the English comic dramatists. When the English novel received its great extension at the hands of Scott, English comedy lay a-dying, though there seems now a chance that it may revive. The influence under which it will be born again is rather that of the later French drama than that of Sheridan, whose comedies may be called the final expression of the traditions of the Restoration drama. The model of modern comedy is to be sought in M. Augier, who descends from Beaumarchais and Molière—a more wholesome artistic ancestry than Sheridan's.

It is fortunate for the future of comedy in Great Britain and in the United States that it is to be influenced by M. Augier, M. Dumas *fils*, and M. Sardou, for there are very few plays in the long line of English comedy equal to the best productions of these three contemporary French dramatists. Since "The School for Scandal" and the "Mariage de Figaro" there are no better come-

dies than the "Gendre de M. Poirier," of MM. Augier and Sandeau, and the "Demi-Monde" of M. Dumas *fiils*. In mere ingenuity of stage-craft M. Sardou and M. Dumas are superior to M. Augier. M. Sardou is startlingly clever, and most fertile in effective tricks. M. Dumas has a more masterly simplicity and a more incisive wit. M. Sardou gives his best thought to the situations, to the plot, and when he knows what his people do and how they act, his work is done. M. Dumas is interested rather in what he can make them say, and in how he can so twist them about that they may seem to prove some moral thesis he has at heart. Apparently M. Augier has no sermon to preach, and he disdains mere cleverness for its own sake. Like Shakespeare and like Molière—although at whatsoever interval you please—M. Augier is interested chiefly in his characters for what they are, not for what he can make them say or do. He is not lacking in cleverness or in wit or in moral themes, but he thinks of higher things. M. Augier, M. Dumas, and M. Sardou, each in his kind and degree, are most useful to the 'prentice playwright. They are all practical dramatists, and yet in their best pieces we see what is infrequent nowadays on the English-speaking stage, the union of literature and the playmaking faculty. Except an occasional lapse, like M. Sardou's "Divorçons," no one of the three chief French dramatists of to-day yields to the belief which sometimes seems current in Paris now, that as brevity is the soul of wit, so breadth is the body of humor.

The connection may be remote, but I find myself involuntarily linking Poe's name with Sheridan's. On the young both make a powerful impression, which they cannot always repeat or maintain as one grows older. Reference is not intended here to what Mr. James has called Poe's "very valueless verses," but to his prose, of which the stirring effect is indisputable. Only the other day there appeared in the "Journal" of Edmond and Jules de Goncourt a record of the impressions made on those sensitive brothers when they first read Poe's tales, which they call "a new literature, the literature of the twentieth century, scientifically miraculous story-telling by A + B, a literature at once monomaniac and mathematical, Zadig as district-attorney, Cyrano de Bergerac as a pupil of Arago's." It is queer that Poe holds a high

place in France, where Hawthorne is almost unknown ; perhaps it is the strange union of precision and imagination which has struck the French, who were not attracted by the more ethical basis of Hawthorne's stories. But to an American, as he waxes in years, Poe is not as satisfying as he was in youth, while the charm of Hawthorne is unfading forever. Far be it from me to deny, however, or even to begrudge Poe an acknowledgment of the singular fascination his prose has exerted over me, or of the enduring influence it has had over my own ideals of fiction.

Perhaps these ideals of fiction were fashioned more in his own image by Thackeray. The "History of Pendennis"—more voracious than many a history of more pretension—is at once the delight and the despair of all young men who seek to lead the literary life. Indeed, one may often wonder how many men there are now getting on in years, who have taken to literature as the honest trade whereby they were to get their bread, after a youthful reading of those wonderful chapters which tell the entrancing tale of Pen's spending an evening in writing "The Church Porch" up to a plate in an annual, and which set forth the starting of the "Pall Mall Gazette," written by gentlemen for gentlemen. And who is there to say that "Pendennis" is better or more beautiful or more captivating than "Henry Esmond" or "Vanity Fair" or "The Virginians." When I recall certain pages of those books and of their fellows, "The Newcomes," and the incomparable "Barry Lyndon," I am ready to break out into dithyrambic rhapsodies of enthusiasm, and I know I had best be silent. The dithyrambic rhapsodist is not a fashionable critic, just now.

Down on Professor Drisler's list was also "The Book Hunter" of the late John Hill Burton—a most dangerous work, it seems to me now, certain to scatter the contagion of bibliomania wherever it may penetrate. I do not see how a man may read it and not begin loving books as he should love his fellow-man. To the perusal of Dr. Burton's pages—in the original edition, printed on a tawny paper most unpleasantly ribbed, a wrong to the eyes of every reader—I lay my own liking for books as books, for books, wholly independent of their contents, for books as works of art and as objects of curiosity. From "The Book Hunter" I

learned to book-hunt myself, to pick a shabby tome from off a dusty stall where

“ Five compeers in flank  
 Stood left and right of it, as tempting more—  
 A dog's eared Spicilegium, the fond tale  
 O' the Frail One of the Flower, by young Dumas,  
 Vulgarized Horace for the use of schools,  
 The Life, Death, Miracles of Saint Somebody,  
 Saint Somebody Else, his Miracles, Death, and Life.”

From “The Book Hunter” I learnt a reverence for a book, a respect for it as the shrine of wisdom, a regard for it as a thing of beauty in itself. So possessed am I now by this feeling that I find Imogen were fitly punished for ill-treating the book she had been reading while Iachimo was hidden in the chest: she bade her woman, Helen, “fold down the leaf where she had left.” To fold down the leaf of a book is to torture a poor dumb friend which cannot protest in self-defense, and for this crime of lèse-literature and for other reasons known to the dramatist, Imogen suffered not a little.

Says Hawthorne, in the “Mosses from an Old Manse:”

“Lightly as I have spoken of these old books, there yet lingers with me a superstitious reverence for literature of all kinds. A bound volume has a charm in my eyes similar to that scraps of manuscript possess for the good Mussulman. He imagines that those wind-wafted records are perhaps hallowed by some sacred verse; and I, that every new book or antique one may contain the ‘Open, Sesame!’—the spell to disclose treasures hidden in some unsuspected cave of truth.”

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

## AVOIDABLE DANGERS OF THE OCEAN.

IN view of the fact that, for the last twenty years, all the maritime nations of the world, aided by the science of meteorology and inspired by enlightened self-interest and the anxiety of underwriters, have been bending their energies to reducing to a minimum the avoidable dangers of the sea, it seems strange that the casualties should still be on the increase in a ratio altogether disproportionate to the increase of travel on the high seas. As it would be impossible, without entering into wearisome details, to show the relative growth of the world's shipping and the relative increase of disasters during so long a period, I will confine my paper to the last four years, and will endeavor to show that while the means of enlightenment as to the dangers of the ocean have been on the increase, and the travel on the high seas has remained almost fixed, the number of disasters referable to avoidable causes has augmented. I have said "almost fixed," in order to be well within the line and out of the range of refutation. But as it is of common notoriety that during the period I have chosen, England, the greatest maritime nation of the world, has had hundreds of steamers and ships idly moored alongside of unused docks, it would have been safe to say that, while travel had decreased, the number of disasters had increased.

It is only fair to assume that with the free distribution of the publications and information of our own Hydrographic Office, of the British Meteorological Office, the rules and regulations of Lloyd's, the Bureau Veritas, and the Meteorologisk Arbog, the science of the weather has made great strides among seafaring men, and that most of them, whether they avail themselves of this information or not, are aware that it is obtainable. Every sailing-master is informed of the revised "International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea." The captain of any ship leaving an American port can, upon application, be furnished

with a chart detailing the latest observed positions of icebergs in the North Atlantic, and of all floating wrecks liable to impede or imperil navigation. He can obtain prognostications as to the state of the weather and the direction and force of the wind over any route he may select across the Atlantic.

It must not be inferred, from the prominent mention of steamers in this paper, that they alone exhibit instances of disasters due to avoidable causes. The steamer record is placed prominently on account of the greater interest in it. From a commercial and economical point of view the sailing vessels are not less important. And when we remember that the British ships "Malta," "Tsernogora," "John Mann," and the American ship "Mary L. Cushing" all recently went ashore near the port of New York, in foggy weather, it cannot be said that only steamship captains are careless.

To state consecutively the record of the four years I have selected, and to show at a glance the facts which I have compiled from Lloyd's, let me present the following table of wrecks since 1883 :

Year ending 1st week in June.	Sailing Vessels.	Steamers.	Total Number.
1883.	918,	258,	1,176.
1884.	830,	256,	1,086.
1885.	611,	235,	846.
1886.	624,	239,	863.
1887.	566,	264,	830.

While it will be seen at a glance that the disasters of 1887 were only 830 as compared with 1,176 in 1883, the fact will also be noticed that the record of disasters to steamers for 1887 shows an increase over that of 1883 ; the statistics for the intervening years displaying an almost progressive decrease. It will be difficult to answer these figures by the statement that during the years named steamships have displaced sailing vessels at such a rate as to make this comparison of no value. It is true, as a matter of record, that the use of steamers during the years mentioned has been in a measure instrumental in replacing sailing ships, but the transfer has gone on at no such rate as to warrant this increase of disasters. Taking twenty years as the limit of observation, the displacement of sailing vessels has been

less within the four years named than during any other similar period since 1865. This brings us face to face with the question, How comes it that, with improved facilities, a wider distribution of knowledge concerning the avoidance of the dangers of the sea, and a greater necessity for caution, owing to the popularization of transatlantic travel, there were more disasters among steamers last year than in 1883? The fundamental reason is to be found in that reckless, crazy desire to arrive first. The idea first inaugurated by the crew of the "Shoewacamette," whose motto was "Get there," has seized the captains of the transatlantic liners, and, without any regard to safety or observance of the written or unwritten laws of the sea, they rush madly through fog and storm, heedless of consequences, in order to achieve the final triumph, a newspaper paragraph announcing a quick passage. The owners of the lines and the captains of the ships are not alone to blame. They seek to meet a public demand, and in striving to satisfy it they endanger the lives of those they desire to please. A man will risk his life by jumping the gap between the bow of a ferry-boat and the slip, and then walk leisurely to his home: under a like impulse the travelers of the ocean, many of them business men, run all these risks in order to arrive on this side on Sunday morning and spend an idle day in their hotels.

It is impossible, without more data than these four years have provided, to specify the causes which make up these cases of disaster, but, upon its face, the record shows sufficient to justify these criticisms. It is not necessary to go farther back than the newspaper reports of last year to learn that the "Oregon," running at a high rate of speed, struck something supposed to be a wreck or a schooner, and went down in sight of Long Island; that the "Wisconsin," the "City of Chicago," and the "Scotia" were ashore on the south side of that island; and that the "Britannic" and the "Celtic," within three hundred miles of New York, collided, and were providentially saved. That all these accidents could have been avoided, had proper care been exercised, is plain to any one who knows the laws concerning navigation. Take, for instance, the case of the "Oregon." In spite of the rule which provides that all captains shall keep their

compartment doors closed from the time they leave one dock until they arrive at another, the compartment doors of the "Oregon" were open at the time of the collision, and could not be closed, owing to the inrushing water and the presence of coal. The vessel would have floated with perfect safety with one compartment filled, but with two open she sank. Again, the "Oregon" might have been brought to a position of comparative safety in half an hour after the collision. Although she had steam up for four hours, it was not used for this purpose. When all her boats and rafts were filled with people, it was found that there were two hundred souls still on board, for whose accommodation no provision had been made, notwithstanding the regulations that every ship must carry life-boats or rafts sufficient to bear all her crew and passengers. Had not the "Fulda" and other craft arrived in time, these two hundred souls would have gone down with the ship.

The "Wisconsin," the "City of Chicago," and the "Scotia" would not have been grounded on the sands of Long Island had soundings been taken, and the caution required on approaching shore in foggy weather been exercised. To attribute the going ashore of these ships on a well-known coast to an unusual northerly set of the current south of the Banks is absurd. True, they went aground in foggy weather, but had the captains exercised the caution of taking soundings, the unusually northerly set of the current would have made no difference, for the depth of water and character of the bottom would have shown the gradual approach to the coast on which the vessels finally stranded.

The collision of the "Britannic" and the "Celtic" was due to absolute disregard of the regulations adopted by the company to which they both belonged, concerning the passages eastward and westward. As long ago as 1855, Lieutenant M. F. Maury, of the United States Navy, issued a paper advising the adoption of steam lanes across the Atlantic; and so lucid and rational were the reasons which he gave to induce the acceptance of these steam lanes, so as to avoid any possibility of collisions between east-going and west-going vessels, that they were shortly afterward adopted by certain of the transatlantic lines, and have been ingrafted in their regulations; but that these regulations are



a dead letter is proven by such accidents as that which overtook the "Oregon," the "Britannic," and the "Celtic." Of course, the general public is only informed of the departure from the written law by some such accident, and for one case where the disobedience is revealed by disaster, there are no doubt hundreds of cases where it passes unnoticed. Every man and woman that crosses the Atlantic is liable to the same disaster that overtook the passengers in these three ships. There is a class of disasters in which the great commercial cities find very little interest. They are disasters to fishermen; and in many a remote village on the New England coast fathers and brothers are mourned as lost who are known to have been victims of the criminal carelessness of the transatlantic liners.

Article XIII. of the revised code of "International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea" provides that: "Every ship, whether sailing ship or steamship, shall, in a fog, mist, or falling snow, go at a moderate rate of speed." Rarely, in crossing the Banks of Newfoundland, do the transatlantic liners find that region free from fog; and yet, notwithstanding the fact that these Banks are dotted with thousands of fishing-boats, carrying over twenty thousand men, this rule is seldom observed. The published logs, of course, do not show this; but the testimony of disinterested transatlantic travelers, and the dismal records of the fishermen who have gone to the Banks never to return, during long spells of fair weather, corroborate this statement. Take, for instance, the recent passage of the steamship "Umbria," the fastest on record. The log of her run shows no fog encountered, yet her passengers report eight hours' fog during the day on which she made within six knots of her best twenty-four hours' run. I have endeavored, without success, to obtain what the logs of transatlantic steamers do not show, *i. e.*, the number of collisions with small sailing craft on the Banks; all of which are due to the steamers not slowing down or failing to give signals as directed in the regulations. Application in various quarters has proved that no statistics on the subject are to be had.

If this notorious disregard of the regulations endangered only the fishermen and small sailing vessels, there would be sufficient cause for the general criticism that prevails; but, as a matter

of fact, the same lack of caution is shown with regard to another peril of the sea. I refer to collisions with icebergs. The Hydrographic Office publishes monthly a chart of the North Atlantic, showing the observed position of ice between  $50^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  North, and  $43^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$  West. A weekly supplement to this chart is also published, and distributed free to all applicants. The daily change in the observed ice is also obtainable at any branch of the Hydrographic Office; and, in order that safety may be absolutely assured, the office publishes during the spring and winter months, on the North Atlantic chart, a "safe route," showing the most northerly passage which can be taken without danger of encountering floes or bergs. Notwithstanding this information for the benefit of the shipping interest, hardly a season passes without leaving behind some fatal or wasteful disaster, in the very region marked "dangerous" on the charts. The record for the season of 1887 thus far shows that sixteen steamers and six sailing vessels have been damaged by ice. The most notable and wasteful of these accidents happened to the steamer "Edam" on a voyage from New York to Amsterdam, in February, and to the steamer "Hartville," from Norfolk to Liverpool, in March. Both collided with icebergs and were compelled to jettison their cargoes, owing to the failure of their captains to follow the safe route, as laid down on the chart issued by the Hydrographic Office. Other steamers had plates stove in, shafts broken, and propeller blades knocked off. The schooner "Lady Agnes" struck an iceberg of immense size and was completely wrecked, losing masts, spars, and head-booms; and her decks were opened fore and aft, the water running into her as through a sieve. I do not pretend to give a full list of the casualties which resulted from a failure to observe the regulations or from neglect to make use of information obtainable; it is sufficient if special instances are pointed out, in which the result is a damaged ship and a loss of cargo.

There remains still another source of danger which is avoidable. I refer to sunken wrecks along the coast, and floating derelicts on the ocean. It is estimated that about one-eighth of the vessels "never heard from" are lost by collision with sunken

or floating wrecks. The pilot charts of the Hydrographic Office show as many of these wrecks and derelicts as are reported, but, owing to the indifference of many of the captains who encounter them, the list is not always complete. The Navy Department, some time ago, sent out the "Despatch" to hunt up and destroy some of these wrecks, and she gave an excellent account of herself, destroying six of the most dangerous ones during her limited cruise. We have knowledge of what one small steamer has accomplished in this line, at a trifling expense. It seems to me that Congress should be induced to make a sufficient appropriation to keep a vessel like the "Despatch" continually at this work; and if the subject of clearing the ocean of these floating dangers were submitted to an international congress for the purpose, the high seas could be so divided among the various nations that the expense would be very trifling, and one of the greatest menaces to sailing vessels and steamers alike would be practically removed. Several of the sunken wrecks along the coast have been struck by passing vessels a number of times, with more or less damaging results. The ship "Adolphus" remained a sunken obstruction off Cape Henlopen, most dangerous to navigation, from February 1 to August 10, 1886; and quite a number of derelicts, sunk months ago, remain where they were abandoned. The law should provide for the removal of all such obstructions off our coasts. The latest case of collision with a derelict is that of the schooner "Joseph Baymore," which I will give as the captain reported it:

"Left Georgetown, S. C., on June 6th. On 12th, at 3.30 A. M., struck a wreck forward, on starboard side, and found the vessel was leaking. Kept pumps going steadily. At 7.30 A. M. found four and a half feet of water in vessel. Took in all sail but jib, and ran off before the wind and sea. At 8 A. M. vessel was so nearly full of water and had settled down so low that she shipped a heavy sea, which took overboard about two-thirds of deck-load. The seas were now making a solid breach over her. Ordered all hands to lash themselves on quarter-deck, to prevent being swept overboard, and thus we remained till 6 P. M. of the 13th, when the steamship 'Wydale' came to our rescue and succeeded in getting us all on board at great risk."

A frequent cause of disaster to ships is the breaking of seas over them, and on this point the Hydrographer of the United States has published within the last two years, in pamphlet

form, digested from the "Monthly Pilot Chart," a list of a hundred and twenty authenticated cases in which furious seas were allayed by the use of oil. The latest report is furnished by Captain Wale of the British steamer "New Guinea," and is as follows:

"In January of the present year, making passage from Baltimore to Antwerp, encountered a very heavy western gale, accompanied by a tremendous sea. Considerable damage had been done to boats and about the decks by the seas coming over the side, and the captain, wishing to avoid heaving the vessel to, decided to try the effect of oil, his attention having been called to it by the perusal of printed accounts. Two men were stationed forward—one at each closet—with ordinary soup and bully cans filled with raw linseed oil, the bottoms of the cans having been punched with two or three small holes. The oil was allowed to trickle into the bowl and thence into the sea, with what seemed to the captain a wonderful effect. The oil-slick extended well out on either quarter, and so far astern that not a single sea broke on board after the use of the oil was begun."

The captain described the manner in which the great white-crested seas would come roaring after the ship, as if they would sweep her decks fore and aft; and how, on meeting the oil-slick, the crest of the sea would be shattered into fine spray, and nothing would be left of the tremendous breaker but an enormous swell, over which the vessel rode easily and without taking a drop of water. The captain gave his personal attention to the expenditure of oil, regulating its flow by stopping one or more of the holes in the can when more than was necessary ran out, and in this way he succeeded in making seven gallons of oil last twenty-four hours. All this time his decks were almost absolutely dry, the only water coming on board being the fine spray from the crest of each wave as it came into contact with the oil-slick, and which was blown on board by the wind. It would seem to be the part of discretion, now that the question of the use of oil in such cases is finally settled, that all ships be regularly equipped with appliances for casting oil on the water. "Sea breakers"—appliances for the distribution of the oil—have been patented both at home and abroad, and special oil is now manufactured for this purpose.

Mention was made in the early part of this article of the grounding of the British ship "John Mann." That disaster was occasioned by the use of old and unreliable charts on which the

buoys were misplaced. An outfit of the latest official charts is as necessary to a ship as any part of her equipment. Underwriters could remedy this defect by causing an inspection of charts to be made before insuring vessels. And in general it may be remarked, that if the rules and regulations made for the guidance of captains were properly observed the record of disasters would be very much smaller. The fault does not lie in the lack of rules and regulations, but in the failure to observe them; still, the present laws for the navigation of the sea could be improved upon, and it would be well if this subject could be discussed by international conferees. These laws should be plain and concise and imperative, not admitting of a double interpretation, and with as little discretion left to captains of vessels as would seem consistent with safety. That portion of the present regulations relating to speed in fog should state the number of miles allowable, say six. The signals showing course are adequate, but should be imperative, and made with a different sounding whistle from that used for the fog signal, and be under the immediate and sole control of the officer for the time in charge of the vessel. The interval between fog signals should not be longer than one minute. A congress of international representatives could thoroughly investigate the present laws, suggest improvements, and add such others as might seem to them desirable.

V. L. COTTMAN.

## CATERPILLAR CRITICS.

FOR months a striking feature of "Harper's Magazine" has been the dissertations of Mr. Howells on American criticism. In the main his work has been destructive, dealing with derelictions and shortcomings grave and many. Once and once only has he, by constructive reasoning, undertaken to state the ethics of the critical function, and submitted the result to his fellow-critics as the true ideal of their perplexing art. It becomes more important, therefore, to consider this than all else that he has written on the subject, since it is supposed to contain a remedy for the evils he assails. As far as this brief paper will permit, it is proposed to examine his theory from the standpoint of an ordinary critic of commerce, who, convicted by Mr. Howells of a lack of principles, gratefully turns to him for the needed supply. And as Mr. Howells has clearly written from a great love of the truth and a sincere desire to teach it, so the writer hopes that a moderate share of the same feelings may be accredited to him as furnishing the motive of the examination. He has, therefore, the June number of "Harper's Magazine" before him—this common critic—and finds the first limitation to critical duty stated as follows:

"It is too largely his [the critic's] superstition that because he likes a thing it is good, and because he dislikes a thing it is bad; the reverse is quite possibly the case, but he is yet indefinitely far from knowing that in affairs of taste his personal preference enters very little."

The critic is thankful for the admonition. By and by a book is sent him to review. He reads it, likes it. But how shall he now discharge his duty? If liking the book is no reason for thinking it good, what is it a reason for thinking? If he may not praise what he likes, what may he praise? Is there left him the possibility of any criticism whatsoever that involves a judgment of approval? Mr. Howells urges that the reverse may be

true, *i. e.*, what this critic thinks good may really be bad. But to whom, we ask, may the reverse be true? To whom may the book be bad? Certainly, to some other person who so far is a critic. But we submit that no appeal can be made to personal taste against personal taste, if, as Mr. Howells argues, personal taste decides nothing. So that if the first critic has no right to think the book good because he likes it, the second has none to think it bad because he dislikes it. Admit this reasoning to be a superstition in the first critic, then it is equally a superstition in the second; and so all of us, my brethren, become victims of the same superstition, and the truth is not in us. If it were urged that the second critic might be a better judge than the first, the reply must be that, so far as the argument goes, the first critic might just as probably be a better judge than the second. When, therefore, Mr. Howells says the reverse may be true, we submit that, upon his supposition, it not only may not be true, but cannot be true. The real truth, we submit, is found neither altogether in the first estimate nor altogether in the second, but relatively in each; *i. e.*, the first critic's estimate is true for him; the second's for him; every other honest critic's for him; and in this way only is literature ever to be treated by criticism. And when Mr. Howells admonishes the critic that in affairs of taste his personal preference enters very little, we submit that while this may be true so far as other personal preferences are concerned, it is not true so far as the exercise of the critic's function is concerned. His personal preference is the very thing that does enter here. That is what the critic is for—to express *his* mind on the subject of art; and the difference between a good and a bad critic lies not in the question of adherence to their respective personal preferences, but in the question whether the taste of the one or the other more nearly comprehends the whole merit of a given work of art; while the greatest critic of all is he whose personal preference is supreme not only for him but also for the largest number of minds best fitted to appreciate whatever the great critic elucidates. So that we fail to see it a superstition in Longinus, Lessing, or Sainte-Beuve to think that because he liked a certain thing that thing was good. We fail to see how the mere knowledge

that tastes differ absolves any critic, great or small, from the duty of expressing his own. In short, we fail to see how Mr. Howells's first rule of intelligent procedure at all helps the common critic of commerce.

We pass to his second, which is thus stated :

“ It is hard for him [the critic] to understand that the same thing may be admirable at one time and deplorable at another.”

But how shall the critic modify his views of a certain book, as a work of art, on account of possible fluctuations in taste? In the first place, how can he ever actually know that taste will change in regard to any particular work before him? And if he could know this, then how would the knowledge affect his critical function? Will the admirable be less admirable to him because another may some time regard it as deplorable, or the deplorable be less deplorable to him because another may hereafter esteem it admirable? The ordinary American critic dealing with American fiction of this present year—actually what allowance shall he make on this score?

On the whole, are not the foregoing limitations to the critical function somewhat remarkable? Has the creative faculty ever regarded them? Do you conceive any author as embodying in his work aught but his own taste, irrespective of the truths that, as regards that work, the tastes of mankind may differ or the tastes of mankind may change? Then, why should the critical faculty, when addressing itself to the free play of the creative faculty, be thus restricted? Why should not Hazlitt be allowed to record his whole critical mind on Shakespeare, regardless of the fact that somewhere in space or time might be found a being who disagreed with him?

But all this is introductory. We now come to the theory itself :

“ It is really his [the critic's] business to classify and analyze the fruits of the human mind as the naturalist classifies the objects of his study, rather than to praise or blame them . . . it is his business rather to identify the species and then explain how and where the specimen is imperfect and irregular. If he could once acquire this simple ideal of his duty,” etc.

That is, if we should ask Mr. Howells how the critic could,



under the limitations previously considered, possibly express his opinion of any book, he would reply: "The critic is not expected to praise or blame the book, but to classify and analyze it." Now it would be idle to inquire whether this conception of critical duty has prevailed among great critics, since they may all have been wrong; or whether such has been the practice of Mr. Howells, since it is his theory alone that we are discussing. Still, lest we should seem to insinuate that his practice and his theory are inconsistent, we make bold to state that to our best knowledge such is the fact. A careful reading of all the numbers of the "Editor's Study" impresses us with the conviction that in them is a great deal of praise, a great deal of censure, a great deal of the "superstition" of thinking things are good because he likes them, of thinking things are bad because he dislikes them; in short, a very, very great deal of personal preference, without regard to the truth that in affairs of taste personal preference enters very little: all of which we humbly submit, is natural, inevitable, and right.

But to the theory; and, first, as respects classification. Little has been done in the world toward the classification of literature; not much ever will be done. Anything beyond a rudimentary classification is impossible. How then make classification the first duty of criticism? Take imaginative literature, or two great forms of it, novels and poetry. Set the critics at work at classifying all that now is included under the first term. What would they accomplish? Some would group apart as a special class what others would regard as "irregular specimens" of another class. Many novels could with equal fitness be assigned to any one of several contemplated classes. What, for example, would be done with "The Scarlet Letter"? Place it among psychological romances? But Mr. Howells, regarding the romantic elements as subordinate and not dominating characteristics, would put it among historical novels. Literature of the imagination does not fall clearly apart along lines of classification into order, family, genus, variety, what not.

But suppose our critic has advanced far enough to classify a certain book, pronouncing it "a realistic novel of New England life." What then? Let him show where the specimen is im-

perfect and irregular, says Mr. Howells. Exactly; but how is he to do this? Imperfect and irregular are relative terms, implying a standard. But where is the standard? We understand how the naturalist shows a specimen to be imperfect. He tries it by a description, recorded and accepted as the characterization of a flawless type. But there is no realistic novel set up as a universally recognized standard for determining the imperfections of other realistic novels; and certainly those of the novel in the critic's hand will depend upon its non-conformity to that by which he tries it. Where, then, is the standard? The answer discredits assumed resemblances between the procedures of the naturalist and the critic, for we conceive it to be this: the critic's standard exists in his own mind, built up of his knowledge of art, and further determined by the predilections of his own taste. So that pointing out the imperfections of a violet and of a novel proceeds by distinct processes. Exact classification in the one case, not in the other; a standard exterior to the individual mind and taking nothing from it in the one; a standard esoteric and personally characteristic in the other. Further: the critic has a different standard for each "specimen," *i. e.*, he conceives each work in what he thinks its ideal form, and judges imperfections of actual form by reference to this. Further still: each standard may be perpetually changing; for as the critic grows in age, in knowledge, and taste, all his former standards are liable to modification.

But what resemblance has this to the naturalist's function? Have we not actually come back to Mr. Howells's "superstition"? For how can the critic show imperfections without exercising his mind? And how from his mind can he separate his views of art? And how from his views of art exclude his taste? In fact, what difference exists between showing the imperfections of a specimen and saying the book is bad? The process involved is not scientific but æsthetic. We are not so sure of understanding, therefore, what our critic's function is, when he is told to show imperfections but not to find fault. But, after all, what does it avail him to show the imperfections? Has not Mr. Howells admonished him that the reverse may be true; *i. e.*, what he thinks imperfection may really be perfection itself?

It is easily understood why Mr. Howells, with this idea of the critical function, should maintain that criticism has no more to do with the creation of literature than a parasite with the creation of vegetation. Mr. Howells thus regards Lessing an aphid on the "Laocoön," Ruskin a caterpillar on Turner, Carlyle, we suspect, a sort of potato-bug on Goethe, and Goethe a good-sized locust fattening on "Hamlet." What though Lessing did not create the "Laocoön," has his criticism wrought no service for other creative minds? Ruskin certainly did not create Turner, but have his critical works had no influence on art? Have Carlyle's had none on literature? and Goethe's? and Schlegel's? and Herder's? and Sainte-Beuve's? and Taine's? In general, though it be true that critics exist only by reason of preceding authors, is it not clear that subsequent authors likewise in a measure exist by reason of preceding critics?

It strikes us as not worse to style the critic a parasite on authors than it would be to call the zoölogist a parasite on animals, the botanist a parasite on plants. These have nothing severally to do with the creation of animals and plants, but they certainly have much to do with the sciences of zoölogy and botany. Here, we submit it to Mr. Howells, lies real analogy of functions; for the critic has to do with the science of letters, and if the zoölogist and the botanist do not think they have lowly missions because they respectively exist but through the prior existence of fauna and flora, why should the critic, dear friends, think he is not in the world for very much because the author existed before him? Really, did not this author in turn exist only because some one else existed before *him*? Was he not a parasite also in some little field of human life, and drew he not his sustenance—thoughts, emotions, knowledge—as helplessly from local human vegetation as the caterpillar from his leaf? And if we once commit ourselves to this perilous concatenation of dependent functions, who of us can stand alone? Oh, my miserable brethren, do we not all become parasites? But so long as we do not beat our breasts and forswear the world because we had nothing to do with the creation of our fathers and mothers, so long may the critic hold up his head and exalt his office. Have the great critical literatures of Germany,

France, England, had no influence on their creative literatures? Have they not added to the knowledge and love of art, and aroused, fostered, educated creative faculty?

Mr. Howells maintains that no literary movement has ever been affected by the criticism of it. But we submit that the profoundest historian of literature could never establish such a proposition as this. It is not susceptible of proof. All that we can possibly know is this: literature, as an art-whole, is always in process of evolution as a special form of social development, and all forms of social development are subject to the influences of mind upon mind. Every literary movement originates, runs its course, and ends subject to fairly countless influences: is criticism nowadays among them? The negative answer involves two sorts of negative proof: philosophical proof that criticism *has* no effect, which is impossible; and historical proof that, in a given case, criticism *had* no effect, which would merely consist in failing to discover that it had had any. But failure to discover any effect would not warrant the conclusion that no effect was wrought, for it is the nature of criticism that its effects are often not discoverable. And when Mr. Howells says that the history of all literature shows that criticism is powerless against the will of the youngest, weakest author to do his work in his own way, we submit that this is not the question. Nothing could make the author do his work except as he willed, since whatever he does must be in accordance with the acts of his will. But the question is, whether criticism is not among the educating influences that determine for the author what his will and his way shall be: and on this point the history of all literature does not furnish Mr. Howells with the conclusion he desires. Goethe, who certainly knew the sources of his culture, testified that German criticism had much to do in determining what his way should be. And how many young authors in this country could testify that Mr. Howells's admirable critical essays, in behalf of realism, have had much to do with what their ways shall be? Unquestionably one could do this, if he should ever have a way; just a little way—please heaven! a very little way.

Analogy exists between the functions of critic and naturalist,

but not regarding material: this for the great reason that, while the naturalist's material is the works of nature, which, for him, have relation to truth alone, the critic's material is the works of the human mind, which, for him, have relation not to truth merely, but to duty and to art as well. Now, there is nothing that Mr. Howells has written on the subject of criticism more striking than his injunction that the critic shall treat his material as the naturalist treats his. Books, he says, are living things with an influence, a power, irrespective of beauty and wisdom, and merely as expressions of actuality in thought and feeling. Books are not misdemeanors, are not on trial before the critic. It is in some sense as absurd for a critic to assail a book as for a naturalist to trample on a flower he did not admire.

But, we beg to ask Mr. Howells, does he regard the other facts of human life as blameless finalities in the system of things universal? Paintings, statues, music, architecture, thoughts, and feelings—does he accept them all, whatever their character, as indiscriminately as he does landscapes, trees, natural sounds, the outlines of mountains, and the instincts of animals? If Mr. Howells is measured for a coat, which proves a misfit, does he still enjoy wearing it, as an expression of actuality in the tailor's thought and feeling? Does he calmly eat a badly cooked breakfast as one of the works of nature—the cook's nature—God having made the cook? Are dull and foolish people welcome company to him, as living things possessing a power and influence quite irrespective of beauty and wisdom? Or does he commonly treat human life as a highly specialized part of terrestrial life, quite set apart by considerations of adaptiveness as related to utility, of responsibility as related to duty, of improbability as related to art? And in all human life, what is more controllable, responsible, and improvable than literature?

Books do not grow, as do flowers; they are made. In a sense understood by the comparative philologist, language, the formal element of literature, grows, differentiates, dies. In a sense understood by the philosophical historian, thought, the substantial element of literature, grows, flourishes, dies. But literature itself is forever a thing created, a most complex artificial product, always under human control for human ends; and these ends, we

submit, have to do with truth, art, and morals. Now, shall criticism study literature with reference to the ends it is created to subserve, or as an "actuality" out of relation to these? For this is what you do as soon as you study it as a "living thing" having a power irrespective of beauty and wisdom. Here, then, is a novel function for criticism, viz., to study a form of art not as a form of art but as a form of life. Similarly, of course, with music, painting, sculpture, architecture; for a statue is as much alive as a book.

Contrariwise, we submit that the old point of view is right, and that the abiding and final test of literature will be furnished in the questions: What is its relation to truth? What to art? What to morals? And so long as men are men, in a life where truth, art, and morals are to be extended by endeavor, they will assail as "misdemeanors" books that are the violations of these, nor think themselves absurd for doing so. Moreover, men will always differ in their conceptions and estimates of truth, art, and morals; and therefore, when science has done its utmost in the field of the imagination, the criticism of imaginative literature will never attain anything like scientific dispassionateness, certitude, and calm.

And this leads us to conclude by saying that Mr. Howells, in undertaking to define the "simple ideal" of critical duty for his fellow-critics, has attempted what no writer can succeed in doing. For no one can define the critical function; it is indefinable. As well try to define the creative function. When, therefore, a recent writer in the "New Princeton Review" stated, "It is quite aside from the purpose of this paper to compass the comprehensive province of general criticism," it was well for him that it was.

How possibly define the critical function? Critical function depends on critical faculty, and critical faculty depends on individual mind. So far, there are as many critical faculties as there are minds, and as many functions as faculties. This consideration alone makes the critical function in itself infinitely variable. Thus, Longinus would not have accepted a definition of his function from Quintilian, nor Quintilian from Longinus. Lessing would not have agreed with Schlegel, Sainte-Beuve with

Gautier, Coleridge with Lamb, Lamb with Jeffrey, Jeffrey with De Quincey, De Quincey with Wilson, nor Wilson with Macaulay. Nowadays M. Taine would not agree with M. Zola, Mr. Arnold with Mr. Morley, Mr. Ruskin with either of these. Poe would not have agreed with Ripley, Whipple would not have agreed with White. In short, the critical function, as depending on faculty, is whatever the critic, dutifully exercising his faculty in behalf of art, can make it. This is *his* duty; possibly unique, unprecedented, incomparable.

Again: the critical function varies with the object of its exercise—literature. But literature! what is it? A vast art-whole in process of evolution under the human will, composed of minor art-wholes in course of perpetual development and decay, and ever making critical functions different by its own evolving differences; making them appear and disappear, begin and cease.

And yet it is not uninstrucive for a writer to attempt to define the critical function; it is thus at least that we learn what is characteristically and theoretically, if not practically, his own. In the effort of Mr. Howells, if we mistake not, is evidence of a desire to apply scientific method to the material and the laws of the imagination.

JAMES LANE ALLEN.





# The Forum.

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## A REVIEW OF THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

IN view of the discussion of the fisheries question, presently to be entered upon at Washington by an international commission, a brief review of the leading points at issue may not be devoid of public interest. And as this paper is not a brief for either side of the cause, but merely an attempt to get at the truth, it is proposed to discuss these points in as free and unbiased a manner as possible. If certain of our "pet theories" are rejected, the excuse must be, that it is believed to be the better policy in diplomacy to advance no arguments which are not well founded; for we but weaken our cause by insistence on manifestly untenable demands. The main question concerns the rights of American fishermen in British-American waters; but the nature and extent of those rights have been the chief points of controversy, and more particularly: First, whether the United States have a right in the British fisheries independent of treaty provisions; secondly, what are the rights of American fishermen under the convention of 1818, and under the laws of navigation and trade; and incidentally, thirdly, the so-called "headlands question."

As to the first of these questions—the old claim of a "prior right" to the British fisheries, independent of the stipulations of the treaty of 1783—it might well be relegated to the category of

ancient history. It is too evidently untenable to serve even as a make-weight in negotiations for the compromise of a dispute. If we have a right to the Canadian fisheries because our forefathers, who were British subjects, helped to conquer them from the French, then, by the same reasoning, we ought to have a common right in the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec. Again, the fact that the New England colonists used those fisheries in common with the Canadians before the revolution, gave them no right therein after the revolution. While the Americans were subjects of Great Britain they had duties to perform toward that country as well as privileges to enjoy; both ceased when the tie which bound them to the mother country was severed.

In the arguments put forward to prove this theory of a "prior right," we are led to believe that it was the plea of the statesmen of the revolutionary period; but the fact would seem to be that those statesmen never laid claim to a *right* to the inshore fisheries of the Canadian provinces subsequently to their own declaration of independence. This mistake is doubtless due in a measure to the use of the term "British fisheries" by later writers, in a sense different from that in which the men of the earlier period used it. The first-named writers assumed the British fisheries to be the inshore fisheries, whereas the men of 1780 used the term in a general way to designate the "Bank" fisheries. England claimed, as France had done before her, the exclusive right of fishing over a very extensive area of sea, including the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Newfoundland banks. When, therefore, negotiations for peace were to be entered upon, the people of the United States anticipated, on the part of England, an attempt to exclude them from both the Gulf and Bank fisheries. Congress demanded for Americans the right to fish in the American seas anywhere, except within the distance of "three leagues of the shores of the territories remaining to Great Britain at the close of the war, if a nearer distance cannot be obtained by negotiation." But even this demand was afterward revoked, and the American commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace in 1782 had no instructions to insist on the fisheries in any respect as an ultimatum. That they succeeded better than they

had hoped, was mainly due to the vivid representations by John Adams of the dire calamity to the people of New England which would follow if they were deprived of these fisheries.

But it should be remembered that the mackerel fishery of the Gulf, about which we hear so much in these days, was not in question in 1782; this fishery was not developed until fifty years later. The only important inshore fishery opened to the Americans by the treaty was the cod fishery on the shores of Newfoundland, and the value of this was much lessened by the prohibition to dry fish on that island. The use of the word "liberty" in connection with this concession is further to be noted. Where, then, is the recognition of a prior right to the fisheries to be found? It does not appear either in the negotiations or in the treaty of 1783.

But, say the advocates of the "prior-right" theory, whether the third article of that treaty be considered as an acknowledgment of pre-existing liberties or as a grant of them, it was in its nature permanent and irrevocable. It was in the nature of an executed contract, and stood in the same category with the recognition of independence and the demarkation of boundaries in the first and second articles.

It may be objected to this argument, that the recognition of independence was the recognition of an accomplished fact; it created no new relations, and was in fact superfluous. So of the adjustment of boundaries: the United States occupied, at the close of the war, a certain territory, and if nothing had been said in the treaty in regard to boundaries, they would have held that territory by the rule of *uti possidetis*. As to fisheries, it is universally admitted that a state has the exclusive right to the use of them in its marginal waters. At the end of the war the Canadian shore fisheries remained in the full and exclusive possession of England; and she could not be dispossessed of any part in them without a special act on her part. She chose to grant to the United States a certain restricted use of those fisheries. This concession would seem, therefore, to be in the nature of a grant, not executed, but executory, depending on the treaty for its validity, and ceasing to exist with the abrogation of the treaty. It follows, therefore, that the further contention, that

the third article of the treaty of 1783 was not affected by the War of 1812, falls to the ground also; for it is not denied that purely executory stipulations of a treaty are abrogated by a subsequent war between the parties.

The next subject of controversy in point of time was the "headlands" question. This arose on a difference of interpretation of a clause of the convention of 1818, by which the United States renounced the liberty of fishing "on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America," excepting those where the liberty to fish was expressly granted; namely, the shores of the Magdalen Islands and certain defined portions of those of Newfoundland and Labrador.

It was and still is contended, on the part of the United States, that three marine miles from the "bays, etc." meant three miles from the shores of those bodies of water, following their sinuosities. Therefore all bays more than six miles wide would be free to American fishermen beyond the three-mile limit. The English construction of this language was, on the other hand, that three miles from a bay meant three miles from the entrance to the bay, that is, three miles from a line drawn from headland to headland of the bay. Furthermore, this construction was applied not only to the great arms of the sea, as the bays of Fundy and Chaleur, but also to straits and to indentations of the coast, as the north shore of Prince Edward Island from North Cape to East Cape. England would seem to have receded, in practice, from some of these more extreme positions, yet she has never renounced the principle upon which they are based; and American fishermen are still left in doubt as to the places where they may be safe from the interference of Canadian officials.

In the absence of agreement on the interpretation of the treaty on this point, the authority of international law and usage has been appealed to. It is asserted by the United States that, by this standard, the bays of Fundy and Chaleur are as little susceptible of appropriation by any state as are the Bay of Biscay and the Gulf of Mexico. The practice of nations has tended to restrict territorial jurisdiction over large bodies of water; and, though there is no rule of international law fixing an abso-

lute limit in this respect, the whole spirit of it is opposed to such claims as those set up by England. On the other hand, the contention of the United States, that only bays six miles or less in width can be considered as territorial waters, has, to say the least, no better foundation in law or practice. Probably most maritime states claim exclusive jurisdiction over bays of greater width than six miles. That can with certainty be affirmed of France, England, and the United States. We should undoubtedly claim exclusive jurisdiction over all the bays of our coast. Our argument, therefore, in the headlands dispute, proves too much; we should hardly be willing to apply it in our own case. Of the authors cited in the American brief before the Halifax commission in 1877, not one lays down the rule that a definite distance of six miles or less in width is necessary to give exclusive right to a bay. They are all more or less vague in this respect. The nearest approximation to a general rule to be drawn from the opinions of these writers is, that bays whose entrance may be defended from the shore by cannon ought to be susceptible of appropriation by the neighboring state. In view of these facts, it is a question whether Senator Edmunds's statement is not too positive, when he says that the pretension is quite untenable that there may be, by force of public law or the treaty of 1818, any jurisdiction over bodies of water more than six miles broad.\* As the whole question is still in doubt, it would seem to be the better course for the United States and England to come to an agreement, considering the circumstances of each case, as to what bays should be free and what closed. Or, in the case of the fisheries, bays exceeding in width a fixed limit might be made free, as is the case between England and France.

This controversy was set at rest for a time by the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Under that treaty there was a free exchange of nearly all the products of the land and the sea, including many of the raw materials of manufacture. This arrangement seems to have worked to the satisfaction of both parties, until the high taxes necessitated by the civil war so enhanced the cost of living and the price of labor in the United

\* Edmunds's "Report on the Fisheries."

States, that the American farmer could not, it was contended, compete with the Canadian farmer in the production of those articles included in the free list of the Reciprocity Treaty. The United States Government, too, found itself hampered by its inability to levy internal revenue upon those American productions which, under the treaty, came in free from Canada. The government, said John Sherman, thus lost five million dollars on the single item of lumber. As to the fishing interest, there was little or no complaint from that quarter. Notwithstanding these complaints against the treaty, it is not probable that the resolution for its abrogation would have passed Congress when it did, had it not been for the attitude of hostility toward the United States assumed by Canada as well as England, during our civil war. The St. Albans raid of 1864, and the apparent sympathy with the raiders on the part of the Canadian Government and people, hastened the final decision, and caused the resolution of abrogation to pass both Houses of Congress by large majorities.

Perhaps this was an unwise thing to do, as the treaty could probably have been modified by mutual consent. Still, it may well be asked of those Canadians who find so much to censure in the action of the United States on that occasion, to explain the cause of their open sympathy with the slave-holding States, and their enmity to the northern States, their nearest neighbor, and a neighbor with whom they were so closely bound by the interests of intercourse and commerce. It was evident that the Canadians took little pains to preserve those friendly relations with the United States which a treaty of reciprocity would seem to demand; the responsibility for the abrogation, therefore, should not rest wholly upon the Americans.

The proposition for a new reciprocity treaty was rejected by the Government of the United States in 1870, for the reason, as President Grant said, that "no citizen of the United States would be benefited by reciprocity; our internal taxation would prove a protection to the British producer, almost to the protection which our manufacturers now receive from the tariff." Although general reciprocity was refused, a reciprocity in regard to the fisheries and their products was included in the Washington treaty of 1871, with the understanding that the United States

were to pay to Canada in money the difference in value, if any, of the concessions mutually granted. The sum awarded under this treaty by the Halifax commission was thought by Americans to be excessively large. And, after reading the evidence and the argument before the commission, the writer of this article cannot divest himself of the same impression. Perhaps, in the effort to "get even" with the United States for the Geneva award, the Canadians again overreached themselves, as in the case of the first reciprocity treaty; that is, on the supposition that they wished the continuance of the treaty. The only effective protest the United States could make against the precedent established by the award was to give notice of the abrogation of the treaty at the earliest possible moment. This was done; and this treaty was terminated July 1, 1885. Again, therefore, the basis of the fisheries arrangements was thrown back to the convention of 1818; and by reason of subsequent seizures of American fishing vessels, the discussion has arisen as to the rights of American fishermen under that convention.

By the first article of that convention the United States renounced the liberty to fish in certain defined waters of the British provinces; but American fishermen were to be permitted to enter the same "for the purpose of shelter, of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever." The American commissioners attempted to have the purchase of bait included in these privileges, but the proposition was rejected by the English negotiators.

Notwithstanding the language of the treaty, the United States now claim the right for their fishermen to purchase bait and other fishing supplies in the above-named waters. For, granting that the negotiators of the treaty intended to prevent such traffic, it is contended, on the part of the United States, that the fisheries article of that treaty has been modified by subsequent laws and regulations respectively adopted by the two countries. At the date of the convention, in 1818, Canadian sea-ports were closed absolutely to commerce carried on in American vessels; therefore the clause of the convention, "for no other purpose whatever," simply put fishing vessels on the same foot-

ing with trading vessels, as to commerce in general. But subsequently, by mutual concessions, notably in 1830, and later, by the Imperial Shipping Act of 1849, restrictions upon commerce between the two countries were removed. Now, say the United States, it was not intended in 1818 to make any invidious distinction against fishing vessels: and therefore they ought to enjoy the benefits of free commerce which has since come in, and not be held to an arrangement made under the old and very different conditions.

England answers, that the above-mentioned changes in the laws of navigation and commerce have not changed the status of fishing vessels; that they have always been considered as a special class of vessels, possessed of no commercial privileges, and subject to regulations different from those applied to trading vessels. Furthermore, the convention of 1818 recognizes this distinction, and therefore the United States cannot confer a commercial character upon vessels merely licensed for fishing purposes.

The United States hold, on the other hand, that the character of an American vessel must be determined by the laws of the United States. "The permission to touch and trade," said Secretary Manning, confers upon fishing vessels the "right to land and to receive on board a cargo of merchandise, in the same manner as if they were not engaged in the fisheries." The law of February 18, 1793, to which Mr. Manning refers, demands, however, that fishing vessels taking out this permit to touch and trade "shall deliver like manifests, and make like entries" as are "by law provided for vessels of the United States arriving from a foreign port." It may be questioned whether fishermen comply with either the letter or the spirit of this law. When a trading vessel sails for a foreign port she must take out a clearance—a certificate given by the collector of a port, stating that the master (named) of a ship (named and described), bound to a port (named), has entered and cleared his vessel according to law. But fishing vessels, although furnished with this "touch and trade" permit, do not take out such a clearance; neither does it appear that they have other papers usually carried by vessels in the foreign trade. It may be questioned, therefore,



whether this permit to touch and trade, without naming any port of destination, should be expected to give a vessel commercial rights in foreign ports.

To prevent illicit trade the revenue laws of all maritime nations are necessarily pretty stringent in regard to matters of form. Now, if American fishermen claim the right of trading in Canadian ports, they ought, naturally, to comply with the customs regulations imposed upon trading vessels. The fact probably is, that fishermen do not wish to be hampered with those regulations; they do not know beforehand at what ports they may wish to touch: that depends upon the whereabouts of the fish they are searching for, as well as upon other contingencies. According to Mr. Edmunds's report of January 19, 1877, the only American fishing vessel which sailed with a regular clearance during the summer of 1866 was the "Druid," which cleared from Gloucester for Harbor De Bar, Magdalen Islands. The object of the voyage was not to fish, but to take out supplies and bring back a cargo of fish. Finding the fishing fleet off Prince Edward Island, the master ignored his clearance to the Magdalens, and put in at Malpeque, far out of his course. He then complained because he was not permitted to ship a cargo at Malpeque.

Whether the Canadian authorities would refuse commercial privileges to an American fishing vessel complying in all respects with commercial regulations, is a question. It hardly seems possible that they would venture to assume so grave a responsibility. The case is not likely to arise; for, as stated above, fishermen would be handicapped rather than benefited by a strict compliance with the customs laws.

The practice of purchasing bait and other supplies in the prohibited waters is illustrated by the case of the "David J. Adams," recently argued at Halifax. The "Adams" was seized in May, 1886, for buying bait and ice in British waters, in contravention of the stipulations of the convention of 1818. As British courts do not administer treaties, but only the statutes passed to carry treaties into effect, the Canadian courts encountered a difficulty from the fact that the acts to carry the convention of 1818 into effect, impose no penalty for buying bait or

other supplies. The only penalty imposed is for "having fished," "fishing," or "preparing to fish," within the prohibited waters. In order to make the purchase of bait and other fishing supplies an offense under the treaty, it was necessary to consider this act as a "preparing to fish."

Two cases similar to that of the "Adams" were decided in 1870 and 1871, the decisions being, however, in direct conflict with each other. The first of these cases was that of the schooner "White Fawn," seized for purchasing bait and ice in 1870. Judge Hazen, of St. John, who tried the case, released the vessel, on the ground that it was not shown that there was any intention of using the articles purchased in illegal fishing in British waters. The statutes, he said, were intended to prevent fishing in British waters. This is precisely the ground taken by Mr. Bayard. The other case, in 1871, was that of the schooner "J. H. Nickerson," seized for buying bait. Sir William Young, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Halifax, condemned the vessel on the ground that the purchase of bait was a "preparing to fish," in the sense of the British statutes. The decision in the case of the "David J. Adams" is awaited with great interest. If it should be in favor of the vessel, the Canadians would probably fall back upon their customs laws to prevent American fishing vessels from trading, unless they comply with the regulations applied to trading vessels. The difference would be that, in the latter case, the penalty for a breach of the law would be comparatively light.

But, really, the cause of complaint on the part of American fishermen during the summer of 1886 was not so much on account of not being permitted to purchase bait and other things, as it was on account of the harsh and unreasonable manner in which the Canadian authorities interpreted and carried out the regulations under the convention of 1818, and under their customs laws. The actions of Captain Quigley and a few others had more to do with stirring up feelings of indignation and resentment in the United States, which terminated in the retaliatory measures of Congress, than did any refusal of rights under the treaty.

There was, however, one phase of the Canadian interpreta-

tion of the treaty which merits special remark. The denial of the liberty to purchase bait, to transship cargoes, and ship men, was extended to ports and waters of Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands, in which the American fishermen were expressly granted the liberty to fish. This is a new doctrine. For, in the first place, the phrase, "for no other purpose whatever," of the convention of 1818, has no reference to that clause of the convention which grants the liberty of fishing on the above-named shores. Indeed, the British negotiators attempted, but without success, to insert a clause prohibiting American vessels, fishing in these waters, to carry any merchandise save necessary provisions. Again, under all the treaties concerning fisheries, from 1783 till 1871, the liberty to fish within the three-mile limit has carried with it the incidental privileges of procuring bait and supplies necessary to carry on such fishery; also the shipping of men and the employment of pilots. Up to last summer these privileges had never been questioned by Canada. The English Colonial Office would seem to have taken this view of the question, but its opinion was apparently overruled by the Dominion government.\*

Another cause of complaint on the part of the United States is the character of the Canadian laws which regulate the seizure of transgressing vessels. To the captor is given a large interest (about one-half) in the captured vessel; and then he is so hedged about by means of restrictions placed upon the owner, that he runs little or no risk, even if the seizure be plainly illegal. And "the burden of proving the illegality of the seizure shall be upon the owner or claimant."

But now, to look at the question from the Canadian standpoint, what is the nature of the grievance which the Canadians have against us? To put it briefly, it is that American fishermen wish to use Canadian ports and waters generally as a base for their fishing operations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the neighboring seas; whilst the Canadians, fishing in the same waters, are practically shut out of the American market by the high duty laid in the United States upon their fish. Let us illustrate this general complaint, in the case of the mackerel

\* "Foreign Relations of the United States," 1886, pp. 413, 486.

fishery, which is mainly confined to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. If an American mackerel vessel goes to the Gulf in the beginning of the season, and can there obtain supplies and the privilege of transshipping her cargo in Canadian ports, it is evidently a great advantage to her; for otherwise she would be obliged to sail home every time she had a full fare, or got out of provisions. Now, say the Canadians, you wish us to give you all the privileges in our ports which we ourselves enjoy, to aid you in increasing your catch of mackerel; but when we go to your ports to sell our mackerel, you make us pay a duty of two dollars per barrel.\* If we wish to have these privileges we should be willing, the Canadians contend, to give something in return. And the thing most desired by them is a free market for their fish. But to this, of all things, the American fishermen most object. They cannot, they declare, compete on equal terms with the Canadian fishermen, for the reason that the cost of vessels, of labor, and of living is much less in the provinces than in the United States. They affirm, furthermore, that the Canadians have nothing to give which would be an equivalent for a free market in the United States for Canadian fish. This is probably said with the mental reservation that commercial privileges in Canadian ports belong to them by right.

It remains to be seen whether American fishermen can profitably carry on the mackerel fishery in the Gulf under the present conditions; that is, in the absence of those privileges and facilities which they possessed under the reciprocity treaties. For, even if England should yield in regard to the distinction between fishing and trading vessels, fishermen might find the strict regulations for trading vessels intolerable. They wish more freedom. It is probably for this reason that the general practice of nations is to regulate fisheries by treaties, in which fishing vessels are placed in a special class.

It is said that we do not put any restrictions upon Canadian fishing vessels in our ports. If that be true, it is an act of comity on our part not sanctioned by our laws, and it would be a neighborly act on the part of the Canadians to reciprocate the

\* That is, on salt mackerel; fresh fish is duty free. The duty on other salt fish, not otherwise specified, is one-half of a cent per pound.

favor; but we can hardly demand it of them as a right on that ground. Besides, say the Canadians, the cases are very different. They have no great fleet of vessels operating upon our coasts, as we have upon theirs.

Of course, as every one knows, the thing which stands most in the way of a settlement of the question is the United States tariff. It is quite natural that our fishermen, seeing almost all other producers protected by a duty on foreign goods, should wish to have their industry protected also. The trouble in their case is, that their industry cannot be carried on with profit without the aid of a foreign country. With free fish, they would undoubtedly be at a disadvantage, in comparison with the producers of potatoes, wool, etc. So long as we keep our high duties upon nearly all productions of the soil, we should not blame the fishermen for their views. But, in dealing with foreigners, they should not expect to get all and give nothing, which seems to be the general policy of protection. If our fishermen were wise, they would favor reciprocity before our duty on natural products is abolished, when they will no longer have anything to give in return for the fishing privileges in Canadian waters. When our tariff shall have reached a revenue basis, with the accompanying adjustment of prices, our fishermen will be subject to no disadvantage save that of being deprived of the use of Canadian ports and waters. It is absurd to put forward the old claim of a prior right to these; if we get them, it must be by treaty or by conquest. And as the arrangement under the convention of 1818 is a very unsatisfactory one, the best thing possible would seem to be to enter into some sort of a reciprocity treaty. The main stumbling-block, as stated above, is our tariff, which, in any event, must be reduced, sooner or later, to a very large extent. If the country is to follow the lead of certain New England statesmen, in this respect, it is idle to talk of a permanent settlement of the question.

But what, we may ask, are the advantages of a reciprocity treaty? The United States would be relieved of a very troublesome controversy. The really serious question of "headlands" would be disposed of. American fishermen could fish wherever they pleased, get their supplies where most convenient, and

transship their fish by boat or by rail. Last, but not least, is the benefit to the long-suffering American consumer. These are solid advantages, which, in the long run, would far outweigh the disadvantage of Canadian competition in our markets.

The advantage to Canada would certainly not be less, probably much greater. A free market in the United States for their fish and produce of the soil is of the first importance to the Canadians. Moreover, the maritime provinces would be benefited, as heretofore, by their direct trade with American fishermen. For many of the dwellers upon the sea-coast it is their best market. England and Canada, too, would be relieved of the expense of keeping a fleet of cruisers to guard their waters. Canada, it would seem, in view of the advantages she would reap, could well afford to offer very liberal concessions.

The two countries—the United States and Canada—are too intimately connected, by position and by common interests, to continue permanently at variance. If the counsel of extremists on both sides were rejected, and that of more moderate statesmen adopted, there ought certainly to be found some basis for an amicable settlement of the dispute. Where the differences are so radical as in this case, it will doubtless be necessary for both parties to yield something; what, and to what extent, it shall be, it is for the statesmen of the two countries to determine.

The proposed retaliatory measures of Congress have not been discussed; it is to be hoped there will be no occasion to put them in force. Retaliation as between nations, like war, is to be avoided save in the last resort.

FREEMAN SNOW.

## THE WESTERN VIEW OF THE TARIFF.

THE stream of tariff discussion has three well-defined channels, into one of which all the professors, students, and debaters inevitably drift. We have, first, the free-trader pure and simple, by whom all taxes on foreign merchandise exceeding the rates imposed on home production are declared to be robbery or spoliation, and to whom custom-houses are an abomination. There are, secondly, the tariffites-for-revenue-only, who admit the propriety of a tax on importations to meet the expenses of the national government in whole or in part, and who, more or less reluctantly, allow its incidental benefits to home producers; but they repudiate all intention to protect home industries, deny the constitutionality of all taxation imposed for that object, and tolerate this incidental protection only because they cannot help it. Thirdly, we have the protectionist, who maintains the natural propriety, the constitutional right, and the patriotic duty to levy taxes on importations, with the double purpose of raising a revenue and of encouraging national industries of all sorts to which the resources of our country are adapted. Which of these three classes is right? Which merits the confidence of the country? Which upholds the soundest principles of economic statesmanship?

We of the West are vain enough to believe that in determining these questions the scales of justice are held most steadily in western hands. We so think because east of the northern Alleghanies the greater part of the present generation has grown up in the traditions of protection. In that part of the country vast interests are founded upon it, and it may be suspected that self-interest warps the general judgment. On the other hand, the present generation in the South has been educated in the antipodal doctrine, and has sought by nullification and a new Constitution to establish the theory of revenue-only. We could

not anticipate an impartial decision from that quarter. The West (meaning the territory lying to the north and west of the Ohio River), on the contrary, has mixed traditions and a diversity of interests, among which agriculture is dominant, and she has listened with both ears to the great debate.

The West has therefore certain advantages, sitting as a jury; for while her prairies without forests in one part and her forests without prairies in another part have introduced, here and there, and on certain points, the partiality of self-interest, yet in the main she best possesses the conditions of impartial judgment. I therefore purpose to show what the predominant opinion in the West is upon this subject of protection. By way of prelude, I must not omit to say that the West is seeking what is good for our own country, and the whole country, and not, after the manner of book theorists, what may be good for the whole world. She believes that the man who looks well after his own family makes a better contribution to the general good than the man who is looking after other people's families. This rule holds equally good for nations.

To the absolute free-trader, it must be confessed, she shows little favor. She says to him, Why do you not bring forward facts to support your theories? You are painting an imaginary future. No existing nation has advanced to the front of civilization in the practice of your theories. Many have advanced by practicing the contrary. You have no supporting facts except among barbarians. Has absolute free-trade among their tribes ever helped them forward to the plane of civilization? Has not the development of every modern nation been characterized by a system of fostered, guarded, and protected home industries, before it became strong for either defense or aggression? Can you find a statute-book of any civilized community of our race which has not many laws securing industrial privileges and home and colonial markets for its own people? You should read history before you attempt to make it. You tell me that I am fearfully burdened by my share of the customs duties—say \$250,000,000. Perhaps I am, but I do not feel it; I do not know it; for I cannot discover when or how I pay it. No visible collector calls on me for it, and my books take no account of



it. If I die, no claim is made for it against my children or my estate. Certainly, such a tax cannot be esteemed burdensome, as compared with your system.

Suppose, instead, the obnoxious custom-houses were abolished, and the \$250,000,000 were raised by apportioned taxation, as required by the Constitution. Our annual share (Iowa), which is now paid in some way without our knowing it, would be \$8,100,000; that of Indiana \$9,850,000; that of Illinois \$15,350,000; and that of young Minnesota \$3,900,000.\* This is several times in excess of our annual State taxes, and the collector would haunt our premises till it should be paid. This would indeed be a burden to be known and felt; such taxation would eat up our savings. We cannot see your compensating advantages. We will in this respect follow our fathers and the customs of other countries. We prefer indirect and invisible taxation to the direct and visible.

The real contestants in this debate are the protectionists and the revenue-tariffites. At the outset I may say the West has decided for the constitutionality of protection. We do not rest this decision upon "the general welfare" preamble. Neither do we base it solely upon the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debt, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States," though the discretion involved in those words may sustain it. Its all-sufficient justification is in the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations." Regulation means limitation as well as liberty, fences as well as gates. History pours a flood of light on this point of the dispute.

In January, 1766, Benjamin Franklin was before a British parliamentary committee in London. Here are two of the questions asked by the committee, with Franklin's replies:

"Q. Was it an opinion in America, before 1763, that the Parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?"

"A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never thought to lie in Parliament.

"Q. On what do you found your opinion that the people of America make any such distinction?"

\* See letter of Chief of Bureau of Statistics, May 5, 1882.

“A. I know that whenever the subject occurred in conversation it has appeared the opinion of every one that we could not be taxed by a Parliament where we were not represented; but the payment of duties, laid as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.”

Lord Chatham a few days later made his great speech on the right of taxing America, and insisted upon the same distinction. He said: “There is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade.” And when, after the battle of Saratoga, Lord North decided to yield to this view of the colonists, his bill (1778) has this recital: “It is expedient to declare that the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty or tax for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, except only such duties as may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce.” It came too late to propitiate the colonies. After the achievement of their independence, one of the very highest motives for the adoption of a new Constitution was the desire to abolish the local duties for the regulation of commerce between the States, and to establish them for the regulation of commerce with foreign countries.\* So this power became a part of the Constitution, as part of a system with which the colonies were already familiar, and the propriety of which was never disputed.

As if to put the seal to this purpose of so regulating commerce by duties as to hinder the continued control of our markets by England, the very earliest popular petitions † to the first Congress—one from Baltimore and one from New York—raised the question of encouraging native industries by act of Congress, imposing custom duties. And the very first act passed by this first Congress, save one for administering the oath to support the Constitution, has the following preamble: “Whereas, it is necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported.” ‡

In the roll of members of the two Houses which thus passed

\* See Bancroft's and Hildreth's Histories.

† See “Journals of Congress,” vol. i. First Session.

‡ See “U. S. Statutes at Large,” vol. i., chap. 2.

the first tariff act for the avowed purpose of protection, we find the names of one-third of the signers of the Constitution itself; and the President who approved it was Washington, who presided over the convention that framed the Constitution. Can there be higher sanction of the constitutionality of a protective law than this? Bills for the like purpose were successively passed, down to 1832, and frequently since. Is it not time, then, that this point of debate should be dismissed? It seems to us full time for grown men to leave it to schoolboys in the lower forms, who have no access to either history or law.

Convinced that protective duties have the constitutional right of existence in the regulation of foreign commerce, we recognize as the only question open to debate, whether it is advantageous to our country to establish them. The tariffites-for-revenue-only deny it. They call it a bounty, a spoliation of one class of our people for the benefit of another. As one of their organs declared, "protection in any degree is nothing but robbery."

We of the West, whose great industry was agriculture, were naturally chosen as fittest subjects for this style of preaching. British and American free-traders recommended our States as mission ground for this doctrine. They told us we had no interest in a protective tariff; that without it we should buy cheaper our clothing, our shoes, our implements of industry, our nails, our lumber, in fact, everything we needed on the farm. They insisted that the duty was always added to the price which we should otherwise pay for our home manufactures, and that this duty was so much extra profit which we were obliged to hand over to favored manufacturers, as an unjust bounty. They made some impression on us till we began to discuss it among ourselves. We soon began to see that it was not more home manufactures, but less, which advanced prices; that the foreign producer, if left to control our markets, would be a monopolist, and regulate prices at his own will, and beyond our reach. It became clear to us that the greater the competition of manufacturers the cheaper the wares. Under a protective tariff home competitors were multiplied far in excess of the number of the foreign competitors excluded. Indeed, hardly any were excluded; for they reduced their prices to meet our tariff, and

still entered into the competition, and so prices continued to fall. Foreign profits suffered, but our home competition was maintained by virtue of a larger and assured home market, which afforded profits in the aggregate, even on reduced prices. Bessemer steel especially opened our eyes. England had exclusively supplied it when it first came into use on our railroads, and it cost about \$125 a ton. Some enterprising Americans offered to undertake its manufacture here if Congress would protect it with a duty of \$22.50 a ton—afterwards increased by one quarter of that sum. No sooner had they commenced than the English dropped their prices. The competitive contest went on, without destroying the ever-advancing and improving American interest, until the steel was sold here for but a few dollars more than the duty itself.

We have read the same story in the silk industry, where the American competition came into existence because the purely revenue duty was so high as to be protective. It proved to be sufficient, and our home competition, spreading over several States, forced down the French prices, and consequently the American cost, from twenty-five to thirty per cent.,\* under a high revenue tariff. In salt, and in most other protected articles, we found the same result of falling prices. Thus the belief that a protective duty enhances prices was seen to be in the long run altogether false. The annual price-lists proved the contrary, wherever American competition was maintained.

Nor was this the only result of our experience and observation. We became aware of an increased supply of money at home, which lowered rates of interest and facilitated new enterprises. We inquired into its cause, and found that by buying home manufactures instead of foreign, by paying laborers at home instead of abroad, our money stayed at home instead of going to Europe. We saw our imports thus falling below our exports; and Europe was sending a money balance to increase the stores of our treasury. Railroads wove their webs across the continent. Immensely increased home wealth in agriculture as well as manufactures was aiding us to pay off our war debt and taxes. New enterprises in great diversity were planted in

\* Mr. Wyckoff, Census Reporter, 1882.

all quarters, and new territories were opened to agriculture. Our lands also greatly advanced in value. Then came the wonderful story of the Census of 1880, compared with that of 1860, and none but the blind and deaf could longer doubt. The protective tariff had proved advantageous to our country, and created for us a history of diversified material progress without parallel in the world's development.

Our capital in the meantime had so increased, rates of interest had so diminished, our labor had become so skillful, our inventions of all sorts so numerous and profitable, that the struggle of all the commercial states of Europe to control or break our home competition proved in vain. The world's best market still remained our own. In presence of such experiences we pronounce the theories of both free-trader and tariffite-for-revenue-only to be vanity of vanities. When they tell us, out of their inner consciousness, or out of their pamphlets, that it is against all the rules of economic logic that the protective tariff could have been the cause of this, we answer that the actual fact is that the country has been prosperous and happy under it, and that we will not exchange this solid fact for all the chances promised by all the theories of their economic books.

Our farmers, also, have a theory of their own which they cannot be persuaded to surrender. It is based on the fact that they are already producing more food than their countrymen consume. More farmers would only increase the surplus and lower the price. More consumers would eat up the surplus and advance the price. Therefore we want all other home industries developed to give other employments than farming, so that we may have more mouths to feed. This is of greater importance to us than the reduction of twenty cents on the price of a trace chain, if so it be that doing away with the tariff would effect such reduction. Our eyes are also sharp enough to see that if our tariff fence were broken down, the foreign goods flooding our market as they did a hundred years ago, and at various times since, would again destroy our home competition in many things; and this would result in again raising prices to a higher figure than before. For it is an invariable law of trade, that as markets enlarge and demand increases, prices advance.

Besides all this, we prefer home competition, at the same price, to foreign, even were the latter to be of equal extent with the former. For the former gives employment to a great amount of domestic labor. It inspires the inventive faculty among our own people. It increases our local wealth, and is subject to our local taxation, while our money going abroad is taxed only for the benefit of foreign governments. The profits now remain at home and go to the development of other enterprises. The form and quality of home manufacture quickly adapt themselves to local wants. We should never have seen our wonderful agricultural labor-saving machinery had we not already possessed the American protective system, which had filled our workshops with the quick and inventive intelligence of skilled artisans, acquainted with the wants of our prairie culture.

The West has also observed that cities, towns, and villages which increase the population of our States, and consume our agricultural products, grow very slowly where the only industry is tillage. They grow very rapidly where manufacturing establishments are situated. These increase the traffic both ways for railroads, and diminish the cost of transportation. More railroads are invited. And so it has come to pass that hardly a village in the West is without its railway. With every railroad comes an advance in the price of land. The hand of the farmer is close to the hand of the manufacturer, and his broken machinery is quickly repaired. The surplus of a favored soil is quickly transported to supply the deficiency of a parched harvest elsewhere. Quickly the farmer also dispatches his crop to meet a changing market. The fuel which the prairies lack is cheaply distributed from the mines. All these are necessary links in the chain of our prosperity, and the protective system has forged them, and still maintains them. We are unwilling to trust this chain to a revenue-only tariffite, lest his theoretical hand shall break a link or derange the machinery of progress.

But it would be unjust to the patriotic sentiment of the West were its position left to rest only on the pecuniary gain of the system we have accepted. We recognize the fact that we are not a truly independent nation so long as for any of our necessary supplies, in peace or war, we depend on a foreign source of pro-

duction. The founders of our government were very early convinced that political independence was not enough. Industrial and financial dependence remained, and kept the country in a quagmire of hopeless debt and trouble. Hence the new Constitution replaced the confederation; and hence our first protective law at the first session of the first Congress under the Constitution. Hence, too, the steady increase of this protection till long after the second war with England. If our tariffite-for-revenue-only does not appreciate this necessary quality of a real national independence, our great men of the constitutional era did.

In a special message (May, 1809), President Madison, speaking of the revision by Congress of our commercial laws in their relation to England, said:

“It will be worthy at the same time of their just and provident care to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertion of our citizens.”

Mr. Monroe was still more specific:\*

“Possessing as we do all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend in the degree we have done on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, as its influence in that case, instead of exhausting, as it must do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture and on every branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide a home market for our raw material.”

Jackson wrote, as late as 1823:

“Upon the success of our manufactures, as the handmaid of agriculture and commerce, depends in a great measure the independence of our country.”

The West has adopted the same faith and has accepted this ancestral advice. The patriotism of the West blushes to hear that even at this late day the present administration is bargaining for British plans for our naval machinery and for British armor plates for our navy, instead of perfecting our national industrial independence. Infinitely better to spend five millions of our surplus in establishing an adequate plant for native steel

\* Inaugural address, 1817.

forgings for national use, than to recognize and promote a discreditable national dependence on foreign countries. It is wiser to spend a million at home, creating industries among our own people, than half that sum abroad to strengthen foreign monopolies. The West desires a complete national independence, as well in the peaceful arts as in political condition. Producing enormous wealth annually, directly from the earth, we need only to spend it at home to enable us to keep step to the inspiring music of our national advancement. The best national development comes from the best individual development. This requires variety of opportunity; and protective laws alone assure the opportunities which are demanded by the originality, the enterprise, and the activity of the American genius, and by the abundance of our natural resources.

JOHN A. KASSON.



## REFUNDING THE PUBLIC DEBT.

It is my purpose in the present essay to suggest a plan for refunding the interest-bearing obligations of the federal government so as to provide for their final payment by 1907. There can be no doubt as to the importance of this theme. The payment of the debt has proceeded more rapidly in the past than was contemplated by those statesmen who framed the Refunding Act of 1870, and the government now finds itself with money on hand and no feasible method of applying it to the further reduction of the debt. There now remain but \$250,000,000 of four and one-half per cent. bonds guaranteed against redemption till 1891, and \$738,000,000 of four per cents, which do not come under control of the government till 1907.\* It is, therefore, beyond the legal ability of the government to continue to pay the debt by calls. Yet to arrest the policy of debt-payment without an immediate reduction of taxes would result in commercial distress, for it would retain in the vaults of the treasury money needed to carry on the country's trade.

One way out of this difficulty would be for the government to buy its own bonds in the open market. The policy of debt-payment would in this manner be continued, while at the same time money taken in the form of taxes would be returned to circulation. Moreover, such an employment of the public funds would be equivalent to an investment at  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.; and if the alternative lies between such an investment of the surplus funds and no investment at all, there can be no doubt as to the appropriate decision.

But there are other ways in which the government can use its funds. For example, it can apply them to the payment of ac-

\* Since writing this essay, the government has paid a few of its bonds by purchase, but it seems best to retain the figures with which the public is familiar.

cruing interest before that interest is due. The proposal thus brought into view is worthy of more than a passing notice. In the language of finance, the anticipation of interest-payments means the purchase, in part or in whole, of the annuities which bonds guarantee. The idea may be easily grasped if one only perceives that the market value of bonds is at any time equal to the sum of the present worths of the two promises contained in the contract. The value of a four per cent. bond, for example, is equal to the sum of the present worth of \$1,000 to be paid in 1907, and the present worth of an annuity of \$40 to continue till 1907. And the difference between the purchase of bonds at their market value and the anticipation of accruing interest is this: in the former case both promises are redeemed at their current values; in the latter case the principal of the debt is untouched, but the annuity, either in part or in whole, is capitalized and extinguished by a cash payment.

But what pecuniary advantage can the government reap by investing its surplus in annuities rather than in bonds? To answer this question it must be noticed that business men estimate the payment of a lump sum at some future time relatively higher than the promise of a corresponding sum in the form of annuities. This means that the government can, with a given amount of money, extinguish a larger portion of its obligations by anticipating interest-payments than by anticipating payments on the principal of its debt. The explanation of this is not far to seek. A sum of money payable at a certain date is more easily re-invested without loss of time than a corresponding amount payable in dribblets through a series of years. Again, it should be remembered that federal bonds are not largely used as a source of living income, but as collateral security in business transactions, or as a store-house of values to provide against future liabilities; and the promise of a lump sum payable in the future meets more perfectly the requirements of such uses than the promise of annual payments in small amounts. The market value of a promise of the first sort will appreciate till the date of its maturity, and a business done on the basis of such a piece of property can continually expand. The market value of an annuity, on the other hand, will depreciate as the years pass, and a business

which it secures must be continuously curtailed. It thus appears that the promise in a federal bond known as the principal is really worth more for business purposes than the promise of a corresponding sum in the form of an annuity. It will be well to hold this distinction firmly in mind, for upon its validity rests the argument in favor of the refunding scheme I am about to suggest.

One or two proposals which appeal to this financial principle have been presented to the consideration of Congress. Mr. John J. Knox, in his report of 1882 as Comptroller of the Currency, suggested the conversion of the entire debt into a debt bearing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest. Senator Aldrich, also, at the last session of Congress, introduced a bill having the same end in view. Now, such a plan for refunding the public debt before the date of its redemption is in reality a plan for paying part of the interest on the debt before that interest becomes due. The annuity on a four per cent. bond is now \$40, and it is proposed to reduce that annuity to \$25 by paying in a lump sum the present worth of the remainder. The present worth of an annuity of \$15, with twenty years to run, will of course vary with the rate of interest at which it is cast. At  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. such an annuity is worth \$233.95; at 3 per cent. it is worth \$223.14; at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. it is worth \$213.19; and at 4 per cent. its value is \$203.85. The proposal is that the government shall offer to exchange bonds with public creditors, but, in consideration of the reduction in the rate of interest from 4 per cent. to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., creditors are to receive one of the sums above mentioned for each \$1,000 of debt so exchanged. The bill introduced by Senator Aldrich limits the cash payment to \$223.14; that is to say, it provides that the present worth of the annuity shall not be calculated at less than 3 per cent. But Mr. Knox claims that bond-holders would willingly accept the reduced interest if \$203.85 were offered for the exchange of each \$1,000 bond. This would be equivalent to an investment by the government of its surplus funds at 4 per cent. But whatever the rate of the exchange, it seems clear that the government can save money by purchasing the annuities guaranteed by the bonds rather than by purchasing the bonds themselves.

The financial principle on which the Aldrich bill is based is undoubtedly sound, but the bill itself is chargeable with two faults. First, it does not contemplate any plan for the future management of the public debt commensurate with the needs of the Treasury Department. Second, it fails to enable the government to realize the full advantage which lies in the policy of anticipating interest-payments. If the bill can be so modified as to set these criticisms aside, it is believed the most perfect debt policy will be formulated of which the conditions allow.

The limitations of the Aldrich bill, so far as the Treasury Department is concerned, will at once be disclosed, if we ask in what manner the policy of debt-payment may be continued, assuming the bill to have passed. The amount of surplus revenue which would be consumed in buying from creditors their consent to a reduction in the rate of interest cannot be definitely stated; but it would not be far from \$175,000,000. From this it appears that the conversion contemplated would provide for an economical expenditure of the existing surplus for nearly two years; or, supposing taxes reduced to the current demands of the sinking fund (about \$46,000,000), the operations of the treasury could be carried on without embarrassment until, let us say, the latter part of 1891. But at that date, according to the proposed measure, all payments on the debt must cease, unless the secretary is willing to purchase bonds at their market rates; for it is provided in the bill that no part of the new bonds shall be redeemed so long as any portion of the federal debt bearing a higher rate of interest remains outstanding. Now, it is certain that some portion of the existing debt would be retained by the creditors, if for no other reason than to prolong the life of the new bonds. We are right, then, in concluding that the Aldrich bill contemplates one of two things: either the abandonment of the policy of debt-payment from 1891 until 1907, or a return to the policy of payment by market purchases. It is believed that neither of these results can be admitted in a sound financial policy.

Were the policy of debt-payment suspended, it would be necessary to remit taxes to the amount annually due the sinking fund. Such a measure would be attended by the danger of

entailing a perpetual debt; for taxes, once remitted, are with difficulty re-imposed for the purpose of discharging a debt. But even granting this fear to be groundless, the plan is yet open to criticism, for it disregards one of the fundamental maxims of a sound taxing policy. The first lesson which the science of taxation teaches is, that every change in the revenue system is the occasion of temporary embarrassment to trade and industry. Permanency in a system theoretically bad may give better results than frequent changes in a system theoretically sound. Now, the Aldrich bill requires three changes in the revenue laws before federal obligations may be finally extinguished, as opposed to one permanent reduction in the rate of taxation, provided the debt may be kept in a continuous course of payment until it shall have disappeared. That is to say, if this bill prevails, taxes must be reduced in 1891, they must be re-imposed in 1907, and again reduced when at some future date the debt is extinguished. The better plan would be to provide for a continuous reduction of the debt, until by 1907 the revenue for the support of the sinking fund may be finally abandoned.

It may be urged, as against this criticism, that the new bonds, bearing but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., will float at par, and may, in consequence, be economically redeemed by purchase. We are thus forced to say a word respecting the proposal that the government should adopt as an avowed policy the regular purchase of its own obligations. The chief objection to this plan lies in the fact that, upon the declaration of such a policy, federal bonds would at once become an object of speculation. Brokers would endeavor to corner the market, and their ability to do this would increase as the debt decreased. It must not be forgotten that the government is morally bound to continue its purchases after it has once advertised the policy, for to refuse the offers of creditors would result in a "lock-up" of funds necessary for trade. Now, there is but one way in which the government can avoid being squeezed by speculators, and that is by entering immediately into a contract with public creditors as to the conditions on which payment may be made. This characteristic of an adequate financial policy is one of the features of the plan of conversion about to be proposed.

As was suggested above, the Aldrich bill for converting the public debt is open to criticism in that it stops short of the full benefits which might accrue to the government from the policy of anticipating interest-payments. If creditors are so ready to surrender on favorable terms \$15 out of an annuity of \$40, or \$20 out of an annuity of \$45, why may they not be willing to surrender yet a larger portion of the interest-payments accruing on a \$1,000 bond? Indeed, why may they not be willing to surrender it all? This thought leads naturally to a plan for converting the public debt which finds no counterpart in the past history of American finances. It is proposed that the total of interest-payments accruing on the debt until the date of its redemption shall be converted into promises to pay lump sums at specified dates. To understand this scheme it is only necessary to remember that a federal bond, as now drawn, promises two things: first, the payment of a stated sum of money, called principal, at a specified date; secondly, the payment of an annuity, called interest, which is to continue until the principal is extinguished. The proposal is that creditors shall surrender their claims against the government, guaranteed by this second promise, and receive instead an equivalent in promises of the first sort. The bonds thus created would represent the interest-payments on the sums originally borrowed, and the entire debt would be converted into a promise to pay definite sums at specified dates.

The pecuniary advantage following such a conversion is not great when compared with the savings effected by the Refunding Act of 1870. The financiers of that day had before them a fair field and great possibilities; the government is now working in a corner and on a narrow margin. Still, the sum which it is now possible to save is not to be despised, and may be easily calculated by comparing the amount required to expunge the debt, as it now stands, with the amount that would be required if the proposed conversion is effected. This comparison is presented in the following tables:

TABLE A.

SHOWING THE ITEMS OF OUTSTANDING OBLIGATIONS AND THE PRESENT WORTH OF THE SAME.

Four per cent. bonds :	
Present worth of \$738,000,000 payable in 1907.....	\$496,652,598
“ “ “ \$590,400,000 in a series of annuities terminable in 1907 .....	460,187,280
Four and one-half per cent. bonds :	
Present worth of \$250,000,000 payable in 1891 .....	230,961,250
“ “ “ \$45,000,000 in a series of annuities terminable in 1891.....	42,321,375
Present worth of \$1,623,400,000 of obligations (as described)...	\$1,230,122,503

In this table the present worth of the face value of the bonds is calculated at 2 per cent., while that of the annuities is calculated at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This is believed to correspond to the true analysis of the market value of federal bonds.\* In the table that follows the present worth of the entire debt is estimated at 2 per cent., for it is the object of the plan of conversion under consideration to change the entire debt into the form of the principal of the existing debt. But at what date should the converted annuities mature? In answering this question it must be noticed that, according to the plan proposed, the interest-payments will be in part anticipated and in part postponed; the proper time, therefore, for the new bonds to run would be one-half of the time for which the annuities are guaranteed. For example, a four per cent. bond guarantees an annuity of \$40 for twenty years, which is about equivalent to \$800 payable at the end of ten years. This suggests why, in the following table, the new bonds representing the converted annuities guaranteed by the

\* When the four per cent. bonds had full twenty years to run they were quoted at 29 per cent. premium. According to the theory presented in this article, that quotation was made up as follows:

Present worth of \$1,000, payable in twenty years, estimated at 2 per cent.....	\$672 97
Present worth of an annuity of \$40, to terminate in twenty years, estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ....	623 56
Present worth of a \$1,000 four per cent. bond.....	\$1,296 53

To convert the annuity into principal is equivalent to the borrowing of money at 2 per cent. in order to invest it at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

four per cents are made payable in 1907, while those corresponding to the four and one-half per cents mature in 1889.

TABLE B.

SHOWING THE CASH VALUE OF THE EXISTING DEBT CONVERTED INTO PROMISES OF CASH PAYMENTS AT SPECIFIED DATES.

Cash value of existing debt.	Face value of converted debt.	Date of payment.
\$496,652,598	is equivalent to \$738,000,000 payable in.....	1907
460,187,280	“ “ “ 549,965,216 “ “ .....	1897
230,961,250	“ “ “ 250,000,000 “ “ .....	1891
42,321,375	“ “ “ 44,031,158 “ “ .....	1889
<hr/>	<hr/>	
\$1,230,122,503	“ “ \$1,581,996,374 “	as stated above.

From a comparison of these two tables it is easy to determine how much is saved by the proposed scheme of conversion. As the debt now stands its extinction demands the expenditure of at least \$1,623,400,000; under the plan proposed the expenditure of \$1,581,900,000 will attain the same end. But the saving of \$41,500,000 is not the chief recommendation of the plan. As the debt now stands, or as the debt would stand supposing the Aldrich bill to become law, the secretary will be forced to the purchase of bonds, and this, as an avowed policy, will entail an unnecessary expenditure of many millions in the speculative prices that must be paid. But adopting the plan now before us as the basis of financial operations, it lies within the ability of the government to provide for the final extinction of all its obligations on relatively advantageous terms. To attain this end it is only necessary, in addition to the conversion of annuities into principal, to offer creditors such inducements as will lead them to consolidate the new bonds with the principal of the old debt, and in lieu of both to accept a bond promising to pay a definite sum in lump at some date convenient to the government.

It may add to the clearness of our presentation if we make this proposal yet more specific. Let it be assumed that the federal debt is to be extinguished by 1907. It would then be necessary to issue the consolidated bonds in as many series as there are years intervening between the inauguration of the scheme and the year 1907. The amount of debt in each series must of course be determined by the convenience of making



payments; but since permanent appropriations of fixed sums are for many reasons preferable to appropriations which vary from year to year, it is suggested that the face values of the several series should be made equal. The machinery of debt-payment would then be simplified to the last degree. Payments in the form of interest would be no longer necessary. That useless piece of fiscal legislation known as the "sinking fund" might also be abandoned. Indeed, all laws now making grants of money for the service of the debt might be given up, and in their stead a law enacted making a permanent annual appropriation equal to the face value of one series of the debt. When, in 1907, the last series shall have disappeared, this appropriation would revert to the consolidated fund. The debt would be paid.

It may not be inappropriate, in bringing this essay to a close, to state in their order the advantages of the scheme which has been presented.

1. It provides for the final extinction of the debt, thus taking the question of debt-management out of politics.

2. It enables the government to avoid the payment of speculative prices for bonds, a result which would surely follow from the policy of redemption by purchase.

3. It avoids all unnecessary changes in the revenue system.

4. It provides for a satisfactory solution of the "banking question." No reference has been made to this question, but to one who appreciates its importance, the fact that the converted bonds meet perfectly the requirements of the national banks will be an additional argument in favor of the plan proposed.

5. It enables the government to save \$41,500,000 by simply changing the form of its obligations so as to adapt them more perfectly to the needs of business. Were the federal debt held as a source of income, this scheme of conversion would be out of the question; but since it is held as the basis of operations in private financiering, the plan will commend itself to business men.

## THE NULLIFIERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

WHEN the military power of the Southern Confederacy was crushed by force of the arms of the United States, the questions of the greatest magnitude and urgency were those that related to the reconstruction of the Union. It was conceded that all the States were one country, and that all the people must be free ; that there was one flag, one Constitution, one destiny, for the people and the States. In the hands of the victors of the war were the official and the moral responsibilities and the physical capacities for the work of restoration.

Upon what principle were reconstruction labors to proceed ? That was the momentous inquiry. The shattered States of the South were included in military departments ; should they be so maintained ? Those who had made war upon the United States had forfeited their rights as citizens ; were they to be excluded from a share in the government, or how, if at all, restrained ? The freedmen were well disposed toward the general government, but were confessedly ignorant of the duties of citizenship — one of the faults that were a cruel legacy of the system under which they had suffered.

How should they be assured that their rights would be respected ? In what way could protection be given them with the certainty of its continuance ? There were grave doubts, misgivings, debates. Never was there a louder call for statesmanship. Abraham Lincoln was gone, and the peace that succeeds a great strife does not always suddenly evolve in the leaders of the people the gifts and graces that bind up for healing the wounds of war. Lincoln's heart had been tender toward the whole people, the South as well as the North—all the world knew that—and the victory of the adhering States had been so complete, our countrymen who had been overthrown were so thoroughly broken, that there was an almost universal impulse to deal generously with the vanquished ; and this was nowhere so

conspicuous as among those who had been the most radical supporters of the relentless prosecution of the war, and who would have made peace itself conditional upon the abolition of slavery. The result was the popular conviction that the conquered Confederates and the emancipated slaves should be alike enfranchised. This was broad and high ground. It was the establishment of manhood suffrage, and meant, above all, faith in the people. It was a policy of splendid scope: it widened the foundations of the republic, put aside the military armaments, left no proscribed class, branded no caste with crime or disability, wiped out the forms of caste, swept aside all bitter memories, and, with an act of unexampled clemency, asserted the supreme strength of the republic by an exhibition without a parallel of confidence in the self-governing capacity of man. These things were written in the laws of Congress, and the amendments—that were the actual treaty of peace between the States—of the Constitution of the United States. The treaty of peace is in the three amendments of the Constitution, proclaimed in 1865, 1868, and 1870 :

1865—ARTICLE XIII. (1865)

*Clause 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

*Clause 2.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

1866—ARTICLE XIV. (1868)

*Clause 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

*Clause 2.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the propor

tion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

*Clause 3.* No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

*Clause 4.* The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

*Clause 5.* The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.\*

#### 1869—ARTICLE XV. (1870)

1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

It is by the nullification of these amendments in the States that were of the Southern Confederacy that the Democratic Party has come into possession of the executive department of the general government and the House of Representatives.

\* The following is the amending clause in the joint resolution introduced by Mr. Blaine, January 8, 1866, in the first session of the 39th Congress, which was the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to the respective numbers, which shall be determined by taking the whole number of persons, except those to whom political rights or privileges are denied or abridged by the Constitution or laws of any State, on account of race or color." It was referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and afterward reported by Thaddeus Stevens in this form: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; provided that wherever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State, on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation."

There are many examples of the ease with which this plain proposition may be disputed, and certainly it involves an accusation that should not be lightly made—a charge so grave that there should be no hot or hasty word in presenting it. Let us look to the proof as it is found in the records of the census and the election returns. The question at issue resolves itself into the inquiry whether the colored citizens have exercised the right of suffrage in the southern States according to the guarantees of the Constitution. The census tables show the numbers of white and colored people by counties and States, and we take the figures for the late slave States, and for convenience make up the congressional districts; that is, we take the total white and the total colored population for the counties of the section that makes sectional politics its business, and divide by five, the accepted ratio of voters to population. This is not exact, but very close to the truth, and relatively just between the voters of the two races. There are a few new counties since the date of the census, but if we had precise information from all of them it would not affect the general result at all. The wards of New Orleans are not given in the census, so that we can get at the line of division between the congressional districts, and they are therefore given together.

## ALABAMA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	12,631	14,889
Second .....	13,563	13,812
Third .....	14,328	17,477
Fourth .....	6,566	27,178
Fifth .....	16,552	12,297
Sixth .....	18,735	11,139
Seventh .....	28,185	7,679
Eighth .....	21,431	12,267

## ARKANSAS.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	20,944	12,291
Second .....	21,088	10,237
Third .....	21,120	14,055
Fourth .....	26,760	5,001
Fifth .....	24,848	342

## THE NULLIFIERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

## FLORIDA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	15,585	12,668
Second .....	14,189	12,061

## GEORGIA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	14,171	14,148
Second .....	14,118	17,881
Third .....	10,866	13,297
Fourth .....	15,009	17,956
Fifth .....	18,817	13,188
Sixth .....	12,700	20,929
Seventh .....	26,233	10,319
Eighth .....	16,666	20,846
Ninth .....	26,574	3,980
Tenth .....	11,180	17,335

## LOUISIANA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	35,939	19,162
Second .....		
Third .....	17,531	17,476
Fourth .....	12,622	18,375
Fifth .....	10,935	23,089
Sixth .....	14,162	18,707

## MISSISSIPPI.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	14,134	13,668
Second .....	15,650	18,118
Third .....	5,074	20,894
Fourth .....	14,814	20,597
Fifth .....	18,317	19,897
Sixth .....	11,913	13,240
Seventh .....	12,726	19,166

## NORTH CAROLINA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	17,065	13,775
Second .....	13,750	23,288
Third .....	17,527	13,587
Fourth .....	19,766	14,495

NORTH CAROLINA—*Continued.*

District.	White.	Colored.
Fifth .....	19,158	12,237
Sixth .....	20,150	16,223
Seventh .....	21,083	5,837
Eighth .....	20,349	3,711
Ninth .....	24,951	3,008

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	10,762	12,998
Second .....	10,253	17,096
Third .....	12,557	13,757
Fourth .....	15,927	17,519
Fifth .....	10,824	13,434
Sixth .....	11,590	14,886
Seventh .....	6,304	31,203

## TENNESSEE.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	29,244	2,829
Second .....	29,657	3,819
Third .....	25,287	4,312
Fourth .....	24,822	5,084
Fifth .....	22,962	8,455
Sixth .....	21,025	13,508
Seventh .....	20,269	8,259
Eighth .....	22,497	7,515
Ninth .....	21,011	9,847
Tenth .....	13,587	17,260

## TEXAS.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	17,220	13,066
Second .....	15,997	10,287
Third .....	19,527	13,783
Fourth .....	20,533	8,225
Fifth .....	26,317	1,762
Sixth .....	25,311	2,798
Seventh .....	21,155	7,599
Eighth .....	20,639	8,231
Ninth .....	21,996	9,421
Tenth .....	26,789	4,777
Eleventh .....	23,546	695

## VIRGINIA.

## VOTERS BY RACE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1880.

District.	White.	Colored.
First .....	14,505	14,571
Second .....	14,021	16,407
Third .....	7,559	14,739
Fourth .....	11,239	20,413
Fifth .....	19,640	9,592
Sixth .....	17,144	15,316
Seventh .....	21,920	7,733
Eighth .....	17,303	12,374
Ninth .....	26,611	3,509
Tenth .....	16,865	11,962

## TOTAL VOTERS

## BY STATES AND COLOR. 1880 — CENSUS, 1880.

States.	White.	Colored.
Alabama .....	141,461	118,423
Arkansas .....	136,150	46,827
Florida .....	34,210	27,489
Georgia .....	177,967	143,471
Louisiana .....	108,810	107,977
Mississippi .....	108,254	130,278
North Carolina .....	189,732	105,018
South Carolina .....	86,900	118,889
Tennessee .....	250,055	80,250
Texas .....	301,737	78,639
Virginia .....	206,248	128,257
Total .....	1,741,524	1,086,518

These figures are estimates made fair to all, showing the division between the white and black voters. Their value is in affording a basis that will be recognized as solid for calculation and comparison.

We come to the consideration of the vote actually cast, and not cast, in years when suffrage was generally free, and when it was greatly restricted, showing where this was done and the effects of the suppression: the system and purpose of the suppression of the votes of colored citizens where they could influence national affairs appearing so indisputably that for all historical purposes the figures may be permitted to interpret themselves.



## ALABAMA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.					VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1869.		
Dist.	Rep.	Ind. Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote
1	No opp.		4,236	4,236	14,191	12,080	26,271
2	" "		5,659	5,659	14,933	10,786	25,719
3	" "		4,662	4,662	9,895	9,652	19,547
4	3,526	2,519	14,913	20,958	17,243	5,228	22,471
5	775		5,558	6,333	4,933	6,047	10,980
6	4,371		7,938	12,309	2,836	4,932	7,768
7	4,628		7,549	12,177			
8	8,639		11,684	20,323			

Voters, 1880.—White, 141,461; Colored, 118,423.

No opposition in *three* districts. Republican vote in these districts, 1869, 39,019.

Republican vote in 5th district, 1886, 775.

Republican vote in 5th district, 1869, 4,933.

Total vote includes the few scattering in each district.

## ARKANSAS.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.						VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1868.		
Dist.	Rep.	Farm. Pty.	Labor.	Dem.	Total.	Rep.	Dem.	Total.
1	No opp.			6,092	6,092	7,151	6,987	13,138
2	4,380	2,846		8,612	15,838	5,332	6,515	11,847
3	4,169		2,343	8,909	15,421	9,547	5,630	15,177
4	5,077			8,314	13,391			
5	No opp.			4,746	4,746			

Voters, 1880.—White, 136,150; Colored, 46,827.

## FLORIDA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1868.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	7,389	14,493	21,882	14,167	7,838	22,005
2	15,763	18,892	34,895			

Voters, 1880.—White, 34,210; Colored, 27,489.

## GEORGIA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1870.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	17	2,061	2,078	9,662	15,581	25,243
2	No opp.	2,411	2,411	14,088	14,960	29,048
3	"	1,704	1,704	14,212	12,649	26,961
4	330	2,909	3,239	11,211	10,725	21,936
5	No opp.	2,999	2,999	9,302	15,363	24,665
6	"	1,722	1,722	3,911	10,358	14,269
7	1,537	5,043	6,680	5,257	14,768	20,025
8	No opp. seat. 55	2,332	2,377			
9	11	2,355	2,366			
10	No opp.	1,944	1,944			

Voters, 1880.—White, 177,967 ; Colored, 143,471.

## LOUISIANA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.					VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1870.		
Dist.	Rep.	Ind. Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	1,649		11,350	12,999	13,971	8,570	22,541
2	6,537	300	7,930	14,775	17,512	7,640	25,152
3	11,692	357	14,782	26,835	13,202	8,123	21,325
4	No opp.		5,747	5,759	11,786	7,171	18,957
5	495		13,618	14,263	9,521	6,713	16,234
6	420		9,670	10,132			

Voters, 1880.—White, 108,810 ; Colored, 107,977.

## MISSISSIPPI.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1872.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	No opp.	3,140	3,167	4,954	9,670	14,624
2	4,417	6,837	11,254	14,831	8,216	23,047
3	2,382	4,518	6,900	15,047	6,440	21,487
4	No opp.	2,964	3,086	15,795	6,879	22,674
5	"	4,289	4,316	14,817	8,073	22,990
6	3,825	8,284	12,117	15,161	8,509	23,610
7	No opp.	4,508	4,514			

Voters, 1880.—White, 108,254 ; Colored, 130,278.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1870.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	10,635	13,390	24,025	15,474	11,898	27,472
2	13,060	15,158	28,218	14,895	12,293	27,188
3	8,166	13,561	21,727	15,314	13,377	28,791
4	15,861	14,423	30,284	14,706	13,556	28,262
5	13,282	11,702	24,984	14,525	11,123	25,648
6	7,659	14,261	21,920	11,103	12,192	23,295
7	1,410	10,565	11,966	10,329	10,347	20,676
8	5,325	9,997	15,322			
9	7,014	11,754	18,768			

Voters, 1880.—White, 289,732 ; Colored, 105,018.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1870.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	No opp.	3,315	3,317	20,221	11,628	31,849
2	"	5,212	5,235	15,700	16,686	32,386
3	"	4,402	4,409	20,564	13,997	34,561
4	"	4,470	4,470	16,746	13,442	30,188
5	"	4,696	4,701			
6	"	4,411	4,469			
7	5,961	6,493	12,476			
	Total vote,		39,072			
	" " 1884,		90,689			
	" " 1882.		121,399			

Voters, 1880.—White, 86,900 ; Colored, 118,889.

## TENNESSEE.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1870.		
Dis	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	16,293	10,953	27,346	6,584	5,979	12,563
2	15,837	7,780	23,617	8,351	7,819	16,170
3	13,768	14,115	27,883	4,168	9,602	13,770
4	7,792	12,441	20,233	1,843	11,827	13,670
5	6,210	13,756	19,966	5,428	7,991	13,419
6	9,218	14,919	24,137	2,816	9,057	11,873
7	8,459	12,183	20,642	1,848	8,227	10,075
8	10,362	13,059	24,421	5,346	13,999	19,336
9	9,934	14,272	24,206			
10	7,983	11,979	19,962			

Voters, 1880.—White, 250,055 ; Colored, 80,270.

## TEXAS.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.							VOTE IN CONG. DIS., 1869			
Dist.	Rep.	Labor.	Ind. Rep.	Dem.	Ind. D.	Total.	Prob.	Rep.	Ind.	Total.
1	10,344			16,844		27,188		8,456	7,406	15,862
2	opp. 680			16,413		17,093		4,355	6,378	10,733
3		7,359		16,695		24,054		16,582	8,564	25,146
4	4,701			17,234		21,935		9,312	9,240	18,552
5				8,315						
				11,774		28,154				
				8,065						
6				19,085	11,756	31,910				
7	1,293		960	18,511		20,764				
8	1,912			22,908		24,820				
9				17,160		23,497	11,337			
10	7,492			26,809		34,301				
11			7,444	21,980		29,724				

Voters, 1880.—White, 301,737 ; Colored, 78,639.

## VIRGINIA.

VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1886.				VOTE IN CONG. DISTRICTS, 1869.		
Dist.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.	Rep.	Dem.	Total Vote.
1	10,696	12,591	23,288	8,023	7,377	15,400
2	9,993	15,427	25,430	16,781	11,255	28,036
3	12,549	14,001	26,565	17,311	13,041	30,352
4	6,233	14,708	20,944	9,568	13,101	22,669
5	9,614	12,773	22,388	13,571	16,732	30,303
6	9,020	9,470	18,625	6,815	12,123	18,938
7	10,816	11,580	22,402	11,073	15,878	26,951
8	7,274	9,836	17,111	6,244	14,717	20,961
9	9,927	13,497	23,425			
10	11,321	12,975	24,300			
		Total.	225,301			

Voters, 1880.—White, 206,248 ; Colored, 128,257.

There is no need to follow the details of these figures point by point, and find the meaning by a painful process of elaboration. There is a broad story told by the statistics. It is that our colored fellow-citizens of the South have not been dealt with fairly; that the Constitution of the United States with respect to them has been nullified; that the Democratic Party has the usufruct of the nullification, and that the presidency and the House of Representatives as held are the visible testimony of the handiwork of the nullifiers. The Democratic

majority in the House is exclusively composed of the members added to southern representation by the enumeration based upon the enfranchisement of the emancipated slaves, and we need go no further than the census tables and the election returns, to point out the districts in which the crimes rewarded with the high places in the government were committed. What is the remedy? Read the Constitution. The 14th Amendment is perfectly clear in defining the peaceable resource of the people who are wronged. It is foreign to the purpose of this article to discuss the processes by which the great constitutional nullification, involving almost a national revolution, that is manifest, has been wrought; but one must not omit the improvement of the occasion so far as to say, that the question whether we shall have a government of nullifiers is that upon which we, the people of the United States who ordained and established the Constitution, shall enter judgment in the election of 1888.

It is a mistake to assume that the Democratic Party is in possession of the general government, and that the issue next year is to be whether that party shall be continued in power. The Democratic Party has not held the government in its hands since the flight from Washington of the Senators and Representatives of the States that seceded turned over the Congress to the party which had constitutionally elected Abraham Lincoln President. The law-making power is not, and has not been for more than a quarter of a century, within the grasp of the Democratic Party. The state of the country is such that the precise question next year is whether that party shall have not merely the presidency, but the Congress and the Supreme Court. If the States that are still free and fair are so unfaithful to their interests and regardless of their honor as to give the government into the hands of the master class of Southern politicians and their submissive allies, the Supreme Court could presently do no less than to expunge at least the reproach of nullification by declaring invalid the war amendments of the Constitution that have already been disregarded.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

It is evident that the value of a man's testimony to a book depends upon a variety of circumstances. The witness's mental and moral peculiarities, the circumstances of his early life, his opportunities for acquaintance with other books than the ones which he praises: these and other conditions must be known before we can judge whether a book which has been a help to him may be of like advantage to others. In order that the articles of this series may have a real value for any reader, it seems to me, therefore, necessary that the writers should give us a frank autobiography, so far as to enable us to estimate their testimony.

My mother died when I was but little over six years old, and my father when I was ten. At the age of twelve I was placed as an apprentice in a newspaper office, and my brothers and sisters moved out of town. The care which my master and his family bestowed on me was far inferior to that of my parents. My father was an Englishman, of scanty education; my mother an Englishwoman, who had had better opportunities for learning. But my father was exceedingly interested in books, particularly in those bearing upon the natural sciences, politics, and theology; and he had two or three hundred in his own house. He was also a shareholder in a circulating library of several hundred volumes. For myself, I was fiery-tempered, dreamy, yet inquisitive concerning natural objects; but excessively lazy, as far as any steady application was required. Although my schooling did not begin until I was nine years old, and ended before I was twelve, I had been taught to read by my sisters at a very early period, and was allowed to spend more time over books than was good for me. My delight, at that period, was in Mary Wollstonecraft's "Elements of Morality;" in an imitation of "Robinson Crusoe," called "Philip Quarle;" in Thomas Day's "Sandford and Merton," and in the simpler

tales of Miss Edgeworth. I still have a volume of "Evenings at Home," given to me in May, 1824, of which I remember having been very fond. Mrs. Barbauld's "Hymns in Prose" was another favorite in those early days.

But I also had tastes which may seem precocious for a child of those years, for I read every note and anecdote scattered through Erasmus Darwin's works, repeatedly; besides diving continually into the "Edinburgh Encyclopedia," and into Franklin's works, to see whether I could not find paragraphs there within my comprehension. It is, of course, impossible to decide how much of my propensity to dabble in science came from inherited traits, but I have always felt that it arose, very largely, from the influence of Erasmus Darwin and Benjamin Franklin, exercised before I was twelve years old. Among Miss Edgeworth's writings there were three especial favorites. *Simple Susan* gave me a sympathetic delight by her victory over the cunning attorney. *Forester* was my hero, who did me about as much harm as good, since I felt toward him as Miss Elizabeth Sneyd did toward Thomas Day, admiring him in his rough state more than after he had been polished. But the fascination of "To-Morrow" was in the severity of its rebuke to my own conscience. My indolence and dreaminess had made procrastination my besetting sin. The power of Miss Edgeworth's tale was enhanced to my conscience by its abrupt termination; my imagination suggested that Basil's fatal habit might have become unconquerable, and led him into more and more awful misfortunes. I cannot question the reality of the powerful aid which "To-Morrow" has given me in my lifelong struggle with the fault.

I remained at the printing-office three years and more, reading very little except the newspapers with which we exchanged; and I drifted out of the better state of mind which my home culture had produced, into a very unsatisfactory condition, upon which I can look back only with profound regret. Then, leaving the office, I went to school for about a year; and toward the close of that second period of schooling, the greatest influence which I can distinctly attribute to books was exerted upon me. Miss Edgeworth's "Helen" was published, and from my familiarity with her other writings I was led at once eagerly to read

this also. During my apprenticeship in the newspaper office I had acquired the habit of retailing, in the summer evenings, to an admiring crowd of boys, whatever stories I had found in the newspapers, turning them all, however, into the form of narrative in the first person, and altering and embellishing them to suit my own fancy. The habit may have been beneficial to me in some respects, but it had the terrible effect of making me careless with regard to truth; and "Helen" became as powerful an influence for good to me as "To-Morrow" had been. About the same time Doddridge's "Rise and Progress" was placed in my hands. I suppose that certain intellectual books aided the effect of these moral and religious influences. I remember the distinct consciousness of expansion, of a growth in intellectual power, arising from my grappling with Playfair's "Euclid" and Bonnycastle's "Algebra." I took to more serious study, and being placed as an apprentice in a druggist and apothecary's shop, employed my evenings, my early mornings, and whatever vacant time I could catch during the day, in more solid reading. Joseph Priestley's theological works, and his philosophical discussions of Necessity; Locke's "Essay," and his "Conduct of the Human Understanding;" and the first volume of sermons by Orville Dewey, were among the most valuable books which I then read. John Bunyan and John Milton, of course, did not escape me; but I must confess that the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Paradise Lost" interested me far less than the "Holy War" and "Paradise Regained." These latter books I have read again and again with great delight and great profit, while the more famous volumes I have never been able to finish. During the three and a half years that I remained with the apothecary, Lewis C. Beck's "Manual of Botany" was a great help in cultivating my habits of observation. I also gained from Wood and Bache's "Dispensatory" a vast deal more than a mere practical knowledge of drugs.

At the age of twenty I determined to leave the apothecary's shop and devote myself to theological study. At that time I was a very confident materialist and sensationist in philosophy, holding to Priestley's views, very slightly influenced by my reading of Locke. The first study to which I now betook my-



self was the Latin language, and the mere fact of beginning to study a dead language awakened in me a train of thoughts and inquiries that had never been suggested in the reading of any English works. Sallust's "Catiline" and Jacobs's "Greek Reader" stirred me up to more earnest thinking in one year than I had ever dreamed of. I entered college, took the four years there, and two years in the divinity school. I cannot remember that in this course of professed study for seven years there was any one book which produced a marked effect upon my mind. But the general awakening of thought in various directions had lifted me, even before I entered college, out of my old philosophy. The moment that I began to grapple with philosophical questions in earnest I saw that my extreme confidence in my old views had been altogether unwarranted. I went back to my own original thought, which I distinctly remember having worked out in my eleventh year, without hint or suggestion from any quarter, but which had been overlaid by my subsequent reading of more empirical books. In that first schooling I had begun "Euclid." I had asked myself, "What is meant by proving?" Lying on my back, barefooted, on a hot summer afternoon, I had thought out, in my own way, a system of logic based upon the assumption that certain truths are self-evident—seen by direct vision. The relation of two such truths to each other is, in some cases, itself a self-evident truth. I did not, like Aristotle, perceive that this self-evident relation of truth to truth might always be considered as either exclusion or inclusion; but I did see that reasoning consists in connecting the conclusion to be proved, with self-evident premises, by a series of self-evident steps. And now, ten years afterward, I saw that every process of reasoning is thus a refutation of the empirical philosophy which I had incautiously, and I might say unconsciously, adopted. For this self-evidence in the relation of one truth to another is certainly not a thing perceived by sense, nor a thing of generalization from sensation, but a matter of direct intuition. The enlargement of my mind by the mere general exercise of classical study had thus lifted me out of that narrow and cramped mode of thought into which my love of the sciences of observation had led me.

At a very early period I became interested in works on teleology and morphology. Paley's "Natural Theology" and the "Bridgewater Treatises" were my delight, but I took especial satisfaction in Babbage's so-called "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise." I do not know that any one book has more powerfully affected my whole mode of thought. I read, while an undergraduate, Auguste Comte's ponderous volumes of the "Cours de Philosophie Positive," but I am not aware that they produced any other effect than to convince me more thoroughly that Babbage was right, and Comte wrong, in their methods of interpreting the order of physical nature. Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences" and his philosophy of the same, and Galileo's "Dialogues on Motion," Berkeley's "Minute Philosopher," and some of Sir Isaac Newton's writings, I also look back to as having had a large influence. I studied Mill's "Logic" with great care upon its first publication; and although I felt that I had then risen to a much sounder philosophy than his, yet he gave me powerful aid in the development of intellectual power. I also wrestled, at about the same time, with political economy, studying every book within my reach that treated of its problems, and giving more time and thought to the questions than I ever gave to any other subject not directly connected with my profession. No other economist of the last generation seemed to me to equal Henry C. Carey in the wide sweep of his outlook and in the great brilliancy of his generalizations. The effect of my turning from other writers, over whom I had labored for years, and taking up Carey for the first time, was like that of my turning, after long labor upon Lacroix's "Integral Calculus," in quarto, to Peirce's duodecimo pages; or like seeing the day break, one morning, when I had been walking eight miles over rough, frozen mud, under a moonless, cloudy sky.

The work begun in me by Babbage was pushed forward far more rapidly by Agassiz's introduction to his "Essay on Classification," and by Peirce's volume upon "Analytical Mechanics." These led me first to see clearly how much stronger the morphological argument is than the teleological. It has recently been said that Charles Darwin's theories have given the death-blow to

teleology; yet I never have found that the influence of Erasmus Darwin, powerful as it had been over me, affected in the least my perception of either the teleological or morphological argument, which I had not, in my earlier days, clearly distinguished from each other. The writers who speak thus of the downfall of teleology usually show, as it appears to me, an entire misapprehension of the force of the argument. Thus John Addington Symonds, in a recent article in the "Fortnightly Review," apparently implies that teleology supposes a sudden creation of adult forms. It seems to be taken for granted by many writers that teleology implies the total separation of God from the world, like the separation of a machinist from the machine which he has built; and they are fond of repeating Goethe's question concerning such an imagined God. This, I need not say, is an entire misconception of the argument both of teleology and of morphology, which do not deal at all with the question of intermediate agencies or immediate effects, but only with the connection of ultimate cause to final result.

It has been said that it is as difficult to find a good observer of external nature as to find a man capable of reasoning soundly from the facts observed. In like manner, it is as difficult to find a man who comprehends and interprets fairly a statement made in human language as it is to find a man capable of seeing the truth and stating it clearly. A wise octogenarian, speaking of religious disputations, said to me recently: "We are all trying to say the same thing, but each misunderstands the other's utterance." Not only have these ordinary works on natural theology been constantly misinterpreted, by those who read them in a different temper of mind from that of the writers, but more poetical utterances on similar subjects have been equally misunderstood. Upon the first publication of Emerson's "Nature" I looked into it, and dismissed it from my thought as not worth the trouble of reading. A very few years afterward, namely, in the spring of 1846, I took it up again and read it with great delight. In less than twelve months I had read the whole book through, aloud, five separate times, from cover to cover, and favorite passages in it much more frequently. I felt in profound accord with every line of it. Soon afterward, however, meeting

two men whom I knew to be great admirers of Emerson, and falling into conversation with them about the book, I discovered, to my astonishment, that both of them had interpreted some of the most poetical passages in a barrenly prosaic manner, and were ready to insist upon it that their interpretation gave Emerson's true meaning. The coldness of their imagination had frozen his flowing rhetoric into rigid dogma, and they had supposed that the Concord seer (who, upon his own confession, never attempted to make two consecutive sentences consistent with each other, and who was absolutely incapable of feeling the force of an argument) had written a philosophical treatise of logically connected doctrine. I returned to "Nature," and read it again and again, with renewed assurance that, prosaic as my own tone of thought might be, I was in fuller sympathy with Emerson's prose-poetry than either of these two poetic admirers of him. I have been delighted to find Longfellow's views of Emerson, recorded in his journal January 29th, 1849, so exactly similar to mine: "The truth he was to reveal—it is Nature, nothing more:" no intellectual theory concerning her or her processes, but a simple repeating of her messages to the human heart.

It was once my good-fortune to camp out on a mountain-top with a friend, who has since acquired a high name among astronomers. As we lay listening to the rain pattering on our canvas tent, and discussing many a theme not related to the stars, we found ourselves continually quoting from Emerson's first volume of poems. If the memory of either of us flagged, the other finished out the quotation; so that between us we had recited nearly the whole of the volume before we went to sleep.

From earliest childhood I was familiar with passages from Shakespeare, and I began quite early in life to enjoy reading his plays for myself. The sonnets have never interested me, and his other poems are disagreeable to me. But I was never weary in my youth of the "Tempest," "Cymbeline," "Taming of the Shrew," "Hamlet," and "Macbeth;" and I could easily name half a dozen more of his plays which have since become as great favorites with me as those were fifty years ago.

Fifty years ago! The phrase startles me, by revealing the

magnitude of the task which I have undertaken in this rambling essay. The books which help a man most are those which he reads in his childhood; for not only are early impressions lasting, but they modify the new ones. Had I not, in 1824, read "Eyes and no Eyes" in my "Evenings at Home," I should not, in 1835, have taken up Beck's "Botany" with such zeal as to carry me, morning after morning, at daybreak, even in June, to search for wild flowers, carrying in my pocket a card sun-dial, made by myself from directions in Rees's "Cyclopedia," to insure getting back to my apothecary shop in time to open and sweep it. Sixty-three years, even the fifty-two, is a long period to sweep with the comet-seeker of recollection, examining the nebulous spots of memory, and endeavoring to decide which are important and which unimportant in their testimony concerning the value of particular books.

In my case, the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that in those early days, from the age of seven to the age of twenty, I was an omnivorous devourer of every kind of book which was within my comprehension. For example, it was my custom, from October, 1834, to May, 1838, to rise on Sundays an hour earlier, and go to bed an hour later, than usual. This long Sunday, with the exception of going to church and taking an afternoon walk, was almost entirely devoted to reading. I cannot doubt that this reading affected largely my whole subsequent tone of thought; and yet, after the lapse of fifty years, it is very difficult to judge correctly of the comparative value of the scores of volumes which I thus devoured. When I began a course of study I had both less time and less inclination to read.

The distinction which I here make between study and reading is somewhat artificial. I do not consider that any book ever had much effect upon me unless I had read it several times and thought it over; so that all effective reading has been with me somewhat of the nature of study; but in what is technically called study the student does not usually read the book as a whole, and then re-read it; he takes a few pages at a time, and re-reads them perhaps again and again. Both methods have their advantages; but I will confess that I think that, for ordinary minds and on ordinary subjects, the first way is best. That

is to say, I feel that those books have really helped me most which I have read through rapidly, and then re-read more slowly, and, thirdly, read in selected portions, such as I judged the more important. Of fiction, beyond Miss Edgeworth, two or three of Scott's and two or three of Dickens's novels, I have read very little; it is too fascinating for me, and tires me by its fascination. I find, in reading fiction, as in other things, that total abstinence is much easier than temperance, and in the matter of reading novels I am indolent enough to be a teetotaler instead of being temperate. With regard to poetry and the drama it is different: I enjoy them, but can easily stop when I have read enough; and in these departments I am temperate, but not abstinent.

The books which have helped me most, and which I believe would be most valuable to any reader, are those which are very clear and intelligible in their style, but which, nevertheless, from their largeness and breadth of view and from their range of thought, lying somewhat above the commonplace, demand close attention and patient study in the reader. The book is none the worse, but rather the better, if it has come down to us, with a high reputation, for Campbell's period of sixty years, or even for many times sixty. Read such a book through once, in order to get a general view of the aim and the method of its author. Read it a second time more carefully, in order deliberately to weigh the value of its parts. Read the more valuable parts a third time, with meditation and reflection, that you may digest and assimilate what nutriment is there. Intellectually, man is ruminant, and he gets little permanent benefit from literary browsing unless he thus afterward chews the cud.

THOMAS HILL.

## IRISH AGITATION IN AMERICA.

THE great increase in the strength of race feeling within the last hundred years is one of the most marked of the changes which force themselves upon the attention of the historian. The gap, indeed, is a wide one, between that scene in the last century when Anacharsis Clootz presented his address to the National Assembly of France, accompanied by a motley collection of foreigners in the character of the deputies of all mankind, and that recent scene when the Hungarians insisted on the exclusive use of their language in the national delegation, although they were themselves so little familiar with their beloved mother tongue that many of them could speak it only with great difficulty. These two scenes are, however, thoroughly characteristic of the times in which they took place. The French Revolution was distinctly a humanitarian, as distinguished from a national, movement. Its battle-cry was the rights of man. It proclaimed universal fraternity, and it showed the same zeal for making proselytes as a great religion, and the same eager longing to extend to all men the benefits of the new gospel. To men animated by these sentiments the ties of nationality were weak, and it was easy for them to become citizens of any country which was willing to welcome them and their doctrines with open arms. To them mankind was one, or, rather, it was two, the believers and the benighted heathen, and the divisions of nations were arbitrary or accidental, so that it mattered little of what country a man was a citizen so long as it was a country of believers.

All this has changed, and it is the tendency of the present day to magnify the characteristics of different peoples, to take pride in them, to foster them, and to make them the basis of national existence. Within the last quarter of a century the Italians have become a nation, and are still dissatisfied because

Italy does not include all the members of their race; the Germans have united in a great empire, and engaged in an unending quarrel with the French and Poles within its borders; the Hungarians have been doing their utmost to stamp the German character out of the Saxons of Transylvania, and to make Magyars of the Slavs whom they rule; while the Czechs have been struggling to obtain a large measure of independence for Bohemia, and the Slavs have been yearning for a vast Pan-Slavic empire. In fact, if Frederick the Great were a German king at the present day, he would be obliged to give up his fancy for French poetry and cultivate a taste for *sauer-kraut* and beer, in order to retain his hold upon the affections of his subjects.

The existence and the strength of this tendency are only too evident, for it has erected barriers between the nations which even steam and electricity have been unable to break down. In spite of the ease of travel at the present day, and the knowledge of events in foreign lands which the newspapers and periodicals spread so rapidly, the different races of Europe have less feeling of kinship and find it more difficult to amalgamate than they did a hundred years ago. It is clear, therefore, that receiving into a country large bodies of foreigners and naturalizing them presents a much more difficult problem than it did at that time.

Naturalization, indeed, does not mean a change of domicile and a grant of the franchise alone. It means a great deal more than this, and the laws by which it is allowed are based upon the supposition that the person availing himself of them will become in heart and soul a citizen of the country of his adoption. The privileges, moreover, conferred by such laws, like all other privileges, entail corresponding duties. It is the duty of a foreigner who becomes naturalized to discard the national sentiments in which he was nurtured, and to regard the country of his adoption as having an exclusive claim upon his loyalty. Upon any other supposition, indeed, these laws would be a political blunder of the gravest kind, for it is too clear to need demonstration that the presence of a large body of voters, more attached to some other country than to the one of which they are citizens,



must be in any nation an injury and a source of danger. Entirely apart from the constant risk of entanglement with foreign powers which must arise from such a state of things, the domestic affairs of the country are seriously imperiled by it, for it is impossible that a man to whom the interests of some other people or country are dearer than the welfare of his own should make a really good citizen or a trustworthy voter. He cannot fail to be constantly neglecting and sacrificing his country for the sake of the land which he loves more. In short, no class of persons can safely be trusted with the franchise in any nation unless the welfare of that nation is to them the first of all public objects. Our experience of democracy has taught us that the people are by no means always faithful guardians of their own best interests, and that they are none too careful to elect as public servants men actuated solely by a desire for the public welfare. Under no form of government, moreover, have politicians been noted for an excess of anxiety to postpone their own private advantage to the good of the community. If, therefore, among the native citizens who have no public aim but the prosperity of their country it is difficult to maintain the purity of the government, it is evident how wide a door must be opened to corruption when public spirit is weakened by a divided allegiance, and when a large number of citizens are more strongly bound by affection to another country than to their own.

The truth of these statements is, indeed, sufficiently obvious, and no one, perhaps, will dispute them. There is, however, one aspect of the matter which is not generally recognized. Not only is any man in whose affections his own country occupies a second place unfit for the franchise, but the existence of a distinct class of such persons adds greatly to the evil. The existence, indeed, of any class of voters so bound together as to be unaffected by the ordinary political motives is a source of danger, because the members form a compact political body which can be wielded as a whole by any person who knows how to take advantage of their prejudices. Such a body has all the faults without any of the merits of a political party. It has no political aim. It seeks to accomplish no object which its mem-

bers consider beneficial to the community, and yet it possesses a tremendous force, which it uses blindly and without regard to consequences. Now, every body of voters which is held together by ties not caused by an agreement in political principles, and yet which acts as a unit in political matters, involves these evils in a greater or less degree; the amount of harm done depending, of course, on the extent to which the members of the body go into politics, on the strength of the tie which unites them, and on the excitability or moderation of their temperament. The society of the Freemasons was opposed at one time on this ground, and if that organization acted as a unit in politics it would be a real danger to the community. For the same reason, any body of voters which is bound together in political matters by sentiments of affection or dislike to a foreign nation is a great evil, and it follows that anything which tends to inflame, or even to keep alive that sentiment, is an injury to the country. A dangerous amount of attachment or aversion to a foreign people may, of course, exist among native citizens, and this was at one time a peril to the United States; but such a state of feeling is much more common in the case of naturalized foreigners, and it is among these alone that it exists in America to-day.

This country has tried the experiment of naturalization on a vastly larger scale than any other nation in modern times, and she alone is deeply interested in the problems which it involves. She has invited strangers by thousands to her shores. She has welcomed them as citizens and extended to them the franchise. She has tried to teach them her own laws and customs, and in this she has been remarkably successful; but she has not been so fortunate in her attempt to absorb them; and certain groups of citizens of foreign parentage still remain very imperfectly fused with the native population. The worst feature of the matter is that the importance of making naturalized foreigners Americans, and nothing but Americans, is not at all appreciated by our people. They do not realize that unless this is done, the naturalization law, and, indeed, all immigration, is a positive injury to the country; and that foreigners do not really become Americans until they have become so merged in the American people that they cannot be distinguished as a class,

by opinion or sentiment on any subject, from the mass of the population of which they form a part.

The difficulty of absorbing the many foreign elements which have settled among us varies very much. Some immigrants differ but little from our own people, and readily become Americans. With others the points of difference are more numerous, and offer a much greater resistance to the pressure brought to bear upon them. Foreigners of the former class may safely be trusted to look out for themselves, but in the case of the latter it is especially important that nothing should be countenanced which tends to accentuate the distinction between the native and the foreigner, or to remind the latter that he is a stranger, and has associations and attachments which the native does not share. Now, among the various European races whose members have become citizens of the United States in large numbers, there is, perhaps, none from which it has been more difficult to erase the foreign sentiments and qualities, and to merge indistinguishably in the body of the people, than the Irish. This is due in part to their clannish nature, and to the circumstances which have led them to live together in the great cities instead of spreading widely over the country; but it is also due in large measure to the fact that several lines of cleavage (to borrow a word from the current political vocabulary) coincide to separate them from the rest of the people. In the first place, there is the line of race, which, by itself, would not present a serious barrier in this country. Secondly, the line of religion, the Irish Celts being Roman Catholics almost to a man, while the rest of the people are overwhelmingly Protestant. And, finally, the line of wealth, for although we cannot boast that all native-born Americans are rich, yet it is true that the Irish come over here poor, and that so far they have not succeeded in acquiring any great amount of capital, and with it the views and sentiments of the capitalist. They are not at present so distributed through all social grades of the community as to be in close sympathy with them all; and this is one of the chief reasons that they have clung together in a body, instead of disappearing in the mass of the people that surges around them. The very fact that there are so many

forces which tend to draw the Irish together and to separate them from the rest of the community, makes it especially important that anything which tends to strengthen these forces or to render them more active should be carefully discouraged; and this is of the greater consequence from the fact that the Irish are much addicted to politics, and have a natural talent for it.

The course of events during the last few years has not been such as to diminish the race feeling of the Irish in America, and indeed, it must be evident to the most careless observer that the feeling has grown very much of late. The recent increase of the interest in St. Patrick's Day is a symptom of this. The frequent public meetings held to bewail the grievances of Ireland present another exhibition of the same sentiment. In fact, we cannot take up a newspaper without being convinced that the thoughts of the so-called Irish-Americans are constantly, if not almost exclusively, occupied with their own race and with the interests of the country from which they came. The very expression, Irish-American, is the most serious symptom of all, for it points to the isolation of the class to which it is applied, the foreign sentiment, the divided loyalty, and the failure to become entirely American which there is so much reason to lament. The cause of the recent growth of Irish race feeling is clear, for the sufferings of Ireland, and her long struggle with the English Government, have been of a nature to awaken a profound sympathy in the breasts of the Irish in America; and now the union has become so close that every emotion of hope or fear in Ireland finds an answering thrill on this side of the ocean which vents itself in public demonstrations of every character.

The recent agitation in Ireland began early in the Liberal administration of Mr. Gladstone, which came into power in 1880, and it developed so rapidly that, in 1882, at the time of the imprisonment of the leaders of the Irish cause in Kilmainham Jail, and the murders in Phoenix Park, it had reached a high degree of intensity. The policy of Mr. Gladstone, composed as it was of a mixture of coercion and concession, does not appear to have been adapted to allay the excitement, and the organization of the Land and National Leagues, with their affiliated societies in America, was admirably calculated to stimulate and

concentrate Irish opinion in both countries. Indeed, no better engine could, perhaps, have been devised to bind all Irishmen together, and so prevent those who were citizens of the United States from becoming truly American. At last the Parnellites, thanks to the skill and tact of their leader and to the drift of British politics, acquired a position in Parliament which enabled them, with the aid of the Tories, to upset the Liberal government in the spring of 1885. Mr. Gladstone's defeat, indeed, was as much a triumph for the Home Rulers as for the Conservatives, and it gave to the former a very strong position in Parliament, and awoke great enthusiasm among Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. Then followed the general election, and the campaign in which scarcely an English statesman ventured to commit himself on the Irish question, but which ended in a division between the two great English parties so even that neither of them could govern without the aid of Irish votes. For a moment everything was in the air. Rumors of all sorts were circulated, and shrewd politicians conjectured which of the parties would make a treaty for the support of the Irish members. On the opening of Parliament the matter was quickly brought to an issue, for the debate on the address in reply to the Queen's speech was marked by Mr. Gladstone's concession on the subject of Home Rule, and was followed by the defeat of the Conservatives, the return of the Liberals to power, and the introduction of the Home Rule Bill.

Whether this measure was wise and statesmanlike, and whether it was brought forward in a statesmanlike manner, are questions which I do not propose to discuss. But whether it was a good thing for the United Kingdom or not, it was certainly a most unfortunate thing for us. It was followed in this country by a burst of enthusiasm for the Irish cause. Meetings were held in every city to express sympathy with the bill, and the newspapers were filled with eulogies of Mr. Gladstone and his measure. Irish affairs were put, in fact, upon an entirely new footing, for the bill made Home Rule a legitimate subject of discussion in British politics. It took away completely any feeling which might previously have been entertained that a sympathy with the demands of Ireland was, in effect, an encour-

agement to sedition against a foreign power ; and meetings held here to discuss a question which was a subject of open debate in Parliament, could no longer be regarded as an improper attack on British susceptibilities. This had, no doubt, its advantages, but it had its bad side also ; and for us the last was by far the more important of the two, because it licensed, so to speak, Irish agitation in America, and gave it a standing which it had never possessed before. Nothing that has happened since the Irish first came here has so riveted in them their race feeling, and their attachment to their native land. Nothing, therefore, has tended so much as this bill to prevent them from being really naturalized, and from becoming an integral part of the American people. The standing, moreover, which the Home Rule Bill has given to Irish agitation has induced persons of all sorts to take part in the demonstrations, and to encourage the agitation itself ; and all this has increased the boldness of Irishmen in the assertion of their claims. The attempt, for example, to prevent the use of Faneuil Hall, in Boston, for the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, an attempt of which the ostensible motives deceived no one, could hardly have been made a few years ago.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not speaking of the Home Rule Bill from a British point of view. I am not considering whether the measure would have been a good or a bad thing for the United Kingdom. I am simply discussing its effect upon the Irish citizens of America. If the bill had been passed, and if, as its advocates claimed, it would have settled the Irish question forever, and brought peace, prosperity, and happiness to Ireland, it would, no doubt, have been an incalculable blessing to the United States. But it was not passed, and whether Mr. Gladstone succeeds in carrying through some measure in the nature of Home Rule or not, it is improbable that the Irish question will be absent from British politics for an indefinite length of time to come. There is no prospect, therefore, that the causes of Irish agitation in this country will cease to operate, and it becomes necessary for us to understand what the continuance of this agitation means. It becomes vitally important to realize that a man cannot be at once an

Irishman and an American, and that so long as the Irish here are talking and writing and working for the cause of Ireland, and constantly getting excited about her rights and her wrongs, they cannot become thoroughly American.

It is absurd to expect immigrants to have a keen sense of the duties to this country which naturalization involves, if we do not appreciate those duties ourselves; and it is impossible to make the Irish believe that their agitation is an injury to the nation so long as our own people are willing to take part in it. Of the native Americans who attend Irish meetings or encourage them in the newspapers, many are actuated by a desire to get votes, many more, no doubt, by genuine philanthropy, while none, perhaps, are conscious that by so doing they are working a positive injury to their country. And yet the injury is palpable. We see it growing every year, and we see men high in official station lending to it the countenance of their office.

The bad effects of the agitation of Irish affairs in America are numerous. Of these the worst is the one that we have been discussing; namely, the fact that citizens of Irish parentage are prevented from becoming in heart and soul Americans; that they form a compact body, wielding immense political power, while actuated only in part by a love of this country and by a single-minded desire for her welfare. The evils which such a condition of things cannot fail to produce have been sufficiently dwelt upon already and need not be recapitulated here. But although the isolation of the Irish is the greatest injury which results from this agitation, it is by no means the only important one. In the first place, the present state of excitement among the Irish puts us in constant danger of trouble with England. A reputed American citizen of Irish extraction, inflamed with passion, and relying on the protection of the United States, may at any time commit some act in Ireland which will involve us in complications with Great Britain so serious that our government will require the utmost coolness, skill, and firmness to draw itself out of them. And yet, just at the moment when our government is placed in such a difficult and delicate position, a tremendous political pressure will be brought to bear upon it to cause it to protect the Irishman, right or wrong, at all hazards, even at the

risk of a war—a war which, in the present condition of our navy, cannot fail to be disastrous in the extreme.

Another bad effect of the Irish agitation is that it confuses men's ideas of right and wrong, diminishes their respect for private property, and accustoms them to the use of violence. Passing by the darker side of the struggle in Ireland, the moonlight raids and other agrarian outrages, which no unprejudiced man attempts to justify, it is to be remembered that the contest has produced the boycott—a weapon destined to preserve for many long years to come an unenviable reputation for the struggle in which it originated. One cannot fail, moreover, to notice the fact that the Irish demand, and the British Government has conceded, confiscation by the wholesale; for the land laws passed for the benefit of Ireland during the past seven years have been simply a taking of private property from one class in the community and giving it to another. I do not say that these laws were wrong. On the contrary, both the English parties have to some extent sanctioned the principles on which they rest, and it would be absurd for a stranger to assert that the condition to which Ireland has been brought by centuries of oppression, and the peculiarity of English views about land, have not rendered such legislation unavoidable. But it is nevertheless true that the example set by these laws is a very unfortunate one, and is sure to have a bad influence upon Irishmen all over the world. The Irish are very far from being by nature inclined to socialism, but if any one will turn his attention to the so-called "plan of campaign," and to Irish discussion of the rights of landlords and tenants, he will come to the conclusion that Irishmen are, to a very great extent, persuading themselves that if a man does not want to pay his rent it is very wrong that he should be compelled to do so.

If it is true that the Irish agitation is a great injury to America, the question naturally presents itself, What is to be done about it? The increase in boldness on the part of the Irish, to which allusion has been made, is well adapted to produce an anti-Irish or so-called Know-nothing feeling, signs of which have already appeared. But a Know-nothing policy would only aggravate the disease which it purports to cure,



and to resort to it would be like trying to prevent a quarrel by taking sides in it. What we need is not to dominate the Irish but to absorb them. Their best interests and ours are, indeed, the same in this matter. We want them to become rich, and send their sons to our colleges, to share our prosperity and our sentiments. We do not want to feel that they are among us and yet not really a part of us. But if Know-nothingism is out of place, the question returns, What is to be done about it? And the answer is, that nothing is to be done about it, for it is not actions that we want, but opinions. We need to have it generally understood that no man can be both an Irishman and an American; that he must be wholly the one, or all the other. We need to have this truth so held by all people who think seriously, that the rest of the community will be constrained to accept their views, and that a public opinion will be formed which no one, for the sake of votes, will dare to trifle with, and which no one can afford to disregard. If this idea, which really lies at the root of our naturalization laws, were firmly held by our people as one of the cardinal doctrines of their political faith, the pressure which it would exert would be irresistible. We should then have no cause for anxiety about the effect of these laws, for with our versatility and our resources we could easily absorb any European population which has ever come to our shores or which is ever likely to come here.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

## ARGUMENTS FOR THE UNSEEN.

THE Bible, unlike many pretended revelations, confines itself to the moral facts of the unseen world; as to other facts, it discloses hardly anything except that there is a spiritual body. It often implies, however, that the inhabitants of that world were in ready communication with earth, especially in the early stages of divine revelation, and, later, in connection with the appearing and work of Christ; and this implication favors an inference that we are surrounded by an invisible world.

I propose to state and illustrate anew and briefly some arguments for such a scene of existence, in the light of comparatively recent facts, experiments, and calculations. At first glance, how strange, in the midst of our commonplace life, seem the wonderful appearances at the birth, transfiguration, and resurrection of our Lord! How strange, in the cold light of modern science, and under the stony eye of materialism! But what if the celestial incidents comport with some current and familiar facts of life and death, and with an increasing tendency of science itself to make everything of the invisible, nothing of the visible?

Without touching on the many debatable phenomena that come under the discussion of the old psychology and the new so-called psychical research, and without giving any credence to the claims of modern spiritism, we may first consider a class of facts that are too much slighted, though known directly or indirectly to almost every person. It is that, by no means rarely, the dying seem to behold the beings and glories of another world. The last utterance of the poet Wordsworth was: "Is that my dear Dora?"—a daughter deceased, whom he saw as it were with open eyes. If such occurrences were uncommon, or were always associated with some evidence of delirium, they might be passed over; but they are not very infrequent, and are known to take place in what appears to be a condition of calm rationality, in

some, if not all, cases ; and the delirium of disease should evolve distorted phantasms rather than clear recognition of departed friends or sweet visions of heaven. If the cases were only those of mature age, we might suppose that the fading sense and wandering fantasy mistake for realities that which had been a matter of life-long thought or faith. But many young children, whose dying words or gestures must be regarded as called forth by no visual projections of their daily childish thoughts (which do not run in such channels), have, in seeming tranquil sanity and repose, beheld something like the heavens opened ; pointing thither and uttering exclamations of delight, even describing objects that were apparently beyond their infantile range of imagination or foreign to it. And why should their visions, particularly, be so beautiful, when, in ordinary disturbed sleep and in sickness, their minds more often conjure up things frightful? Instead of referring these facts to a disordered brain, we may fairly suppose that sickness explains why the majority of the dying do *not* see the heavens opened until the soul is quite released. One may be averse to credulity and yet give due weight to the class of facts now under consideration.

We have the further fact that, in life and health, we are dealing with none but invisible beings. The materialist himself must acknowledge that the unknown quantity which constitutes personality, amidst all the change and degradation of bodily tissue, is beyond dissection, is viewless, and that some organizing force beyond his ken precedes and accompanies organism. He sees not his fellow-man, but only an outward manifestation of an unknown force, be that force vital or chemical, or other. He who believes in a personal God acknowledges that there is, at least, one unseen being near us—one glorious inhabitant of an unseen world ; and he who believes that man is made in the image of God, accepting our spiritual nature, realizes that every human assembly is an assembly of spirits unseen. To him an invisible universe of beings is no far-fetched idea, foreign and uncongenial to his daily surroundings.

Besides, it is no new truth that there is much everywhere, before the eyes or other senses of men, of the existence of which they are and continue through life to be unconscious. But we

may find fresh illustration everywhere; for example, in the contrast of man with other animals, or race with race. The lower animals perceive their friends, foes, or prey in ways impossible to the human senses. Some of them manifestly live in and are guided by a world of odors, unknown and well-nigh inconceivable to man; such is the solution that has been offered of the well-known instances when domestic carnivora have found their way over long distances where they certainly were not retracing impressions of sight. Tribes of men distinguish objects beyond the range of our civilized senses.

The limited nature of the human senses, whereby we may fail to perceive an all-pervading "second universe," has been greatly emphasized by the progress of science, since Isaac Taylor reasoned from it in his "Physical Theory of Another Life," half a century ago. Improvements in spectroscopy and photography show that invisible rays extend as far beyond the violet end of the spectrum as the length of the spectrum itself, and, indeed, must continue until the vibrations "become infinitely rapid and infinitely small." Some of these ultra rays can be made visible by interposing a substance that lessens their refrangibility. Professor Stokes, the English physicist, found that when a tube, filled with a solution of quinine sulphate, was moved along the spectrum, "on arriving nearly at the violet extremity, a ghost-like gleam of pale blue light shot across the tube; . . . it did not cease to appear until the tube had been moved far beyond the violet extremity of the spectrum visible on the screen." The wave-lengths of the spectrum sun-rays have been measured, and we perceive only those that are from about one forty to one sixty thousandth of an inch; to all others we are blind. So of sound; the human ear, practically, hears only those sounds that come from forty to four thousand vibrations of the air per second, though the possible limit has been traced to near forty thousand. The microphone reveals a new range of notes, and it is conceivable that this instrument, in connection with sympathetic and harmonic vibrations, may bring down to audibility still higher sources of sound. It is not affirmable that any construction of mortal eye and ear could disclose the supernal; but it is certain that there is very much

that is beyond the reach of our senses—an infinity of unknown vibrations around us. And the facts suggest that a great exaltation of senses, such as occurs in certain morbid conditions of the body, may sometimes bring to sight or hearing not phantasms, but realities, never perceived in our ordinary life.

Comparatively recent experiments on the senses offer another argument. Helmholtz, Weber, and others, by ingeniously devised tests, have proved that the larger part of our perceptions, such as those of the relief, size, distance, and direction of objects, are not intuitive nor direct, but acquired by inference, by years of comparison of the testimony of the different senses, especially in early life. Some of the lower animals, indeed, inherit much of this experience, as the phrase is; the chick picks up its food on its first day, as if with some knowledge of quality, direction, and distance, and certainly with some well-ordered muscular action; but its action is not so much intellectual and free as it is that inherited co-ordination of sensation with reflex nervous impulse, on which the life of the creature depends, and which is of the same sort with the seeking of the maternal fount by the human infant. The child must for the most part learn by trial, comparison, judgment, because it is intellectual, free, progressive, not an automaton of instinct. Since, therefore, we know scarcely anything directly, our seeming direct knowledge of the outward world and our seeming lack of such knowledge in regard to any spiritual world above it, are illusive. All our knowledge, save a few "necessary ideas," is inferential. It is no subject of just reproach that we believe in the unseen and eternal by the same mental process; and assuredly there is enough in the material and moral world to justify our high faith, our spiritual vision, however indirect the evidence may be.

The new researches, above mentioned, reflect back much light on the old fact that the blind, when restored to sight, have to familiarize themselves anew with objects previously well known by touch; at first, for example, mistaking one animal for another species: also, that Caspar Hauser, when first fronting a window, saw the exterior landscape only as an unmeaning splash of colors on the glass. All our presentative knowledge is thus but a slow interpretation of hints, signs, hieroglyphics,

scattered and illegible in themselves, separately considered. We do not look out upon the world and see it as it is, until after long collocation and elaboration of the hints it gives us, though, in maturer life, it appears to stand forth to our eyes in its proper shapes, distances, and expansion. It is a projected phantom, whatever may be its physical basis. Heaven, too, has its abundant hints, not less ascertainable and interpretable.

Men of science, least of all, should shrug their shoulders at mention of the unseen. The truth is, in this matter, they linger among the notions of the common crowd, to whom nothing exists where nothing can be touched; or they inconsistently give way to an impression that nothing exists that cannot be weighed, measured, dissected. In their own way they deal more with the hidden, the invisible, the vanished, or the future, than with the tangible. They are given to theory, and great in hypothesis, which word is but the Greek for the Latin-derived word supposition. Huxley pronounced the fossil horse-like animals of our western Tertiary—first, four-toed, then three, then with but one toe usable—his long-looked-for, final, and positive demonstration of the theory of evolution. It is certainly a good argument, and, in the absence of other contrary facts, might greatly strengthen a general evolution “faith;” but it chiefly concerns the subject of horses, and no more absolutely demonstrates even their derivation than the finding of a variety of vehicles at different depths in the ooze of the Missouri would demonstrate that a one-wheeled barrow was derived from a bicycle, this from a tricycle, and the tricycle from a four-wheeled “prairie schooner.” On the whole, we may accept readily the equine argument, so far as it goes; and, at the same time, hold that inferential faith, founded on data and fair reasoning, stands good for both worlds, present and future, this being the point now made. Tyndall not only adopts the theory of an ether filling all space, but describes its qualities, and, indeed, concludes that it acts less like a gas or other fluid than a jelly—a universal jelly; so that we have, by inference, that much of something like solidity filling space. So with the astronomers; whether or not they see the heavens of St. Stephen opening, they believe, or did believe, that the starry heavens are slightly opening to the North, and,

as a reasonable explanation of this, that our whole solar system is moving in that direction. In everything science reasons from the known, however slight, to the vast unknown; theoretical geology and chemistry are largely founded on this method; and this is essentially the kind of reasoning that establishes our belief in the invisible and spiritual.

But, what is matter, that seems so solid and certain, while the spiritual impresses us as shadowy and unreal? The jocular answer becomes more and more the sober one—"no matter." The materialists (and they are now metaphysical, aiming, as the word signifies, at something beyond physics) of late years would have us assume something quite unknown, of which so-called matter and mind are but the two faces. Isaac Taylor, long ago, following Boscovich's physical theory, reasoned that all we know of any outward world is motion—some motion in the organs of sense; and we might add that all we know of these organs themselves is the same. John Stuart Mill, who confined our knowledge to phenomena (that which appears), found his only probability of an outward world in the recurrence of the same series of mental images as he supposably walked the same supposable street. As to any material atoms, their existence was at first and is still but a convenient hypothesis, as we all are aware; and leading men of science now declare that we know nothing but force, and that science has become the study of that. But we do not know what force is in itself.

However, we are not now concerned with such questions except that, in every point of view possible, the great unseen, for which we have intimations and reasons, is as real as the seen, or more so. Enough that we know not the visible in itself, but only by some message it sends to us from afar; truly so, when it seems nearest. This page of print, distant ten inches from the eye, is, at the distance of five hundred thousand wave-lengths of light, a wide sea of ether, across which those mysterious waves must flow to us, like the inflowings of subtile influence from another world. In truth, whatever there may be exteriorly, there is no light, no color, as we apprehend these, outside of the mind. Let the vibrations cease, and everything vanishes; let molecules cease to give forth resistant force, and

nothing is tangible. Since, therefore, the physical world is so tremulous, shadowy, spiritual, it is no presumption against a hidden universe that it affects us as something dreamy and unsubstantial. Granting that matter is composed of atoms, still there is nothing solid, except to our sensation. An eminent English mathematician has calculated that, in a piece of dense metal, the atoms must be as far apart as a hundred men would be when distributed at equal distances from each other over the surface of England; that is, one to every five hundred square miles. Surely, no supramundane world can be much more at variance than that with all that we deem firm and substantial.

The visible is, at all events, transient; so that, if there be anything permanent, it must be invisible, and must be spiritual in some sense of the word that we need not, on this subject, attempt to define. Men come and go, laws are made and unmade, constitutions are changed, buildings crumble, but the invisible state or church endures. The Roman power existed twelve hundred years, and, in another form, still exists; but everything perceptible by the senses has so changed continually that the Eternal City of to-day is built upon twenty-five feet depth of its own accumulated ruins. The permanent, the eternal, are no idle words, and represent that which is in its nature imperceptible to our daily vision.

Our chief difficulty removed, namely, the sensuous prejudice against the unseen, we only need to recur briefly to the high probabilities in favor of its existence as an all-present reality. Man's immortality, in connection with the general order of nature, looks to a higher, wider, more universal stage of being than this; and, not to repeat the many natural and moral arguments for his immortality, it may be noted that occasionally a new fact in that direction, of a physiological sort least to be expected, is brought out; as, for example, in the observations of Brown-Sequard on certain cholera patients, whose minds remained clear and active when their blood was becoming black and clotted in the last stages of the disease; a fact inconsistent with the identity of mind and brain, since the latter depends on the blood for its activity.

Our longings to know the universe, and our beginnings in



this knowledge, prophesy a free range through space. Still more, the full disclosure of the divine system and plans, as everywhere exhibited, is needed to explain difficulties and to complete our knowledge of the great Creator and Ruler, and this could be attained only in a state of existence admitting such free range.

Of late years, fresh illustration of the fact that life superabounds is made conspicuous, suggesting that there is no vast reach of space around us devoid of being, but rather a populous infinitude. So true is it that creation is crowded, within the limits of human observation, the phrase, "struggle for existence," has become familiar and famous. Darwin found, on a square yard of soil, thirty-two little trees battling for room; on another square yard he counted three hundred and fifty-seven sprouting weeds of twenty different species. Every element and every possible habitat has its forms of life; why not the field of space, occupied as it is by at least one substance, as science asserts. Is all sentient being confined to a few starry needle-points, while the rest is a desert, a void abyss, vacant of all interest?

Here comes in the thought of the author of the "Physical Theory," already spoken of. All that we see of the Father's house and its many mansions, the far-scattered stars, is essentially alike, on the low plane of sensible matter. Is there no upward glorious superstructure? And he adds that analogy also demands a destiny of boundless splendors and activities for those who begin their career on so vast a material platform. Here, too, comes in the thought of the poet Young, adopted by Dana and other students of nature: we trace a long-ascending series of life, reaching up to man, who is the first of a new series, the spiritual. Our new capacities proclaim an all-pervading, towering system as their destiny and counterpart and consummation.

Thoughts coincident with those of Isaac Taylor have been credited to him in the foregoing remarks; and, besides these, in the line of the hypothesis now considered, he reasons from the less dense and the imponderable substances that pervade all nature; from the range of creative work, as we know it, up and down between the infinitely great and the infinitely minute, and the

boundless variety of that work ; and, among other original suggestions, he gives his theory of the connection of mind with body as favoring the immediate experience of another state of life at death, one distant neither in space nor time.

The other remarkable book on this subject, entitled "The Unseen Universe," by two eminent men of science, Professor Balfour Stewart of England and Professor Tait of Scotland, is still fresh in the memory of many. They argue from the law of continuity and the apparent fact of the dissipation of energy from its centers into space, that the forces of nature must reappear in a higher, more spiritual, universe, from which all visible things began, and in which they must lose themselves again. From the limited period of the universe, they infer a higher everlasting system as consonant with an eternal, infinite God. They also appeal to the intuition of immortality, and apply the law of continuity to man's continued existence beyond the visible.

Such is a sketch, not of the grand argument, which in all its yet unwritten fullness and completeness might employ a life, but of many of the considerations involved, old or new, or newly illustrated. The Christian believer, for himself, is of course satisfied with the brief hints in the Holy Scriptures. But of the doubter he may well ask if, in all the sublimity of a loftier, broader, endless life, of heavens opened to dying martyrs and dying children, gleaming through the sacred histories, shining out in the dreams of poets, standing forth in the reasonings of philosophers, and accordant with the aspirations of sad, weary, Godlike humanity—if, in all this, man has outrun nature and overtopped the power of God himself? Has it not proved true that nature and God, as we come to know them better, far surpass our extremest reasonings and imaginations? The more we learn of nature, the more we find it full of hidden wonders and inexhaustible infinitudes. The more we learn of life, here on earth, the more does it open into bright heavens and yawn with dark abysses. If we are sure of anything, it is that every step leads on, still on, and up or down, to something beyond ; and that if anything is temporal it is the seen, if anything is eternal it is the unseen.

H. W. PARKER.

## THE ISSUE NEXT YEAR.

Is there to be an issue? Is a presidential election to settle merely who is to have the turning out of a hundred thousand poor fellows, who are so unfortunate as to gain their livelihood by serving the government of their country? If that is all, it will be difficult to interest the public in the affair. A general election is decided by the quiet voters, whose political life consists in going to the polls on election day and depositing their ballots. No brilliancy of Roman candles can stir these voters to enthusiasm in such a cause. When there are real issues the Roman candle still has its place in politics, because there are voters whom questions of political economy do not attract, and great political parties have much more to do than to convince the understanding of thoughtful citizens. They have a task somewhat similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church, which also has to marshal and wield huge masses of human beings who need guidance, and who can be influenced through their senses and their imagination. There is no question that the firms now making arrangements to supply "campaign material" will supply a legitimate want. But campaign material is not sufficient. It was not the hickory pole nor the battle of New Orleans that made Andrew Jackson President in 1829; it was the extreme protectionism of John Quincy Adams's first message. Nor was it the log-cabin and hard cider that elected General Harrison in 1840; it was rather the omission of the Democratic Party to provide an adequate substitute for the United States bank before destroying it.

It were greatly to be lamented that the American people should lose the stir and agitation of the presidential campaign, even with all its drawbacks. Every feature of it is noble and beneficial, excepting those which can be traced directly to the office-seeking element. The mighty spectacle of the nominating

convention it were a pity to lose, with the rough dignity of its proceedings, and its prompt arrival at a result usually the best the circumstances admit. Those assemblies have frequently approached the sublime; and there is also a practical value in the coming together, for a patriotic purpose, of citizens from States so far apart as Texas and Maine. Ugly features have not been wanting of late years. Flanagan has come from Texas, but Flanagan never failed to come. Originally, Flanagan was nearly the whole convention, and the distinction of recent conventions was that he was reduced in importance.

The campaign which follows the convention, take it for all in all, has been salutary. Nothing equal to it has ever been invented by man for exploding falsehood and disseminating truth. No false pretense could stand the fire of a presidential canvass, provided the issue were distinctly made between truth and error. For my own part, I have such faith in it that I should doubt my most cherished conviction if the American people, after hearing it discussed from June to November, were to decide clearly against me. Have they once failed to reach a decision which, upon the whole, was best?

It has another value. Besides the educating power of such a conflict of ideas and ambitions, it is a safety-valve for the harmless escape into the disinfecting air of gaseous egotisms and fire-damp discontents. It is something more than mimic war; it is in lieu of war. General von Moltke was besought some years ago to give the sanction of his name to the Peace Society's dream of universal disarmament. His reply was of extreme interest, as well from the character of the man as from its candor and boldness. Some great generals, notably Grant and Wellington, have had little relish for the martial art, and Wellington is reported to have said at Waterloo that if there was anything more hideous than a great victory it could only be a great defeat. The Prussian general, on the contrary, gave it as his deliberate conviction that war was essential to the moral soundness and healthy progress of the human race, and he pointed to history as a continuous proof of his position. It was a melancholy letter, coming from so intelligent a man, for it seemed in its measured calmness of tone and manner to doom our long-suffering,

heavy-laden, but always well-intentioned race to an endless future of strife and blood. It had the more effect upon American readers because our terrible war had recently closed, which certainly seemed to have the effect claimed by the great Prussian soldier. That war set us all free, both white and black. It has been easier ever since to live a high and free life in the United States, untrammelled by hoary fiction and vested interest.

Is Moltke right, then? Must we accept war as one of the inevitables of the human lot? Probably we must; but it need not be a war of bullets, great guns, and dynamite shells. It need not be a blowing up of useful bridges, a sinking of beautiful ships, a bombardment of industrial towns, a tearing up of costly railroads. It need not be a rending and a massacre of human beings by human beings. It need not be a reign of those "bullet-headed men in blue and yellow," which Hawthorne feared so much at the breaking out of the late contest. I have cherished the belief that America, besides having developed a federal system which extinguishes all the common pretexts of war, has also supplied the nations with a new kind of war, bloodless, instructive, tonic—the presidential campaign, a humanized contest of argument, wit, and mental force. I have hoped that the future would be able to accept this as an equivalent for the bloodshed and agony of former ages. It is this consideration which renders it so important that our system of elections should be preserved and purified. They may come a little too often. General Washington's favorite term of seven years, without re-election, might answer the purpose better; but it appears to be among the most desirable of all things that the people of free countries should, at stated intervals, go into a free fight of ideas, earnest and intense, that shall bring out the last man and the last folly, and thus relieve us of the perlious stuff out of which bloody wars are made.

But no question of petty offices can arouse a nation to the kindling-point. For this there must be issues of the kind that Henry George speaks of, "questions that men are thinking about, that come home to them in their daily lives, questions of work and wages, questions which involve the best methods of govern-

ment, and of its purification." Upon topics of this nature the party platforms must speak frankly, and leaders must have a share of the virtue which wins in a campaign—courage.

Is it not obvious that this absurd tariff of ours cannot be tinkered in any way without doing injustice? Some party must rise to the occasion, and place before the people the total elimination of the protective element. After seventy-one years of tariff tinkering the problem is more complicated than ever, until, in truth, nothing remains but to sweep away the tariff book altogether, with all its multitudinous and contradictory items, and begin again on a clean sheet of foolscap. One sheet would hold all the tariff we want for revenue only: a moderate tariff upon imported luxuries, supplemented by another sheet for a moderate excise on home-made agents of deterioration. Our intelligent manufacturers could contemplate such a revolution without the dismay and alarm that now seize them whenever the tariff is undergoing a revision at Washington. They may well ask their Congressmen in the lobby: What! you are going to take off twenty per cent. of *my* protective duty? Why single out me? Why my product? How can I go on paying a high tariff on my ingredients and compete with foreigners who pay none? Surely these gentlemen are right. Upon the faith of the tariff book they embark their capital in an enterprise, building on a platform which Congress set up for the purpose, and they see Congress threatening to remove some of the trestles from their end of the structure. They see themselves in danger of losing a certain, although artificial and fallacious, support, without receiving anything in return. Place all business on a basis of reality; let the railroad down from the trestles to the solid earth; reopen to American business men the markets of the world, and you give them compensation.

Can it be possible that orators of reputation will again have the effrontery to stand before assemblies of working-men, and tell them that the protective system is a protection to *them*? Shall we again hear of the pauper labor of Europe as being the consequence of free trade, of which the continent of Europe knows nothing? As I write these lines I can hear the hum of a cotton-mill, where the best hands, by working a long factory

day, earn eight dollars a week ; and if they object to the wages, the manufacturer has only to send across the Canada line for a few car-loads of French Canadians to depress wages still lower. A tariff to protect those mill-operatives would put the duty upon the Canadians, not on the cotton cloth. If cotton-spinners are to be protected artificially and at the expense of their fellow-citizens, we should stop the Canadians at the custom-houses on the border, and put a thousand dollars duty upon every family. Here is an issue distinct and clear, which the Republican Party is willing to face. They say that it protects the working-man more to put the duty upon the cloth than upon the Canadian. Let us respect their courage, and imitate it. Let us say with equal distinctness to the working-men of America that it is their true policy to admit both the cotton and the Canadian duty-free.

When old parties become corrupt or timid, new parties arise, less imposing, perhaps, but more aggressive and radical. We have a gallant fellow among us at this time, astride of a plausible crotchet, who came near being the man to found one. We cannot accept the land theory of Henry George, because it would impose upon government more complicated, more delicate, and more extensive tasks than so large and clumsy an instrument could perform. Private ownership, with all its inconveniences and abuses, does generally secure the main point, the preservation of fertility. The land-owner will not ordinarily ruin his own land, and the landlord will not permit a tenant to ruin his. Nevertheless, there is truth and reason in the Georgian movement. The underlying truth, which gives a certain power and currency to his theory, has recently been enunciated from the very source and center of conservative influence, the Supreme Bench of Great Britain. Lord Coleridge's late address in Glasgow to the Judicial Club, on the right of property and its limits, was different in manner and tone from the speeches which are made on Sunday evenings at the Academy of Music to the Anti-Poverty Society ; but it means substantially the same thing, being inspired by the Roman maxim of old : "The welfare of the community is the supreme law."

In the gentle way peculiar to him, Lord Coleridge referred to

the estates in Great Britain which contain a million acres of that island, and promise in a few years, at the present rate of increase, to contain fifteen millions. He alluded to the possibility of half a dozen men getting a controlling interest in the property of the British Empire. In his suavest manner, he quoted the remark of an English coal-owner to his workmen: "All the coal within so many square miles is *mine*, and if you do not instantly come to terms, not a hundredweight of it shall be brought to the surface, and it shall all remain unworked."

The learned judge's comment on the modest claim of the mine-owner had in it nothing of anarchical violence. He merely remarked that any claim of that kind, involving the right to deprive a community of its fuel and its power, is, in his opinion, "unspeakably absurd." The whole of this exquisite speech, so soft and benign in manner, so radical in meaning, is pervaded by the principle that every man has but a limited power over his personal estate, and may do nothing with it, or any part of it, incompatible with the welfare of the whole people. This is an interesting coincidence between the bland utterances of the chief-justice and the sweeping oratory of our Academy of Music. It is evident that political parties must ere long grapple with the perplexing problems which have come upon us in recent years by the terrific co-operation of capital, electricity, and steam. No reason now appears why the great estates in England, America, and Germany, which begin to be familiarly valued by the hundred millions, should not go on increasing until we shall all live on sufferance, except a few capitalists. Yet we need not feel the least alarm that this will happen. A means will be found to effect a healthier distribution; but the remedy will not come of itself, and political parties must take note of the fact.

M. Godin, of the famous Guise *Familistère*, sets forth nearly every week, in the organ of his movement, "Le Devoir," his conclusion that the true way of checking the excessive growth of estates is to limit the power of bequest. His idea is, that a testator should retain the right to provide abundantly for all who are fairly dependent upon him, and that the state should make itself the heir of the residue, and appropriate it to the payment of the public debt. This matter comes home to us in the pur-



chase of great tracts of virgin prairie by home and foreign capitalists, many of whom are using the power of steam to exhaust in seven years the fertility which it has taken twenty centuries, perhaps, to accumulate on the surface—the meanest wrong yet done by rich men to poor men. It is just that virgin richness of the soil which has made the rapid peopling of this continent possible, and kept it until now a refuge to the hopeless of every land.

It is within the Democratic Party that these questions, and others akin to them, would naturally be considered. The ideal Democratic Party is composed of the many who suffer and the few who think; and such a party it measurably was in its great day when the good Jefferson was chief. In all legitimate human strife the real antagonists are interest and principle, or, in truer words, the supposed interest of a part and the real interest of the whole. The Republican Party has honestly and boldly taken in charge the supposed interest of a class, leaving to its antagonist the conquering force of principle, which is the interest of all. But a preliminary task devolves upon it, to take out of politics forever the hundred and fifty thousand little offices which now pervert, bewilder, and degrade politics. As it was the Democratic Party which brought upon us this system, so childish and so cruel, it fairly belongs to that party to deliver us from it. The present system is that of Xerxes, Louis XIV., and Madame de Pompadour. It is the precise opposite of every good meaning of the word democratic. If the party in power fails to perform this obvious duty, the future historian will say of it, as the past historian has already said of the Federal Party: “It had a magnificent chance, and threw it away.”

JAMES PARTON.

## COLLEGE DISTURBANCES.

WITH the opening of the college year come the customary announcements of college disturbances. The press duly and annually condemns the folly; but the folly does not die. In much fewer instances, and in far less aggravated modes than formerly, it still lives on. In considering the subject, two things should be premised and emphasized. First, these things originate with the few and not with the many. In our best colleges, nineteen men out of every twenty are manly and honorable. The twentieth man, through influences presently to be mentioned, causes the trouble and the ill-repute. The students as a body are the choice young men of the country; and the supposed temptations of college life, though peculiar, are less than among any other equal miscellaneous collection of young men; while the aims are higher, the sympathies finer and more responsive, and the average of character nobler. The more the pity, therefore, for the remaining anomalies and blemishes of college life. Secondly, these things are mostly magnified by the ambitious reporter. For example, during the current year a widely circulated journal contained a detailed account of conferences and conversations, in connection with such an affair, which was an unadulterated invention throughout.

How shall these relics of barbarism be obliterated? A highly respectable journal, in an article on hazing and rushing, proposes as the remedy to inculcate "the notion of fair play, an open field; of strength with strength, numbers with numbers." It suggests that faculties should descend from their dignity to the level of "simple common sense," cease their "preaching, praying, and punishing," and organize a kind of Olympian games, with judges, rules, and prizes, and thus get rid of the "surreptitious mobbings and squabbings, after the style of barbarians in the heart of Africa."

Such advice shows a want of acquaintance with the real meaning of the evil, with the efforts that have been made for its remedy, and with the obstacles to be overcome. In the first place, "fair play" is just what the leaders in these scenes do not want; they are bent on unfair play. The sport of hazing consists in the hopeless inequality of the struggle. Some poor fellow, away from all his friends and in strange surroundings, is suddenly confronted with a band of young men leagued together and thoroughly masters of the situation. They have entered his room at midnight, perhaps by bursting his door, and, with this unfair advantage, they compel him to go through some humiliating performance. Sometimes there is rough handling, especially if the victim inclines to resist; and, as the perpetrators are not unfrequently under the influence of intoxicants, there is always a valid fear and a danger of still greater outrage. The proceeding is intrinsically alarming, even when personal violence, to which there is always liability and temptation, does not follow. Frequently the victim is forced to promise concealment—a promise which he may be wrongly conscientious enough to keep.

The "rush," though less obviously iniquitous, is equally void of manly fairness. It is no even trial of strength or skill between classes or individuals, but a hustling jam, with a crushed hat, a cut foot-ball, or a stick at the center, which not more than two or three persons can grasp at a time, the chief effort being to abstract it slyly and carry it off to a place of safety. Clamorous with yells and hootings, the writhing mass sways heedlessly hither and thither, trampling over everything, invading private premises, sometimes breaking the inclosures, and dashing up to the very doors of the houses, to the terror of the inmates. The scene is at times diversified by exasperations, clinches, and blows, and has in some instances been prepared for by a removal of all clothing above the waist and oiling the upper part of the body. The physician has occasionally been called to the prostrate and exhausted rusher. During the autumn, one student was rescued by the police, and a member of still another institution was said to have died recently of the effects of such a struggle. The destruction of clothing, with which the ground is often strewn, is but a minor consideration. Now, nothing can

be said in defense of such a proceeding. It is no test of the relative muscle of two classes, nor is it a game of skill. It is neither scholarly nor manly, but simply animal, discreditable, and dangerous.

Other forms of disorder need not be mentioned in detail, these being the commonest. But, in them all, fair play forms no part of the aim or the practice. However thoughtlessly entered upon, the meaning of them all is unfair advantage, imposition, trick. The offer of any fairly organized and well-regulated physical struggle does not meet the case. It has many times been made. College faculties have not devoted all their efforts to "preaching, praying, and punishing." They have endeavored in every way to create a sentiment against the practice, and a diversion from it. They have, as in duty bound, mildly persuaded, have prohibited, and have punished. But they have also given every encouragement to fair athletic rivalry, whether individual or by classes. At the college with which the writer is best acquainted, the large campus of nearly five acres, most conveniently situated, invites, and is abundantly used for, daily games and sports. Once a year, and sometimes twice, a day and a half is set apart for athletic sports in every available form, including the "tug of war" between classes. The young men have been repeatedly informed that every fair and manly struggle of class with class, or individuals with individuals, on that campus, will be encouraged. The faculty, for a time, even voted to tolerate the rush, if confined to the campus, and the hours of daylight and of recreation. But this is not what the disorderly element desires. While college athletics have done much for good order, they have nowhere wholly eradicated this evil.

The evil is deep-seated, and has its tap-root in the past. It is traditional. The older colleges, if they are blessed, are also cursed, with traditions. And college traditions are easily born, and die hard. These disorderly tendencies are not only inherited from the past in this country, but from the mother country also. The extent of their survival there may be seen in the hazings, fightings, and midnight maraudings with which "Tom Brown at Rugby" is overweighted. They have survived, with additions, in American colleges. Members of advanced classes

promptly instruct the younger classes what is always done, and what, therefore, they are bound to do. The newer men aspire to be as "smart" as their predecessors: and so they must have hazings, rushes, "bloody Monday," freshman beer, reciprocal hornings, small maraudings, and what not. The effect of these foolish traditions at one particular stage of the college course, in the sudden but transient transformation of a considerable number of well-minded and well-mannered young men, is something as unfailing as it is surprising and otherwise unaccountable.

This traditional notion of misrule is re-enforced by another traditional false notion—that a different code of honor, morals, duty, and conduct belongs to college life from that which attends common life, and that a college community is to some degree exempt from ordinary obligations and responsibilities. Here is, perhaps, the *proton pseudos*. It may be a far-off relic of the ancient "benefit of the *clericus*," dim traces of which are still seen in the organization and working of foreign universities. But, be that as it may, the notion practically prevails in American colleges. Students—many, not all—act upon the assumption, and the public in too many ways practically concedes it. Practices condemned and punished by the common and the statute law are looked upon as allowable frolics in college. Affronts, and even violations of personal liberty, in certain forms, are but good sports. In case even of grave offenses there is in general a greater readiness to screen than to help detect the offender. The communities around the country colleges offer little help, and seldom are willing to give information to remedy such evils, while juries and courts are proverbially lenient toward students, and the police and police courts in the cities are understood to be still more mildly disposed. Thus it has come about that in certain lines of conduct young men in college have accustomed themselves to a standard and a code that cannot be tolerated in the community at large, and that they themselves are obliged to renounce the moment they leave the college walls and come into the presence of the common law and common morals. Thus certain procedures are viewed simply as fun, pranks, "larks," which the law terms assault and battery, larceny, breaking and entering by night, rioting, and which, in

well-regulated communities, are followed by arrests and fines or imprisonment.

This mistaken standard is sustained and perpetuated by two other forms of wrong sentiment—an excessive class spirit, and a false sense of college honor. No one who has not watched the working of these principles for a course of years has any adequate conception of their tenacity, their power, and their damaging influence. It is the perversion of two commendable traits. The class *esprit du corps* has some honorable, useful, and even touching aspects. So has also that sympathetic bond which binds together in helpful friendship the members of the same institution. But the exaggeration and perversion of these traits in college is often so great as in some circumstances to override the first principles of social order and sound morality, and to give positive aid and comfort to wrong-doing. That is its frequent working. It leads to a submission of the individual judgment and conscience to the class-vote, or the general voice, and that not alone on questions of expediency, but of propriety and right. Now and then individuals are found who will not flinch. But such instances are too rare, and even memorable. Under class pressure or class vote, students, with few and noble exceptions, will sign a petition or incur an expense they do not believe in, cut a recitation they desire to attend, and be forced into proceedings and relations which they condemn. It is in this way that the influence of good men is greatly crippled, and the reign of disorder perpetuated. The boldness of the ill-disposed and reckless is not confronted by an equal counter courage and decision of the good. Thus, for example, the sober minority, disapproving of “rushes,” have held themselves bound by the majority vote; and in one instance, in which the prevailing sentiment was adverse, a young man, who was afterwards removed from college for incorrigible worthlessness, brought on a rush, and the spell was broken in an instant. All hands joined.

In other communities, it is the acknowledged rule that the whole population is banded together to detect and punish wrong-doing. In college communities the case is reversed; the combination is to prevent detection. It is seldom the case that one student will give information concerning another, that might

lead even to his reformation. And when it becomes apparently a question of penalty, not only will young men of no principle disregard the truth, but men of high principle will generally leave college sooner than aid in rectifying the wrong. In one case, where it became alike necessary for the safety of father and son that the father should know of the notorious habits of intoxication into which the son had fallen, he went away convinced of gross injustice done by the faculty to the young man, because he was informed by classmates that the statements were untrue. It should be said, however, that one of these classmates, after graduation, had the manhood to come to a college officer and say, "I lied to Mr. —." In another instance, a case of assault upon a professor's house, a whole class, including, with one exception, all its best men, were induced to agree beforehand that they would not answer any question as to their own whereabouts at a given time—though many of them were quietly studying in their rooms—lest the circle of inquiry should thus be narrowed toward the offenders; and they submitted to suspension rather than answer the question. Illustrative facts of this kind might be accumulated to any extent. But it is not necessary. Every college man can bear witness to the general state of the case.

Such are some of the real causes and radical difficulties. They are chronic in their nature. Though greatly abated in the gravity of their outbreaks, they are always ready to come to the surface. Handed down by evil traditions, renewed year after year, they call for incessant vigilance and inexhaustible patience, as well as indomitable firmness. And though actually led off only by the twentieth or the fortieth man, they are so liable at any time to become general, and, when they occur, they are so damaging both to the comfort and the good repute of the institution, that one can well understand the feeling of an eminent scholar, retiring from the head of a great institution, "I cannot stand the barbarism of — College."

What, now, are the remedies? First of all, a reformation of the underlying sentiment. Let the community withdraw its leniency for the follies and wrong-doings of students as such, and make them thoroughly understand that they will be held

amenable to all the laws that govern men and citizens elsewhere. Let them call wrong things by right names, not mere frolics and escapades, but insult, abuse, breach of the peace, rioting, theft, lying, when such they are. When young men enter college, let their parents warn them, as the indispensable condition of a college course, to keep clear of all participation, co-operation, or accessoriness in such proceedings as would not be tolerated at home. And let them do what so seldom is done, sustain the faculty when they find it necessary to enforce good order by discipline.

This reformation of sentiment must also extend to the students themselves, and especially all the better portion of them. The time is coming, and ought to have come, when the solid body of moral and Christian young men in colleges will stand solid for the right. They will say to their associates, "We are with you in all innocent sports, harmless fun, common interests, and laudable enterprises. But in procedures condemned by the law, public sentiment, and our own consciences, count us out. We will not be, either directly or indirectly, accessory or privy to them. We will not be driven into a wrong thing by general pressure or class vote. In all grave outrages we will take the same ground here as in after life, and will facilitate the discovery of the wrong-doer. We go for law and order every time. So let us have a fair understanding and fair play." If Young Men's Christian Associations in colleges are practically good for anything, it would seem that they should be good to that extent.

Some college faculties need no exhortation. For the reasons already implied, they find much difficulty in fixing on the worst offenders, but are ready to do their duty. In one college, in connection with a violent case of hazing, seven young men were separated finally from the institution, six were suspended, and nine others received minor discipline. Extraordinary efforts were made for the restoration of the separated men, but in vain; and for ten years no case to which the term hazing could be applied ever came to the knowledge of the faculty. In that institution each entering class is informed that any young man who suffers in this way, provided he will make it known to the authorities, will never suffer again from the same individual.



It was a wise measure when a father recently came before the faculty of another college in behalf of his son, and the hazer was expelled.

And this leads to a final suggestion. After young men have been fully and fairly warned that they will be held amenable to the law of the land, the application of the law is not to be withholden. This remedy has sometimes been applied with excellent effect. In one case the victim waited till his tormentors disclosed themselves, and brought them before a magistrate. One of them proved to be a son of the chief-justice of the State, and the settlement was easy and lasting. In another college two young men, under arrest for gross violence, fled, and never put in an appearance again. In a third institution certain college rioters, sons of wealthy parents, lay in the lock-up while their class was graduating. These are hard remedies, to the last degree undesirable, but the abuses are still more undesirable; and if all other educational influences prove ineffectual, then the law must be the educator. The application of the remedy in a few instances would render further application unnecessary.

S. C. BARTLETT.

## WOMAN AND THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

“TEMPERANCE and the Woman Question” would be a title not less appropriate for this article than the one I have chosen; for as the slave came to freedom, not by a direct route, but along the oblique line of an armed contention about State rights and federal powers, so there is reason to believe that woman is taking her true place in the world, and will be freed from her artificial disabilities as an outcome of the mighty modern temperance reform. And this result would seem to be inevitable, despite the time-worn and time-disproved objection that “you cannot deal with two issues at a time.” Indeed, if they are not mutually incompatible, why should not two issues be pressed simultaneously? It is simply a case of cyclone in the moral heavens. One cloud meets another at a given angle; they join forces, “pool their issues,” sweep before them the existing order of things, clear the air, and new adjustments follow in their wake.

Curiously enough, the first regularly organized temperance society in America was formed in that most famous of all counties for cold water—Saratoga. Naturally enough, the two professions devoted to health of the body and of the spirit—medicine and the ministry—stood sponsors at its christening. Dr. B. J. Clark and Rev. Dr. Lebbeus Armstrong called the meeting in the town of Moreau, Saratoga County, New York, in the year 1808, that resulted in the first society. Naturally enough, too, that war-meeting against brain poisons was convened in a school-house; to-day, less than eighty years later, in that very school, scientific instruction concerning the effects of the use of intoxicants is given by order of the State. Most unnaturally, however, no women were invited to attend the meeting; and not one woman so far forgot the prescribed dimensions of her “sphere” as to take her knitting-work, and from the vestibule of the old schoolhouse lend an ear to the proceedings of the men.

Time passed on; the temperance reform spread slowly; in 1833 its first National Convention was held in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and in 1836 the second convened in Saratoga. Among the delegates was Governor Trimble of Ohio, and with him came his bright young daughter Eliza. The convention was so small that its preliminary meetings, at least, were held in a hotel, and the governor brought his daughter with him to the first session; but, before entering, her quick eye had noted the entire absence of ladies from the assembly, and she whispered to her father, "I don't like to go in; I shall be all alone." "No daughter of mine," was Governor Trimble's reply, "must be afraid, even if she is alone, in a good cause." With that he led her to a seat, and Eliza Trimble was the first woman ever admitted to a National Temperance Convention. Thirty-seven years later, as Mrs. Judge Thompson of Hillsboro', Ohio, this same woman led the first Praying Band of that wonderful crusading host which, now organized as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, still goes marching on to victory. It is due to the Good Templars, organized in 1852, to acknowledge the fact that from the first they have admitted women to membership and to all but the highest honors of their society.

It was at a temperance convention called by Susan B. Anthony that the woman's rights movement received its first effectual impetus; and it may be claimed, without doing any injustice to that grand pioneer or her associates, that the "woman's movement" of to-day is nowhere so systematically organized and nowhere so steadily and powerfully growing, as in the Women's Christian Temperance Union and in the Prohibition Party. But it should be distinctly understood that this movement proceeds by indirection, while temperance is the direct issue; this is the "led horse claim," while prohibition is the war-horse in the fore-front of the battle. This movement, though switched from its side-track to the main line, has not the right of way, for that belongs to the prohibition cause itself.

But the temperance reform must be many-sided if it would adequately cope with its many-sided foe. The drink habit and the liquor traffic are like a fortress, approached by many roads, along each of which a skilled general will send a detachment

of his army. In the days of their inexperience men massed all their forces against the drink habit itself, seeking to cut off the demand, but overlooking the immense part that the supply and the allurements of the saloon play in creating this demand; but the argument of defeat taught them that they must have at least two issues; that they must simultaneously attack demand and supply. Not until they had been nearly sixty years at work did they found the National Publishing House at New York, and thus prove by their works that their faith was based upon the educated conscience of the people.

Perhaps it is because women are the natural teachers of the race, perhaps because they had the advantage of building upon strong foundations laid by men: at any rate, the first National Temperance Convention of Women drew up the most thorough and the most consistent plan of a campaign against the evils of intemperance that had ever been presented. The committee on a "plan of work" reported sixteen specifications, several of them being then for the first time brought forward. From this report the following extracts are taken:

"Since organization is the sun-glass which brings to a focus scattered rays of influence, we urge the formation of a Women's Christian Temperance Union in every State, city, town, and village.

"The evolution of temperance ideas is in this order: the people are informed, convinced, convicted, pledged.

"With these facts in view we urge: The careful circulation of temperance literature in the people's homes and in saloons;

"Teaching the children in Sunday-schools and public schools the ethics, chemistry, physiology, and hygiene of total abstinence;

"Seeking permission to edit a column in the interest of temperance in every paper in the land, and in all possible ways enlisting the press in this reform;

"Endeavoring to secure from pastors everywhere frequent temperance sermons and special services in connection with the weekly prayer-meeting and the Sunday-school, at stated intervals, if they be only quarterly;

"Establishing an Anti-treat League, Temperance Coffee-rooms and Friendly Inns, Homes for Inebriate Women, Reformed Men's Clubs;

"Carefully studying to increase the counter attractions of the home as against the saloon;

"A special time for united prayer each day."

In conclusion the belief is expressed that "we may live to see America, beloved mother of thrice grateful daughters, set at

liberty, full and complete, from foamy King Gambrinus and fiery King Alcohol." The spirit of this remarkable convention, and of all those that have succeeded it, is shown in the closing resolution, unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That recognizing the fact that our cause is, and will be, combated by mighty, determined, and relentless forces, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer."

It is given to few reformers to see their plans so generally adopted within a period so brief as that which has elapsed since this Cleveland Convention of November 18, 1874. As is well known, the International Sunday-school Convention, at its Atlanta meeting in 1881, in response to a great petition presented by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, took favorable action on the request for a quarterly temperance lesson in the International Series; and the triennial conventions since then have strengthened the provision by which nearly eight million Sunday-school children are placed under temperance instruction from the Bible point of view. In 1880 the first Scientific Temperance Instruction Law was adopted by Vermont; and the great work of promoting such legislation has been carried steadily forward by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, until now, in twenty-two States and in all the Territories, the study of hygiene, "with special reference to the effects of stimulants and narcotics," is by legal enactment regularly taught in schools of all grades, and in several States a failure to provide such instruction works forfeiture of a school district's share of the educational fund.

Besides all this, the first temperance legislation ever won from the reluctant national Congress was the result of a concerted attack, in 1886, of the combined forces of the Union, led by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, of Boston, the National Superintendent of this branch of the work. In virtue of this legislation the Scientific Temperance Instruction Law now extends to all the Territories, the Military Academy at West Point, the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and wherever any school receives funds from the United States Treasury.

Under the general divisions of "preventive," "educational," "evangelistic," "social," and "legal," and the department of organization, the National Women's Christian Temperance Union now carries on forty distinct lines of work; and it is, with its thirty-eight auxiliary State and nine territorial unions, besides that of the District of Columbia, the largest society composed exclusively of women, and conducted entirely by them, that has ever existed. It is estimated, from incomplete returns, that the number of local unions in the United States is about 10,000, with a following of about 200,000, besides numerous juvenile organizations.

The Union is the lineal descendant of the great temperance crusade of 1873-'74, and is an association of Christian women for the purpose of educating the young, forming a better public sentiment, reforming those who are addicted to drink, transforming by the power of divine grace those who are enslaved by alcohol, and for securing the entire abolition of the liquor traffic. It has founded a publishing-house, and a temperance paper, the "Union Signal," which are to-day exercising an influence exceeded by no similar agency in the nation. Over fifty million pages are printed this year by the Women's Temperance Publishing Association; its employees number seventy-five or more, of whom five are engaged in editorial work. Four papers are regularly published, and the "Union Signal" has the largest circulation of any religious weekly in Chicago.

The departments of heredity and hygiene, organized by the Union, which strike at the very root of the alcohol delusion, are of great practical usefulness in the homes of the people. The work of the Union among the children in Sunday-schools; its loyal temperance legions and kindergartens; its efforts to influence college students, and to train and organize young women for philanthropic labors; its evangelistic work for the non-church-going class, for railway employees, soldiers, sailors, lumbermen, miners, and especially for the drinking men of all classes—all these prove the breadth of its comprehension and the tirelessness of its zeal. Its efforts to reach the pauper and the prisoner, to establish reformatories and homes for the wretched victims of intemperance and their suffering children,

and its temperance flower mission, appeal to every philanthropic heart.

The Union has molded public opinion through the press by its monthly and weekly temperance bulletins and by its countless lectures and conventions, until the outlawing of the saloon and the protection of the home have become the watchwords of the people, and will soon be the war-cry of political leaders. It has sought to purify the holidays of the people, coming with its sisterly influence to fairs, celebrations, encampments, and expositions, providing refreshments, excluding alcoholic poisons from the grounds, and providing pure water and pure literature. It has battled for the maintenance of the American Sabbath, sought to introduce the unfermented juice of the grape at sacramental tables, and to secure a day of prayer for temperance in the week of prayer. It has circulated innumerable petitions and addressed synods and conferences, teachers' associations and medical societies, as well as legislatures, State and national, always with one plea: "We beseech you to refrain from the use of alcoholics, and to outlaw the liquor traffic." In recent years it has bravely championed the White Cross movement, which seeks to instruct and pledge to purity of life the young manhood of the nation. It also strives to redeem outcast women from a condition worse than slavery, and by better laws to secure protection to women and girls from the outrages of brutal men.

It has sent forth its call to all civilized lands for a union of womanhood against the brain poisons which are the greatest foe of home; and a World's Christian Temperance Union of women is the result, which has its organizers in Japan, China, India, Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Germany, has enlisted Australia and the Sandwich Islands, and has at its head the President of the British Women's Temperance Association, and Mrs. Margaret Lucas, the sister of John Bright.

At present a great building, to be called a Temperance Temple, is projected, to be erected in Chicago, at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars. Its purpose is to furnish accommodations for a publishing-house, a training-school, officers' parlors, a temperance library, and an auditorium; also to be a source of revenue by means of office rentals. A temperance hospital has

already been opened in the same city, to demonstrate the practicability of the successful treatment of disease without the use of alcoholic liquors. It will be seen by this summary that the curse of narcotics and stimulants has never been antagonized at so many points, or through methods so systematized, as those of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

It may fairly be questioned whether any one society has ever developed so many experts and specialists. Each superintendent of a department (and there are forty) has an associate in each State; she in turn has one in each local union; and the motto of each one among these thousands is, "This one thing I do." By abolishing the cumbrous method of "committees," and making each appointee a woman of one work, aspiration is quickened, responsibility fixed, and results are far more certainly assured.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union is continually tracing diseased conditions of the body politic to the brain-poison curse, and seeking new means of counteracting the evil. For instance, it believes that there is a close relationship between the tobacco-habit and the thirst for alcoholic drinks, and has organized a special effort to forewarn boys against the danger of forming that habit, and to enlist against it the powerful influence of young women. It believes that the poison-habit of the nation can be cured by an appeal to the intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy, and to the conscience through the motives of religion; but that the traffic in these poisons can be best controlled through prohibitory law.

Our society has taken as its motto, "For God, and home, and native land;" and as its watchword, "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship." We repudiate high license, believing it to be a method by which Mammon is yoked to the car of King Alcohol, and moral chloroform administered to the voter. We have found, in our study of the traffic, that it is entrenched in politics as well as in law, and we are determined to follow whithersoever it goeth. We believe that national prohibition is the goal toward which we are to work, and that anything less is a fractional measure, impossible of satisfactory enforcement.



We are, therefore, Senator Blair's most active allies in securing petitions from the people to this end; and we are also in favor of his educational bill, for, wherever schools are multiplied, there scientific temperance instruction will more generally prevail. We believe that whatever enlarges the relation of woman to the state increases the power of the home as against the saloon; therefore we have a Department of Franchise, and an army of workers devoted to removing all the political, legal, and financial disabilities of women. But be it distinctly noted that none of these departments are obligatory upon any State or local union.

We want the ballot because the liquor traffic is intrenched in law, and law grows out of the will of majorities, and majorities of women are against the liquor traffic. But as steam can be utilized for locomotion only through an engine, so, in a republic, we can transform the opinion of this majority of women into law only through the magical little paper which

"comes down as still  
As snowflakes fall upon the sod;  
But executes a freeman's will  
As lightnings do the will of God."

Since, then, the ballot in woman's hand means, in Kansas and wherever secured, the liquor traffic worsted, we regard the enfranchisement of women as a part of the great mission by which the party of the future shall defend the republic against its most dangerous foe. The Prohibition Party, primarily organized for the overthrow of the liquor traffic, has had the prescience to incorporate in its platform, which boldly takes sides on every vital issue of the day, a plank in favor of woman's enfranchisement. First, because this party is devoted to prohibition, through constitutional and statutory law, and, secondly, because it has declared itself in favor of prohibition by woman's ballot, the Women's Christian Temperance Union is the faithful friend and ally of that new movement in our politics which we believe will give to the working-man his rights, protect the homes of the nation, and enthrone Christ in the government, not in form, but in fact.

For the liquor traffic is the greatest hindrance to the spread of gospel light. We are told that "public sentiment requires

the saloon." Whose public sentiment—that of the church? Two-thirds the members of the church are women. That of the home? No, for the home has everything to dread from the saloon. The public sentiment that approves the saloon is that of men who drink and men who sell, and other men in professional, business, and political life who do not choose to incur the ill-will of those who drink and sell. Thus, as the outcome of deliberate choice, based on altogether selfish motives, this minority, made up of men, surrounds the ballot-box and saddles the saloon upon the people. But, until this women's temperance movement began, a potential majority was voiceless, and great reformers were simply beating the air. It is a grievous misfortune, and the most stupendous blunder of all statecraft, that half the wisdom, more than half the purity, and nearly all the gentleness of human nature finds no expression in the place where in a representative government opinion passes into law. The progress of the temperance question in Arkansas, where women have "the vote by signature;" in Washington Territory, where they for a time had the full ballot, and made such effective use of it that, it is said, the traffickers in liquor, in self-defense, had to procure from the Supreme Court a decision disfranchising women citizens on a technicality; and the progress of the same cause in Kansas since the right of municipal suffrage was in that State conferred upon women—all this goes to show that Barak has but to call Deborah to his aid, and we shall exterminate the rum-shop and raise to power the new America, with "saloon destruction" and "home protection" as its watchwords. This will come about when prohibition has been won and good men seek to secure the offices behind the ordinance, the law-enforcer back of the law.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

## COMMUNICATION AT SEA.

A GREAT ocean steamer leaves the port of New York for Liverpool. In all features of construction and equipment she is a triumph of modern engineering. She carries perhaps seven hundred people, with specie and cargo aggregating millions in value, and she will traverse the ocean at the ordinary speed of the railway train of not many years ago. Violent storms merely delay her, the heaviest seas scarcely impede her progress. Of all things in the world, we see in her the most nearly perfect embodiment of man's victory over the forces of nature.

Within a very brief period from the time that steamer loses sight of land, she may plunge into a dense fog-bank. Then, despite all her marvelous mechanism, despite all the genius and skill lavished upon her every internal detail, she is to all intents and purposes lost. Not wrecked or destroyed, but simply lost; cut off practically, and for the time being, as much from all communication with the world as if she had suddenly been transferred to another planet.

She cannot indicate her whereabouts to another vessel, she cannot recognize the bearing or distance of other ships in her vicinity, and in a few hours she will be unable to determine her own position with any certainty. Furthermore, there is no knowing at what moment another vessel may crash into her, or she into another vessel. In brief, she is face to face with the greatest peril of the sea; and the fact remains that, after all the centuries during which men have sailed the great deep, this problem of how to secure intercommunication between ships at sea during "thick weather" has resisted and still resists every attempt at human ingenuity toward its solution.

Sailors as a class are fertile in expedients for turning old ideas to account, but they are not inventive. Their calling changes them from thinking individuals to certain necessary parts of a

huge machine. Even as individuals they are not confronted during their life afloat with the necessity which spurs the inventor ashore to his best efforts — the need of fighting for daily bread — mainly because their support is always provided for them. Of shore life, of the ways of making money on land, they know little, and therefore the hope of gain from an invention profitably handled is wanting. Most cognizant of all men of the danger to be prevented, their very familiarity with it dulls their perception of the necessity for doing so. It would be easy to suggest further reasons why the sailors have done so little toward their own protection; the all-sufficient one is that they are sailors; and the nautical mind, working after its own fashion, is not unlikely to imagine the difficulty surmountable in some such way as that told in the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner:"

" 'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay,  
That bring the fog and mist."

The majority of landsmen dwelling inland naturally have little practical knowledge of ships and the dangers of the ocean. Even the dwellers on the seaboard, familiar as they may be with the sight of vessels at their wharves, or of the battered wrecks towed into port after a collision has occurred, are more apt to think of the results of marine disasters than of ways of preventing them. And so it happens that to the inherent difficulties in the way of meeting one of the most pressing needs of the maritime world there has hitherto been added general ignorance of the conditions of the problem, and, among those brought in immediate contact with these conditions, a lack of natural inventive ability to grapple with it.

Ships at sea now communicate with one another either by visible or by audible signals. Visible signals usually are made by displaying flags of different colors or patterns, which represent letters of the alphabet or numbers. Combinations of the letters or numbers indicated correspond to certain words or phrases in a signal-book, which, in the so-called International Code, is printed in all languages; so that vessels of different nationalities have no difficulty during clear weather in transmitting to one another a great variety of information. The waving

of a single flag to and fro in predetermined directions is employed in the navy, as in the army, to make signals by the Myer or other known code. At night, combinations of various colored lights are used; or long and short flashes of light, arranged in accordance with the dots and dashes of the Morse or other telegraphic alphabet, replace the flags.

Audible signals are made by the blasts of a whistle on a steamer, or by the ringing of a bell or the sounding of a horn on a sailing vessel. No small amount of ingenuity has been devoted to contriving variations in the sounds emitted, so as thereby to indicate the course on which the vessel is moving. Thus, a sharp, shrill whistle may be contrasted with one of lower tone, and, for making exceedingly powerful blasts differing in pitch, the steam siren has been devised. Long and short blasts are also arranged, like the visible light-flashes, to represent telegraphic characters, and even the employment of musical phrases analogous to bugle-calls has been suggested. The inherent objections to sound-signals increase in proportion to their complexity and to the extent to which they call for a musical ear to discriminate between them. It is not necessary to enumerate these drawbacks, in view of the fact that only those signals which involve the very simplest variations have come into use; and of the one overwhelming difficulty, that all sound-signals, during foggy or thick weather at sea, are likely to prove delusions and snares.

It is a much-debated question among nautical authorities, whether it is better or not to reduce speed while traversing a fog. To maintain full headway is to increase the difficulty of avoiding a vessel suddenly sighted ahead, and so to augment the danger of collision; but there is always the probability that the ship will the more rapidly run out of the area over which the fog prevails.

To reduce speed is to decrease the danger of suddenly colliding with another craft, but to augment the peril of one's own vessel being run into, inasmuch as she necessarily remains longer in the dangerous situation. Although perhaps contrary to the generally accepted opinion, as indicated by Article XIII. of the revised code of "International Regulations for Preventing

Collisions at Sea," which calls for "a moderate rate of speed" in thick weather, it seems to the writer that the arguments in favor of the maintenance of high speed are by no means without force. If a modern 5,000 or 8,000 ton steamer strikes another vessel squarely it matters very little whether the former be moving at two knots or twenty knots per hour. She must have steerage-way in order to keep out of the dangerous trough of the sea and to be under control.

Calling steerage-way a speed of but two knots per hour, it requires but a simple arithmetical computation to show that the striking energy of the huge mass is so enormous as to be practically irresistible by the side of any floating structure. As between a speed of ten knots and twenty knots, the effect, due to the difference, on the vessel collided with, needs little consideration, in view of the tremendous nature of the shock and of the disastrous results which will follow it at the lower velocity. On the other hand, the cases of the "Arizona," in her sudden collision with an iceberg while running at usual speed, of the "Bombay," which cut down the man-of-war "Oneida," and still later, of the "Celtic" in her collision with the "Britannic," all tend to show that the striking vessel receives her injury in the least vulnerable portion, and despite more or less crushing of the bows may remain afloat long enough to enable her to reach a not far distant port.

To steam swiftly through a fog and so to increase the chances of collision with another vessel, or to go slowly and so to increase the chances of another vessel colliding with us, may be simply, perhaps, to choose one or the other horn of a dilemma. It is of more importance to do away with the dilemma itself, and this can be done only by inventing some way of transmitting intelligence from one ship to the other independently of the prevailing meteoric conditions. And it is by reason of these conditions that sound-signals fail or mislead.

The sensation of sound is due to a vibrating movement of the air-particles of the atmosphere. Waves of alternate condensation and rarefaction emanate from the sounding body, in close analogy to waves in water, apparently moving from the center of disturbance. Sound-waves striking a dense mass of fog may

be reflected from it as from a solid wall, or in passing from a place of less density to one of greater density, or the reverse, they may be bent or refracted from a straight path. So they may be reflected from the sides of high waves, or from low-lying clouds, and may be multiplied or broken up and distorted to produce the curious and not well-understood effect known as the "ocean echo." The auditory apparatus of the ear receiving the sensation of sound takes no cognizance of the various deflections which the air-waves may have undergone, but conveys to the brain the impression that the sound emanates from a body in the direction of the final path of these waves.

The upshot is that it becomes exceedingly difficult and often impossible to recognize the true position of the resonating source. The whistle-blasts of an unseen ship may seem to come from a point far distant from that of her real location. There is no certainty about it. Or, rather, there is a constant and oppressive uncertainty which no contrivance for magnifying the sound, or for modifying its character, is able to resolve.

Not merely is the evidence of the location of the sound-source thus falsified, but conditions often supervene when the ear becomes at fault in estimating the probable distance of that source. Dense masses of watery vapor may act as a screen to diminish the loudness of the sound, on the one hand, and, on the other, conditions may occur whereby the sound becomes better conducted than in dry air, when the loudness may seem greater. Therefore a false idea that the other vessel is receding or approaching may be produced. Again, it may so happen that the sound will be completely diverted, as by total reflection, so as not to be heard at all. The limits of this paper prevent further discussion of the delusive character of sound-signals, but enough perhaps has been stated to indicate their unreliability. Where then are we to turn for safety?

It is a matter of gratification to know that perhaps never before has this important subject more closely engaged the attention of investigators. The wonderful progress made during late years in the development of electrical science has naturally suggested the thought that electricity can be directed to this new task. The first steps have been made, doubtful and hesitating,

to be sure, revealing little, perhaps only serving to define more clearly the exceeding difficulties of the problem; but nevertheless they raise the hope that the highway leading toward its solution may at least soon be entered upon.

Two methods of establishing communication between vessels have been proposed, one being partly electrical and partly acoustic, and the other wholly electrical in character. The first system has been experimented upon by Professor Lucien J. Blake and, to some extent, by Mr. Edison. Its general plan is as follows: any sort of sound-producing apparatus, such as a whistle or fog-horn, is arranged to produce its blasts under the surface of the water, wherein the sound-waves will travel in all directions with a velocity four or five times as fast as in the air. There is nothing electrical, therefore, in this part of the contrivance. The receiving apparatus is to consist of a tube extending down through the ship, and open below, so as to become filled with a column of water into which some of the sound-waves pass. In this tube is to be arranged a telephone transmitter (the contrivance ordinarily talked into), which will take up the sound which has passed through the water and electrically transmit the signals through a wire to the captain's cabin or other quiet room in the ship, where an ordinary telephonic receiver is provided, at which instrument, during night and thick weather, some one is constantly to listen. Professor Blake states that signals have thus been sent between boats a mile distant, through a rough sea and in a dense fog, and that the sound of a bell has been heard over a distance of one and a half miles, around three or four turns of a river, when entirely inaudible through the air.

Mr. Edison's plan, so far as it has been made public in the newspapers, appears to involve very much the same idea as that of Professor Blake. Nothing could be clearer than the distinguished inventor's elucidation of what he intends to accomplish, but no reported results are at hand other than a general statement that intelligible messages have been transmitted over a distance of a mile through the water of a Florida river. In view of the promptness with which the achievements of Mr. Edison, when successful, are turned to practical account, the absence of further information renders it possible that he may be waiting



for whatever light other investigators may be able soon to throw upon the subject, or, at all events, that he has not yet reached the hoped-for measure of success.

The second system is that proposed by Professor Alexander Graham Bell, and, as already stated, is purely electrical. He suggests an insulated wire to be connected with a dynamo on board ship, and trailed for a considerable distance astern. The electrical circuit from the dynamo to the exposed end of the wire or metal plate thereto attached, is completed back to the vessel by the water. The other pole of the dynamo may be connected to the iron ship herself. The reported theory of this arrangement is that when the current in the above circuit is interrupted by the making of signals, currents will be induced in a similar circuit established on another vessel, and that the variations produced in the second circuit will affect a receiving telephone included therein, so that signals will there be reproduced. A quite extended series of experiments has been made by Lieutenant Bradley A. Fiske, U. S. N., with the object of testing this plan, but the results are rather negative than affirmative in value. Lieutenant Fiske's experiments certainly have the merit of boldness and originality, for he attempted to convert the steel "Atlanta" into a huge electro-magnet by winding electric-light wire around her, and to receive signals by induction through the agency of another magnified magnet, improvised from an iron tug-boat.

Of the two systems thus briefly outlined, that attributed to Professor Bell is the most promising. The objections to the acoustic plan are many and serious. The motion of the vessel herself, the constant vibration of the hull, due to the moving machinery and impact of waves, the groaning and creaking of the ship's frame, and other unavoidable noises always present in a vessel in a sea way, and intensified in stormy weather, will affect the delicate mechanism of a telephone transmitter and tend to obliterate and obscure the signals received. Besides these difficulties are those of securing a column of still water despite the rolling and pitching of the ship, of arranging an apparatus that will not hinder her speed or be injured by her possible grounding, and which will withstand the corrosive effects of salt water.

Professor Bell's system is simple, but its efficacy, it is thought, will be greatly restricted by the limited area over which it can be rendered useful. Apparently it should yield best results through a cutting of the so-called equipotential lines, into which the path of the return current through the water divides, and which inclose, so to speak, the entire submerged portion of the ship. If these lines be intersected, as by a wire extending from another vessel, at two points of different electrical potential, then a current will be set up in the intersecting wire which may produce audible signals in a telephone connected in circuit. The trouble here is that the surface area included within the outermost of these encompassing lines will depend upon the length of the trailed wire carrying the dynamo current, and unless this be very great, the area will be so restricted that even before a signal is received on an approaching ship the distance between the vessels may have become so reduced as not to leave sufficient time for effective change of course in order to avoid collision.

Professor Loomis, of Washington, some years ago was reported to have succeeded in transmitting telegraphic signals between two kites at high elevations, the current being supposed to traverse an air-stratum. Following the same idea, it has been suggested that signals might possibly be obtained between large sheets of metal placed aloft on the masts. This, however, is merely speculative, and interfering atmospheric conditions, especially in fog, are readily apprehended.

At the present date, therefore, the great problem has been no more than barely attacked. That it will be ultimately solved and by electrical means the writer fully believes. Whoever succeeds may hope to secure for himself a reward that might gratify the highest ambition. Lieutenant Fiske has pointed out that at the present time there is absolutely no way of communicating intelligence between the ships of a fleet during the smoke and noise of battle; and that "in a naval conflict that fleet would conquer which possessed, *cæteris paribus*, the best method of signaling." But beyond this lies the safety of life and property afloat which will be secured. It may be readily predicted that governments will compel the use of an efficient system of intercommunication upon all vessels carrying passen-

gers, and that insurance companies the world over will not be backward in demanding all the protection that it affords for cargoes and vessels, even if ship-owners should not hasten, in deference to their own interests, voluntarily to adopt it.

As to the inventor sustaining his monopoly under the protection of patents, there is little question. It is certain that there is no efficient means known of accomplishing the desired result at the present time, and attempts therefore to invalidate his patents, if in other respects sound, by suggestions of anticipation by old and inadequate devices, will meet no favor in the courts. Utility here will not merely suggest originality, but be strong presumptive proof of it.

“It would seem,” says Mr. Francis Galton in his work on “Hereditary Genius,” “that discoveries are usually made when the time is ripe for them; that is to say, when the ideas from which they naturally flow are fermenting in the minds of many men. When apples are ripe, a trifling event suffices to decide which of them shall first drop off its stalk; so a small accident will often determine the scientific man who shall make and publish a new discovery.” For this invention it is believed that the time is now ripe. It remains to be seen which of the many minds engaged upon the task will first secure successful results, and with them justly merited fame and fortune.

PARK BENJAMIN.



# The Forum.

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JANUARY, 1888.

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## THE DEBT OF THE OLD WORLD TO THE NEW.

I AM asked to say something in a short space on a great subject. I cannot therefore deal with that subject from all its sides and in all its bearings. It will be best to choose some one of its many aspects which I may be able to speak of with some fullness. And one side of my allotted subject has for me a special interest, as connected with subjects which I have thought and spoken of in other shapes. It is largely my business to deal with historic cycles, and the effects on the Old World of the discovery of the New form the greatest of all historic cycles. I may be allowed to quote some words of my own, in the last of my published Oxford Lectures.\* I am there pointing out how largely the vast civilized world of Europe and European settlements, as it stands since all traces of the power of Rome have passed away, has fallen back on the state of the small civilized world of Europe before the power of Rome began. In both alike there is the same absence of any ruling center; only in the great modern world the powers which act without such center are nations, or at least powers which put on the shape of nations, while in the small ancient world they were single cities. I said, in my Oxford Lecture:

“ The substitution of the nation for the city is, from one side, part of the process which we may, for our purpose, call the physical growth of the world.

\* “ Chief Periods of European History.”

The world in which we live is in physical extent vastly bigger than the first civilized world of old Greece, vastly bigger than the far wider Mediterranean world of Rome. What the Ægean and its borderlands once were, what the Mediterranean and its borderlands once were, Ocean and his borderlands—his borderlands spread over so many continents and islands—are now.” \*

This practical increase in the physical extent of the world, that is, the spread of our knowledge and our dealings over a much larger part of the world, is, in other words, that discovery of the New World of whose effects on the Old World I am now to speak. I do not understand the words as confined only to the discovery of America. The discovery of America is but the greatest instance of that general process of finding, settling, conquering, new lands on the part of European nations which has been going on ever since the middle of the fifteenth century, and which has not stopped yet. The lands discovered have been sometimes uninhabited, or inhabited only by weak or savage tribes who were easily supplanted by the European settlers. In such lands there has been colonization in the strictest sense; a new people has grown up in a new land, a new settlement of Europe on some soil far beyond the bounds of Europe. Other lands which were fully inhabited, often by settled communities with a certain measure of civilization, were simply brought under the political power of the conquerors. Here there has been no colonization, strictly so-called, no growing up of a new European people in a new land. For the first of these processes North America has furnished the widest field; for the second, India. To British India indeed, taken alone, we cannot apply the word “discovery;” the work done there was gradual conquest of a land whose main features were already known. Still, as applied to the whole dealings of European nations with India, we may fairly speak of discovery. The land was not, like America, wholly unknown; its existence had never been forgotten; but it was so little known, the relations which now began between Europe and India were so wholly new, that the Portuguese of the fifteenth century may be fairly said to have discovered India itself, and not merely the path to it. And between these two classes of occupation comes a third class. The history of Mexico,

for instance, is clearly different from the history either of British India or of the United States. The Spanish occupation of Mexico was conquest in a sense in which the French and English settlements in North America were not. A nation was subdued in its own land; but its blood has mingled with that of the conquerors in a way which has not happened in the French, and still less in the English, settlements. The discovery of the New World, in the widest sense of those words, has thus given room for European settlement, conquest, dominion, in distant lands, in several quite distinct forms. There has been colonization in the strictest sense; there has been the mere establishment of European dominion. And there has been something between the two, conquest combined with settlement, the upshot of which has been the growth of a nation of mingled blood in a way unknown to either of the other processes.

Now these last two forms of conquest have been common enough in all times and places. What distinguished the American and Indian cases from others was that they were conquests made by sea, and not only by sea, but by long voyages over the ocean. The British dominion in India differs from the dominion of Rome in her subject provinces mainly in this, that the Roman dominion was continuous. Any part of it might be reached from any other part by land, or by crossing narrow arms of the sea. Between Britain and India there is still a long voyage, and in the beginning of European dominion in India that voyage was much longer. It followed that the distant dominions of England, Spain, or any other European power, could never be fused together as the empire of Old Rome was. The distant dominion of any power that conquers by sea can never put on the same unity as a power whose territory is continuous. The one European power whose position has allowed it to do its conquering and colonizing by land is Russia. Hence follows another difference between the position of Russia and that of other European lands. When Portugal, Spain, France, England, Holland, conquered and settled in far-off lands, they did it of their own free will; they all might have stayed at home. But the vast barbarian background of Russia has made advance on her part unavoidable. Her growth in northern Asia has been simply the necessary continuation of

her advance in Europe ; it has less in common with the original settlement of English colonies in North America than with the westward growth of those colonies after they had become the United States. But for colonization in the strictest sense, for distant settlements made by sea, we must seek our parallels in much earlier times. We shall find there parallels as close as distance of time and difference of scale will allow, in the very first ages of European history.

To the earliest seafaring nations of the Mediterranean, first the Phœnicians, then the Greeks, the waters of the great inland sea were exactly what the waters of the ocean have been to the nations of Europe since the fifteenth century. The coasts of the Mediterranean, European and African, the great islands of the Mediterranean, from Cyprus to the Balearic group, the great central island of Sicily above all, lay open to discovery and settlement exactly as the coasts and islands of the ocean lay open in later times. Between them the two seafaring nations spread their discoveries and planted their settlements over the whole Mediterranean coast, save only where, in Egypt and in central Italy, settlement was impossible. The Greek comes into historic being in the peninsula which parts the Ægæan and the Ionian seas. These seas, and their coasts and islands, the Ægæan far more than the Ionian, were his world, his range of discovery, his range of settlement. The shores of Africa, Sicily, and southern Italy, the coasts and islands of the Hadriatic, the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Tanais, are all gradually opened to Greek enterprise ; lands known before only by vague report are visited and settled ; the first Greek ship that makes its way to the land of gold in Spain comes back to awaken the same kind of wonder as the first European ship that made its way to the land of gold in America. Thus, while Greece and Greek settlements were the whole civilized world of the time, the world was opened, the world was practically enlarged, by every new step in advance taken by Greek adventurers. The Greek, with his settlements spread over so many distant shores, became another being from the Greek shut up within the narrow border of his elder land. His range of thought and knowledge, his range of intercourse and trade, enlarged at every step. And he learned a lesson far more precious



than mere knowledge, far more precious than any increase of trade or wealth, or material gain of any kind, a lesson which has never again been so thoroughly learned as he learned it—the new lesson of colonization. Wherever the Greek settled, he carried Greece with him. His countless settlements, each as truly a part of the Greek whole as any city of the old Greek motherland, formed a scattered nation, whose several members might have their jealousies and even wars, but where a War of Independence and a scheme of Imperial Federation were alike unneeded among cities free and independent from their first hour.

This difference, as I have set forth elsewhere, comes naturally of the difference between settlements by cities and settlements by kingdoms. Otherwise the colonization, strictly so called, of modern European nations, answers, as nothing between them exactly answers, to the colonization of the old Greek cities. But the other side of the discovery of the New World, the cases of simple conquest, or where conquest is more prominent than settlement, closely reproduce the later form of the extension of Greek influences, when they were spread abroad, not by the settlements of independent cities, but by the conquests of Macedonian kings. Greek princes explored lands hitherto unknown; they ruled over vast barbarian dominions; they planted cities which were Greek in all but Greek political life; they spread a varnish of Greek culture over their whole kingdoms; they offered a career to enterprising men of every class in every part of Greece; barbarian princes followed in their ways, till a vaneer of Greek speech, Greek thought, Greek outward ways, was spread over a large region of the East. The same thing has been done, partly in the same lands, by later European conquest, and by the imitation of European ways on the part of the conquered and their neighbors. But these forms of conquest, of something approaching to settlement, stand apart from true settlement in either age. And between the last Greek colony on the Euxine or the Hadriatic and the first Portuguese colony in the islands of the ocean, nothing perfectly analogous to either was seen in the world. In the progress of the Roman Empire there was both discovery and settlement, but not such discovery and settlement as took the

Greek to Spain and the Spaniard to the West Indies. It was more like the growth of Russia in later days—annexation by a great adjoining power advancing by land or by short voyages. The Roman pressing into Gaul, Germany, and Britain, was a discoverer in so far as he was pressing into a world that was new to him. Caesar in Britain, Drusus in Germany, were, if not like old Greek or Phœnician colonists, yet at least like Alexander on the Indian rivers, at once discovering that they might subdue and subduing that they might discover. The Teutonic and Slavonic settlements within the empire supply hardly anything for our purpose, save that a certain analogy may be found in those among the Teutonic settlements which were made by sea.

The settlements of the Angles and Saxons in Britain, the settlements of the Scandinavian nations in the British islands, in Iceland, Greenland, Finland, were settlements in the first sense. And it may seem a strange accident that the Northmen failed to make at this time that special discovery of a new world which was left for the Italian servants of Spain and England. We cannot reckon what would have been the effect on the history of the ages next following if lasting Scandinavian settlement had spread itself from dreary Greenland over more promising Vinland. But so it did not spread; in fact, all those Scandinavian settlements which remained purely Scandinavian were made in lands whose geographical position condemned them always to remain of secondary importance. When that wandering of the nations was over, of which they were the last wave; when the Teutonic advance on one side and the Slavonic advance on the other had fully formed that state of things which we call the Middle Ages, little room was left for true discovery or settlement. The settlements of the Crusaders in the East, the more long-lived settlements of the Venetian and Genoese commonwealths, are rather cases of conquest than of true colonization, and they have very little in common with discovery. In northern Europe, where the Baltic plays the part of a secondary Mediterranean, there is something nearer to true settlement. This we see in the advance both of Teutonic knights and of Hanseatic merchants along the northern coasts and islands. Still, even their advance does not fully reproduce the old days of Phœnician

and Greek settlement; it was, like the advance of Rome and Russia, the advance of an adjoining body; it did not imply, like the earliest days of settlement, long voyages to the shores of lands altogether new. In truth, the whole time from the growth of the Roman power to the beginning of Portuguese settlement, was a time when the civilized world—first the world round the Mediterranean Sea, then the world of Europe, widened at one end and shortened at another—was in a manner shut up in itself. It had little power of expansion, no power of distant expansion; it had seldom to deal with things positively new, but rather with new shapes and relations of what was old. No error can be greater than to look on the so-called Middle Ages as a time lacking in intellectual activity. In no age was the human mind busier. But it worked round and round on the same subjects; it worked always either in submission to authority or in conscious revolt against authority. The world of the Middle Ages was a world full within its own range, but pent up within both intellectual and geographical bounds. The widening of the geographical range was no small element in the widening of the intellectual range.

That practical enlargement of the world of which we have already spoken gave the nations of Europe a new range of action, and thereby of thought. It was an opening, an awakening, like that of the Phœnician and the Greek when they made their way to the western waters of the Mediterranean. Under the circumstances of the later age, the new opening, the new discovery, fairly balanced the elder one; it was as great, considering the scale of things in the two ages; it was hardly greater. In the first case it was the actual beginning of historic life; in the other it was the breathing of a fresh life into a body which had been for ages living. Some of the immediate material effects of this new life need hardly be dwelled on. It is a somewhat higher lesson to point out how the New World in its various forms has opened a field for the often pent-up energies of the Old. But the greatest work of its discovery lies deeper. That discovery, on its various sides, but above all on its American side, gave mankind a fresh opportunity of grasping the older and truer notion of nationality, and of founding the

feeling of national brotherhood on some higher ground than that of mere political allegiance to a common government. The full grasp of the idea has been hindered by circumstances, above all by that doctrine of personal allegiance which unavoidably made its way into settlements founded by subjects of kingdoms and not by citizens of free cities. Of that doctrine the almost necessary consequence was the parting in anger between the metropolis and the colony. Still we may see, as was seen in the earliest ages of Europe, as was never so fully seen in the intermediate ages, how much of adverse circumstances the truest and highest national feeling is strong enough to live through. Save for the doctrine of allegiance, with its baleful consequences, the true national relation, higher than any merely political relation, would have been taken for granted from the beginning. The Englishman of Britain and the Englishman of Massachusetts or Virginia, the Spaniard of Castile and the Spaniard of Mexico or Chili, would have stood in exactly the same relation as the Phœnician of Tyre and the Phœnician of Carthage, the Greek of Phokaia and the Greek of Massalia. Of the working of that unhappy doctrine it comes that neither side is quite so ready to see the full brotherhood of the other as it might have been if the political independence of the younger branch had been a thing taken for granted from the beginning, instead of a thing left to be won by arms. Still, not a little has been done. It is much to have, on whatever terms, a new England in America, a newer in Australia, newer ones still in Africa and New Zealand. It is best when national growth takes the form of brotherhood, but even when it takes the lower form of "empire" it is not wholly without its results. The world still becomes wider; our thoughts, above all our political thoughts, win for themselves a wider range. The thought of nationality, the thought of the fellowship of blood and speech, if not wholly severed from the thought of political connection, is at least no longer tied down to a single island, to a single political community. As of old, wherever Greeks settled, there was Hellas, so now, wherever Englishmen have settled, there should be England; and so there is in a very true sense, though not in quite so full a sense as might have been had some things gone otherwise.

This is a doctrine which I shall never be weary of preaching, in season and out of season, east of the ocean and west of it. If I say things which I have often said before, I am thankful for the opportunity of saying them from a new point of view and coming round to them by a new path. Our question to-day is, not what the New World owes to the Old, but what the Old owes to the New. We may perhaps sum up our inquiry by saying that, if the New owes to the Old its being, the Old owes to the New the revival and expansion of its being. It owes the teaching of a whole range of new experiences, of instructive likenesses, modified by no less instructive unlikenesses. We see what is like, what is unlike, when the work done of old in one land has to be done again in another, by men who come of the same stock, who find themselves in some measure under the same circumstances, but who are parted by the events and experiences of ages. No such teaching could ever have found its place within either the old civilized world of Europe or the old barbaric world of Asia. It needed the settlement of European nations in lands altogether new, if only to show what life and strength the old historic nations of Europe kept and still keep. Men said at Athens in past times that the commonwealth could be rightly guided neither by the old apart from the young, nor by the young apart from the old. The experience of the one, the energy of the other, were alike needed. What is true of individual man in the particular state, is true also of nations in the world at large. The old and the new alike are needed. The man of the New World must gain by looking back to the rock whence he was hewn and to the hole of the pit whence he was digged. And the man of the Old World gains no less by seeing what men of his own stock have done in new-found lands, how they have won for the common speech, the common law, the common memories, a range which in physical extent the Old World could never have supplied. We of the Old World trust that the day of utter decay for the old lands of Europe is still far distant; but if it ever should come, we shall have, what our forefathers in past ages had not, the wider lands of a new Europe to fall back on.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

## WHAT SHALL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TEACH ?

I AM asked by the editor of the FORUM to contribute the first of a series of articles in which this subject is to be considered from many different points of view. Now, whatever conclusions any one may deduce from the principle involved in the question, the principle itself is so clear as to be beyond reasonable dispute. A private school may teach anything that the pupil cares to learn, provided the teacher and the parent are agreed; but a public school supported by public money can justly aim only at public ends. Individual generosity may lavish itself as freely as it will on individuals; but the managers of the public schools are using money not their own, and have therefore no moral right to do with it as they please. They are only the agents of the public, and it is their business to see to it that the public money is not turned aside to merely individual uses, but is faithfully devoted to such ends as shall subserve the public welfare.

Looking at the matter in one way, of course it must be admitted that the tax-payers of a state have the right, political if not moral, to establish any educational system they please. If they wish, they may set up a complete hierarchy, based on a universal kindergarten, and rising through all the grades till it is crowned by a state university as thoroughly equipped as is that of Harvard. And it will be still further admitted that some half a dozen men, or possibly even one, may be thus brought to the front, who, by some extraordinary services to the state, may pay back to the public all that the whole system has cost. But such results are not to be counted on. They cannot be planned for, and therefore are not legitimate objects of endeavor. Reasonable men, in the outlay of large amounts of money, are expected to have in view at least probable ends. The public-school system is not a speculation. But I would not for one

moment have it understood that any criticism is even hinted as to the amount of money devoted to the work of public education. Indeed, I am of opinion that much more ought to be expended, at least in some of the States, and that the system should be made much more complete and more nearly universal. It is only a question as to how the money shall be used, and as to what are the immediate ends to be sought.

A scheme of state education where everything is open to the poorest child, from the primary school to the university, might well fascinate us; but the advocates of such schemes generally overlook at least two somewhat important considerations. These are, first, that only an infinitesimal fraction of all the children of a state ever do, or ever can, avail themselves of any such opportunity; and secondly, that a system of education that aims at, and can only be finished by, the university, cannot be adapted to the needs of the immense majority, who will never come in sight of the university.

Here a serious question arises, whether what is called the higher education of the very small fraction that ever attains it might not be provided for in a much more simple, direct, and inexpensive way. And then, is it not true that those who do seek the higher education for the sake of entering on professional life are generally aiming at purely personal ends, and not the public welfare at all? The man who is preparing himself for the practice of law is generally looking only to making money for himself; why then should his bills be paid by the public, any more than those of one who is trying to learn the carpenter's trade? Is it entirely clear that the public would not be better served by fewer lawyers, and by more thoroughly trained mechanics? And I have never been quite able to understand why I should tax my hard-worked neighbor to pay the expenses of my boy's learning Greek, any more than I should to cover the difference between a twelve and a twenty dollar coat for him to wear. One is generally as purely a private and personal end as the other.

And then, as to the second consideration mentioned above. A graded system of teaching, which begins with the primary school, and whose logical end is the university, can

hardly be one best adapted to the needs of the great majority, who, as a matter of fact, do not even get through the grammar school. Must not the result necessarily be that they will get a smattering of the first end of many things, and that they will learn hardly anything with such completeness as to make it of the most practical value? It is no adequate reply to this to speak of the general mental training and the value of association with other pupils; these they would get under any other system quite as well. The simple truth of the matter is, that only a very small proportion of those who go up from the primary school ever get through the grammar school, and only a fraction of a fraction ever get through the high school. The proportion, then, who share the advantages of the university can be easily estimated.

Now I do not care at present to contend over the point as to whether the state has the right to use the public money so lavishly for what is chiefly the private and personal advantage of so small a fraction of its citizens. But one point I do care to raise, and to contend for with a good deal of earnestness. Whatever other use the state may make of the public money in the matter of education, it is most clearly its first and its chief duty to see to it that the great majority of the children, who can go to school during only a small part of the time that is covered by the whole course of instruction, should get the largest and best possible results in that brief time.

Public money for public ends; that is the principle. Any other disposition of it is manifestly unjust. The only excuse for the existence of a public treasury filled from private pockets is in its being used for the general good. To what extent then is the public good dependent on the education of the children? Whatever else the state may rightly seek, beyond all question its first interest is in having all the children fitted for citizenship. And certainly it has no right to seek other ends until it has done all possible for the attainment of this. But to slight or neglect this, while spending enormous sums of public money in such training as has chiefly personal or private ends in view, is a flagrant abuse of a sacred trust.

The way is open now for raising the question as to what are



the chief things which all children ought to be taught in order to fit them for citizenship, and so to secure that general good which justifies their being educated at the public expense. Three things, it seems to me, constitute the great essentials. The first in order of time, and also of importance, since it is the condition of all the rest, is that each child should be trained into fitness for honest self-support. Next, since in our republic every man is an active part of the governing power, he should be trained into an ability to use this power intelligently. And, in the third place, he should be so educated morally that if afterward he chooses to do wrong it may be apparent that he does it with his eyes open, and not through ignorance. These three, then, individual self-support, an intelligent ballot, and morality, are the foundations on which the public welfare must rest; these, therefore, are the chief ends to be sought in a system of public education supported by public money. Concerning the first and second of these points I have a few things to say, and more than a few concerning the third. Circumstances are just now pushing the moral and religious side of the question to the front, and it must soon be dealt with in some practical way. But before coming to that I wish to offer a few suggestions as to the others.

The ability to earn an honest living is the first qualification for good citizenship, and therefore the first thing to be aimed at in the training of children. The accumulated wealth of the world, if nothing were added to it, would keep us in existence no more than two or three years at the most. He, therefore, who takes out of the scanty store and, while able to do it, puts nothing in, whether he be king or beggar, is at any rate a thief. Education is not first or chiefly the mere learning of certain facts or principles; it is such a development and training of faculty as makes one master of himself and his conditions. Our present definition and popular use of the word are altogether too narrow. There is something absurd in calling some practically incapable man, some useless member of society, educated, because he happens to have had a parrot-like knowledge of Greek or French drilled into him; while another, whose eye or hand is trained into fitness for rendering grand service to the world, is spoken of as uneducated. Honor belongs to service, and if we

wish it to go where it belongs we must honor the training which fits one for it. A boy whose genius is in the direction of hand-work, artisanship, should be able to graduate with an honor equal at least to that which attaches to one who is to fill a clerkship.

To this end industrial training must be made an integral part of our common-school system. If this cannot be done without a radical change in our present methods, then such a change must come. Since the great majority of our boys must depend for an honorable living upon the skill of ear or eye or hand, does it not seem a little one-sided to have almost the entire work of public education devoted to something else? The money that is raised by taxing all is now devoted chiefly to the peculiar and special needs of one in a hundred, while the ninety-nine must get their peculiar and special training somewhere else and at their own expense. This is not saying that the ninety-nine get no good out of the public schools; they do get much. But the system is not for the best service to the majority, since it assumes that everybody is going to complete a course of study that only a very few in reality ever do or ever can complete.

It is a serious question whether a thorough system of industrial training can be successfully grafted on to the public schools as they now exist. The course of study already embraces more than most children can master. Concerning all of the things that are already taught (?), it is impossible that the children should be anything more than "smattered;" the word "educated" is hardly the appropriate one to use. If life were long enough, and if people were able, it would, doubtless, be a delightful thing to study and learn everything. But under the conditions of our present life a selection has to be made. And certainly the things that are indispensable to an honest livelihood should find place, though some otherwise very desirable things have to be crowded out. And if the end can be attained in no other way, technical schools should be established, where, along with industrial training, other common and most necessary things might be learned. A choice of courses might thus be open; and, since only the same number of children would have to be provided for, the expense need not be materially different from what it is now.

The next essential thing in a public-school system is the imparting to all children of so much general intelligence as shall make it safe for them to become citizens. Such a thing as an ignorant vote ought to be an impossibility. Most vices and all crimes are punishable by law; and yet no one of them, not even all of them together, are so dangerous to a republic like ours as is an ignorant ballot. Ignorance is the ready tool in the hands of designing villainy. There is no injustice in the disfranchisement of ignorance; it is simply asking that a man fit himself for the grand work of sharing in the governing power before the power shall be intrusted to him.

One of two things therefore ought to be done. Either the ballot should be taken from the hands of ignorance, or else immediate measures should be taken for compulsory, universal education. If any State of the Union be too poor to inaugurate such a system, let it be temporarily assisted by the general government. This is a matter in which the national safety is concerned. Nothing short of this would justify such a use of the public money; but this would justify it. This national help might be gradually withdrawn in a ratio directly proportioned to the increase of wealth in the State; it should entirely cease so soon as the State should become able to bear its own burden.

We next come to consider what is now of most immediate, pressing importance. The people of this country ought clearly, and at once, to understand how much and just what is involved in the relation of religious instruction to our public-school system. The great danger is that the matter will somehow go by default. Some step involving disastrous consequences may be taken, either through the thoughtless, the indifferent, or the ignorant consent of the voting majority; and then, when too late, it may be found that a consent, once given, is not easily taken back.

The Roman Catholic Church is pressing vigorously in all directions its plea for a division of the money raised for the support of our public schools. This is now the only real danger that threatens our educational system. It seems, at first thought, a rational request that they be allowed to educate their own children in their own way; and of course no one will be found

to question that right, provided they pay for it themselves, and provided, further, that they educate them into fitness for honest, intelligent, and moral citizenship. The state must look on each child as a candidate for future citizenship; and not only has it a right, it is under the highest obligation to the great mass of the people it represents, and whose interests are involved, to demand this fitness as a condition of the privilege. The state raises the money and pays for the education of its future citizens. The point of view of the state must then be kept constantly in mind if one will avoid confusion and sophistry in the discussion of this intricate problem.

The plain, simple question then, stripped of all that does not properly belong to it, is this: What is the interest of the state, as a state, in the moral and religious education of the children? And the answer, stripped of all that does not belong to it, is equally plain and simple. It is this: If a line of division is to be drawn between morality and religion, then the state is even vitally interested in the morality of its citizens; but, as a state, it can have no possible interest whatever in the question as to what their religion is, or whether they have any at all. This is not saying that religion is of no importance; it may be granted to be the most important thing in all the world, only it is no affair of the state. In the popular mind—and the general religious teaching of the past justifies it—the following distinction is generally drawn between morality and religion: Morality concerns this life chiefly, and is justice and right as between man and man; religion is chiefly concerned with the salvation of the soul in another world, and is a matter between the soul and God. Now, the state is rightly and vitally interested in the matter of my behavior toward other men—my conduct as a citizen in this world; but it is simply none of its business whether my soul is saved in the next world or not. There is even a touch of the absurd in a man's asking a share of the public money to pay for the work of saving his child's soul in some other world.

The claim will perhaps be made that religion is the basis of morality, and therefore essential to it. If this claim were analyzed carefully, it would probably be found to depend on a verbal

definition. Perhaps I might be inclined to admit it myself if I were allowed to make my own definition of religion. But in the ordinary sense in which words are used, the claim is palpably, most manifestly, untrue. It is important that this be made very clear, and, in order to that, we need to look at it in two different ways.

Every orthodox Protestant child has had it preached at him ever since he can remember, that, while morality might be good enough for the present, for this world, it was not enough to secure his soul's salvation. The distinction is even a commonplace. Who is not familiar with the interpretation put upon the story of the rich young man in the gospel? He had kept all the commandments, but he still lacked the one thing supposed to be essential—to what? To goodness in this world? Not at all; to salvation in the other. The church, then, has made this distinction for ages, and has insisted on it as a vital one. It is too late now for it to deny its own universal teaching for the sake of making a point in the management of the public schools. The church has always taught that natural goodness was possible without religion.

But if religion is absolutely essential to morality, we cannot leave the matter all in the air; we must go on and ask what religion?—whose religion? Religion in general cannot well be taught in the public schools; it must be some particular religion. It might, indeed, be possible to teach the science of comparative religions; to instruct pupils in the historical origin and development of the different religions; but this is not what the religionists want, and it would not satisfy any of them. We are, then, thrown back on the previous question: Which religion is essential to morality, and so the one that ought to be taught in the public schools? Of course all Christians would make short work of the claims of any religion not Christian. And, equally of course, the Protestant would make short work in disposing of the Romanist's claim, and the Romanist of the Protestant's. The use of a very little common-sense and common observation makes it perfectly plain that, as a matter of fact, there are moral Buddhists, moral Mohammedans, moral followers of Confucius, moral Romanists, moral Protestants, moral agnostics, and even

moral atheists. And it is a trifle absurd to be arguing the impossibility of what is standing palpably before one's eyes.

Lord Bacon does not occupy much space in giving his opinion as to which, no religion, or religious contention, is the more dangerous to public order. He says :

“Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation, all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not ; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states ; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further, and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the times of Augustus Cæsar) were civil times ; but superstition hath been the confusion of many states.”

The most superficial study of the facts of human progress makes it perfectly clear that religious contention is one of the bloodiest factors of history. It has perpetually been at work undermining and overthrowing the civil order. And no one, not blinded by the necessity of maintaining the desperate defense of a foregone conclusion, can think of denying for a moment the palpable and universal fact that there are moral men in all religions, and with no religion, as that word is commonly used. And if the different religions were to arrange a competitive examination for the purpose of determining under which one the least amount of immorality would be found, he would be a rash man indeed who did not accept and act on the advice of Hosea Biglow :

“Don't never prophesy unless ye know.”

Morality, then, and religion, as the words are popularly used, are separable in fact, and can be in thought, and so might be in teaching. The welfare of the state depends on the morality of its citizens, and therefore this is one of the things that ought to be taught in the public schools, and for the teaching of which the public money may rightly be expended. The general government at the outset recognized its natural and rightful limits, and grandly planted itself on a purely secular basis. But in some of the States, as in Massachusetts, some unsightly shreds and patches of the old union of church and state still remain. Among these is the reading of the Bible as a part of the opening exercises of the public schools. As the custom at present

exists, it is either not enough or it is too much. Even if the ordinary Protestant still thinks that the safety of his child's soul depends upon the teaching of his own special religion, he can hardly think that this sort of thing is satisfactory. My own memory of it convinces me that the custom, as practically carried out, conduces to anything else almost than the producing of a genuine religious impression. Souls must be in a curious condition that can be saved in that way.

But suppose the Protestant really thinks that this is important to the welfare of his child, can he not call up in his own heart a sufficient sense of justice to remember that the Romanist is equally and as honestly convinced that this very thing is endangering the eternal welfare of his child? Can he not remember that the Jew also has opinions and convictions as sacred as his own? Can he not reflect that men of all religions and of no religion contribute to the common fund out of which the expenses of the public school are paid, and that therefore all have equal rights in its management? Are not justice and fair play not only qualities of all true Americans, but some small part at least of all decent religions?

I would have the last trace or remnant of any religious teaching taken out of the public schools, and that for two great reasons, either of which is amply sufficient. In the first place, as already shown at some length, while conduct in this world is vital to the welfare of the state, it is none of the state's business to establish an insurance bureau for the safety of souls after they have passed beyond the limits of the state's jurisdiction. And, in the next place, so long as Protestant tradition keeps up—what is hardly more than a farce—the semblance of religious teaching in the schools, a weapon ready-made is put into the hands of the Romanist enemies of our whole public-school system. The Romanist has a right to complain when his child is compelled either to stay away from school or else to be subjected to a kind of so-called religious training in which he does not believe. But if the schools were made purely secular, as in justice they ought to be, he might indeed continue to complain, but he would no longer have a right to do so. He could no longer rouse public sympathy as against a manifest in-

justice. To-day, and as against the schools as at present managed, he has a case—a strong one; and this it is that threatens the safety of our system. Take that away, and it would be impossible to rouse a popular movement in favor of a division of the school money. The Romanist might still call the school “godless,” and say that its teaching does not go far enough to suit him; but at any rate he would then have no just ground of complaint against it so far as it does go. He would be on the same level of right and privilege as all other citizens. The steam-engine, in this sense, is “godless,” but a bishop does not therefore decline to ride in the cars. And he, as well as all the rest of us, will come at last to the just and common-sense position of rendering “to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” Let the public schools be kept as training-schools for citizenship, and let the distinctively religious institutions devote themselves to looking after religious needs.

While, then, I would not have the state teach anybody’s religion, I would have the public schools give careful and thorough instruction in morality. I am perfectly well aware that there is no agreement among the different schools of thinkers as to the origin, the underlying principles, or the ultimate sanctions of ethics. But all this need not trouble anybody, or seriously interfere with the practical work of the public schools. There is no practical disagreement as to what sentiments and feelings it is right to cherish, or what conduct it is right to indulge in as between man and man. And there is no question that these right feelings and actions do conduce to public welfare and private happiness. What the feelings and actions are, then, that human history shows have been conducive to the general good, these surely may be easily taught; and I see no reason why a text-book of morals might not be drawn up as easily as one on mathematics or geography. Suppose theorists do dispute as to why it is wrong to lie, all admit the fact. People have disputed over the why of the multiplication table, and speculated as to whether two and two might not make five on some other planet. But nobody denies that, in this world, two and two do make four. The whys are not easy to explain in any department of study, and I do not know that they are much more difficult in



ethics than they are anywhere else. But the whats are practically plain, and as plain in ethics as they are anywhere else ; and the whats are enough for the purposes of teaching in the public schools. If all the children can be taught what is right, and can be made to see and feel that human well-being and happiness depend on it—their own as well as that of everybody else—then the priests, the ministers, or the parents will have perfect liberty to tell them the why as much as they please, and nobody need be troubled by the explanation, or question their right to give it. That they be taught and made to feel the facts is the only concern of the state, and this, it seems to me, is as practicable as teaching in any other direction.

M. J. SAVAGE.

## THE ADMISSION OF UTAH.

AN article by Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, entitled "Shall Utah Become a State?" appeared in the November number of the FORUM. Its purpose is to show that polygamy can best be suppressed by the Mormons themselves, with Utah a State in this Union, under a Constitution recently adopted by them, in which that practice is declared to be a crime. The eminent talents and personal worth of the author, as well as his novel and startling propositions, will secure for the article a wide circle of readers. It is, in fact, a plea for the Mormons, presented by one who has long acted as the attorney for that people in their struggles with the authority of the United States, and who, so far as the public are informed, still speaks for them in that capacity. It is a fair inference, therefore, that the article not only presents the views of the author himself upon the questions raised in the course of its reasoning, but also that it is designed to present in advance and to challenge discussion of the grounds upon which the application of Utah for admission into the Union is to be renewed as soon as Congress shall meet. It is stated to be an entirely "new aspect" of the case which is now presented for consideration, and it may be taken for granted that this new aspect will never be presented in a stronger light nor enforced with more cogent argument, for no abler advocate will come after Mr. Curtis, or bring forth reasons which have escaped him.

It is difficult to determine, after a perusal of this article, whether, as a whole, it was intended to be an arraignment of the United States Government for its past and present attitude toward the Mormons, or a plea for the admission of Utah as a State. It is quite as much the one as the other, and it leaves the two altogether independent of each other, drawing no argument in favor of the one from any results or condition of things in Utah springing from the other.

What Mr. Curtis has to say may be summarized as follows: 1. The United States have in the past been criminally indifferent to the prevalence of polygamy in Utah. 2. They are at present cruelly and unjustly harsh in their efforts to suppress it. 3. Utah ought to be admitted into the Union on the terms proposed by the Mormons themselves.

Though the first two of these propositions are probably intended as premises for the last, there is not even a "therefore" from the beginning to the end, to show that the author himself found any support for the latter in his belief in the truth of the former of these statements. Hence, so far as the logic of the argument is concerned, the first two of these propositions may be either admitted or denied without the least effect upon the last, the only one indicated by the title of the article. But the manner in which these two propositions are treated, and made to lead up to the third, is calculated to leave the impression upon the public mind, not over-logical at best, that somehow the question whether Utah shall or shall not without further delay be admitted into the Union, depends upon the condemnation or justification of what has been done in the past and is done now by federal authority to suppress polygamy in that Territory.

I am ready, in the first place, to admit as an indubitable fact, that the attitude of the United States toward polygamy in Utah has been for a long series of years one of criminal indifference and neglect. What follows? Simply that federal authority should endeavor to make amends in the present for past omissions, in greater zeal and more stringent measures to eradicate and suppress the evil. It cannot be held by Mr. Curtis (for he believes, with all of us, that polygamy is a crime), that because we have hitherto shut our eyes to its presence and prevalence, therefore we should not open them at all. And if any measures are to be adopted to put an end to it, shall they not be adequate for that purpose?

But, secondly, I am very far from admitting that the United States are cruelly and unjustly harsh in the methods and measures now pursued for its suppression. No evidence is brought forward to support the affirmative of this proposition. The complaint comes from Mormon sources. Mr. Curtis asserts

that the administration of the law for the suppression of polygamy in Utah "is a disgrace to the jurisprudence of the United States," that he is "disgusted" with it, and that the "facts" upon which he makes his statements are "indisputable." But he leaves his readers without the benefit of the evidence which has so wrought upon him, and expects that his conclusions will be adopted without inquiry into the sources of his information, or question as to the accuracy or color of the testimony which has reached him. The public will be slow to give credence to statements coming from Mormon sources alone, for their character in the past has not been such as to establish confidence in either their honesty or accuracy.

But, admit what Mr. Curtis says of the federal courts in Utah to be true, what is the remedy? Shall they be abolished, or shall they be improved? Granted that the hand of aroused and intemperate zeal is at last falling too heavily upon this vice and its slaves, shall it be taken off altogether? If there are errors in administration shall they be corrected, or shall administration be abandoned entirely? Wise statesmanship suggests for each of these questions but one answer, and there is no light in which they can be considered which furnishes an affirmative to Mr. Curtis's question, "Shall Utah Become a State?" The arguments for and against the present admission of that Territory into the Union are not deduced from the past indifference of the government to the growth of polygamy in Utah, nor from the wisdom of present efforts for its extermination, but rather from the condition into which its presence has brought the people of that Territory, however it came there, and whether or not present treatment will work its cure.

We pass on, therefore, to the main argument of Mr. Curtis for immediate admission. This argument is based upon the premise that "this matter has now assumed an entirely new aspect." This new aspect does not consist in any change in the actual condition of the people in respect to polygamy. It does not consist in an abandonment of the practice, nor even in a disavowal that it is still, as ever, a part of the Mormon religion. On the contrary, he avows that "it is of no sort of consequence to the people of the United States whether the Mormons," in pre-

senting themselves in this new aspect, are "in the matter of marriage consistent or inconsistent with their professed religious belief, past or present, about that institution." Even more, "their religious belief becomes of no consequence whatever" in deciding the question raised by the new phase of their application for admission. This new element in their application is a proposed Constitution containing a stringent prohibition of polygamy. And about this we are told that it is not of the slightest consequence whether they were sincere in putting it in the Constitution or not; whether they still believe polygamy to be a part of their religion or not; or even whether "the whole thing is designed as a trick" or not; for "it would be a great folly," says he, "to repulse them on the shallow suggestion that they are a people not to be trusted." "The real question," he affirms, "is whether it will be possible for the Mormons, under this Constitution, by any contrivance whatever, to restore polygamy or to create any legal or constitutional status of plural marriage." Observe the care with which these words are used. "To 'restore' polygamy or to create any 'legal' or 'constitutional' status of plural marriage." But the "real question" is not at all whether polygamy is to be "restored." It is already there, and the vital question is, Shall it be abandoned, destroyed, removed, as an unclean thing? Nor is it touching the core of the evil to prevent them from setting up plural marriage by law. There is no cure but removal. The real question is, Will they let it alone where it already is, permit it to continue? It will grow, spread itself, and pollute the life of the people without legal sanction: toleration is enough. It has existed in that Territory, not only without law but against law, since 1862; and under the ban of the law and in defiance of its penalties it has spread through the Territory like the plague. It could find no greater legal hindrance under the proposed Constitution than under existing law. It does, therefore, become of the utmost importance whether the Mormons intend, in the Union, as at present, in defiance of existing law, to maintain plural marriage as a part of their religion or not, whether this constitutional prohibition is a mere form or not, and whether it be a "trick" or not. There is no provision in this Constitution, and it would be futile if there were, against

that same indifference and toleration of polygamy for which Mr. Curtis has arraigned the United States under the law of 1862, and under which plural marriages have spread all over the Territory.

The condemnation of polygamy which the Mormons, without a shadow of change in religious belief or in purpose in respect to it, have put in their proposed Constitution, is in these words:

“ Art. XV., Sec. 12.—Bigamy and polygamy being considered incompatible with a ‘ republican form of government,’ each of them is hereby forbidden and declared a misdemeanor. Any person who shall violate this section shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, and imprisonment for a term of not less than six months nor more than three years, in the discretion of the court. This section shall be construed as operative without the aid of legislation, and the offense prohibited by this section shall not be barred by any statute of limitation within three years after the commission of the offense ; nor shall the power of pardon extend thereto until such pardon shall be approved by the President of the United States.”

This certainly is sufficient as a form of words, and, if it were born of the heart and had the vitalizing force of an honest public sentiment behind it, would inspire hope that the beginning of the end was nigh—for which every dictate of wisdom would, however, bid us still to wait; but yet we would wait impatiently, and pray fervently for the speedy coming of that end. But without such vitalizing force behind it this provision will prove but empty words, signifying nothing. If the ninety-five per cent. of all the Mormons of Utah who voted, as is alleged, for this provision, really, in their consciences, and with sober, honest judgment, believe polygamy to be a crime which ought to be punished by fine and imprisonment, they can, without outside help, banish it from Utah in far less time than they can convince the American people that pretense is as safe as sincerity, or that a belief that polygamy is religion will put it down just as soon as a belief that it is a crime.

Mr. Curtis seems to think that Congress will have discharged its whole duty toward the people of this Territory, a duty he properly denominates a “ public trust,” if it discovers that this provision in their proposed Constitution is so framed in that it cannot be got out; and that without stopping to inquire whether

it will remain there a dead letter and polygamy grow more defiant day by day under it, as it has under federal penalties. The chief inquiry to which he would lead us is, how the United States can best get polygamy off its hands, not how it can best get it out of a Territory over which it has "plenary legislative power." The bond which he has taken from these Mormons, and upon which he rests with a satisfied conscience, not that they will enforce this provision of their Constitution when Statehood confers on them autonomy, but that they will let it remain where it is, is contained in this proviso:

"Provided, that Section 12 of Article XV. shall not be amended, revised, or in any way changed until any amendment, revision, or change as proposed therein shall, in addition to the requirements of the provisions of this article, be reported to the Congress of the United States and shall be by Congress approved and ratified, and such approval and ratification be proclaimed by the President of the United States, and if not so ratified and proclaimed said section shall remain perpetual."

If there could be any possible saving efficacy in keeping the words of this section in the Constitution without any guarantee of its enforcement, or in limiting the power to pardon a convict without attempting to obtain one who might be pardoned, still, the section and the proviso together are an attempt to introduce for the first time into our system of government elements so novel and startling, and so repugnant to its delicately adjusted dual sovereignty, that the scheme ought not to pass unnoticed.

If there were no other objection to it but impracticability and inefficacy, it would be difficult to imagine what argument could be brought to its support on that score alone. The defiant attitude of polygamists toward the present law, and the constant increase of plural marriages in spite of its penalties, have been already alluded to. Yet in precision and scope, as well as in stringency and effectiveness, the federal law, which has been on the statute-book for many years, is quite equal to the provisions of the new Constitution prohibiting this practice, upon which the present application to become a State is based. It must not be forgotten that the whole machinery for the enforcement of the existing law is in federal hands, opposed to the practice and bent on suppressing it; while the enforcement of the provisions

of the new Constitution will, the moment Utah becomes a State, fall absolutely into the hands of the Mormons themselves. The judges to try polygamists will be appointed by polygamists. The sheriffs who select the jurors to pass upon the guilt or innocence of such persons as they themselves see fit to bring into court, on warrants issued only by polygamists, will all be of like kith and kin. To polygamists themselves it is proposed to commit the duty of suppressing polygamy. If this crime is seeking shelter and immunity, the proposed scheme cannot fail to commend itself to the now anxious and troubled apostles of this "revelation" as more effective for that purpose than any plan hitherto devised. A burglar might as well ask to be tried by a struck jury of burglars, as a band of polygamists to be permitted, by the means here proposed, to erect themselves the tribunals in which, and control the instrumentalities by which, the crime of polygamy is to be punished, if punished at all.

But there is another and graver objection to the admission of Utah as a State upon the condition proposed in this Mormon Constitution: it is a surrender of the equality of the States in this Union; it is an attempt to bring into the Union a State with a government unrepresentative in form and substance, and without that autonomy which all the other States possess. The Constitution has made no place for such a State, and without perfect equality the Union could not exist. The constitutional provision for the admission of new States is very brief, and contains no other limitation but the discretion of Congress. "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union," is all there is of it. It is true that there is no requirement of equality and no prohibition of inequality, no more than there is any denial of the right of States, after admission, to come and go at will. When a man proposes to build an arch he does not stipulate that there shall be a keystone; and when the framers of our Constitution, representatives of the thirteen States, asked through those States the people thereof to breathe into it the breath of life, it did not occur to them as necessary to declare that it was to be a Union of equal States. Nevertheless, of the twenty-five States admitted into the Union since its foundation (except two, Vermont and Kentucky, the first admitted), the act of admission



itself expressly declares in every instance, as if to keep so fundamental a truth ever present, that the State is admitted "on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever." In the acts admitting Vermont and Kentucky (1791) the language is "as a new and entire member." It is true that in some of these acts of admission there are in addition other provisions; some of them requiring acts to be done by the State, some of them prohibiting the State from asserting rights of property and of taxation in the public domain, some relating to boundaries. In two or three instances the act recites that certain conditions have been complied with beforehand, and then declares that the new State is admitted "upon an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever." In others it recites that the State has already, of its own voluntary act, before application for admission, conformed its Constitution to the conditions upon which the Territory was originally accepted or organized by the government, and then declares the admission to be on the same equal footing, etc. In two instances, Missouri and Nebraska, there are imposed certain conditions, in substance that the State should not, in specified particulars, violate the Constitution of the United States. In Missouri the condition was that a certain article of her Constitution should never be construed to authorize any act "by which any citizen of any of the States of this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States." This is just what the State could not have done under any circumstances, but this she "by solemn public act" declared she never would do, before the President, by proclamation, declared her admission upon an equal footing with the other States complete. In the case of Nebraska, Congress, in its Enabling Act, passed in 1864, when the universal abolition of slavery was upon the eve of consummation, required that the State should in her Constitution prohibit slavery and secure to her citizens freedom of religious opinion and worship, already secured by the 1st Amendment of the Constitution. There were also the ordinary provisions relating to the disposition and taxation of the public lands. In 1867, nearly two years after the adoption of the 13th Amendment abolishing

slavery everywhere in the Union, the act admitting Nebraska recites that she had accepted these conditions. Louisiana, formed out of territory acquired from France by a treaty which Mr. Jefferson declared was made without constitutional authority, and which contained many provisions in detail, came into the Union under an act requiring the fulfillment of many of these provisions, some of which the United States Constitution itself secured, and some were mere details of future government. But, after all, the act declared the State to be admitted, like all others, "upon an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever." But Louisiana cannot be cited as a precedent, because her case is *sui generis*, and can never occur again.

The "conditions of admission" here briefly examined are cited in support of the application of the Mormons of Utah for admission as a State upon the condition they offer. But a moment's examination will disclose a radical difference. Whatever force or effect may be imputed to any of these conditions, the States, after all, when they came into the Union, came in, as the act admitting each of them declares, "upon an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever." And this is the test. Is there any one thing touching their own autonomy which any one of these States can do which each and all the others cannot also do? Or is there anything touching local government that any one of them cannot, and the others can, do? Apply this test to Utah inside of the Union under the condition proposed. If that condition is binding on her, she alone of all the States of this Union cannot make her own State Constitution. Congress can dictate its terms to her and can absorb her local government. If Congress can take upon itself the function of local government voluntarily surrendered in this Constitution, it can exact others, as a condition precedent, not only of Utah but of any other new State; and it may exact, or have tendered to it voluntarily, one such condition of one State and another of another, and still a different one of a third. In this way Congress may come to assume all the functions of local government which were "reserved to the States respectively or to the people" when the Constitution was adopted, and which were therein expressly denied to Congress. To this end the claim of Utah

inevitably tends. It is enough to say that a Union made up of such States is not the Union our fathers formed.

This reasoning leads to a further inquiry. Suppose Utah to be admitted as a State into the Union, with the proposed condition, and that then there is a breach of the condition. Utah amends her Constitution in regard to polygamy in the manner every other State does--by the sovereign act of her people. What then? What is the remedy? There is no process by which the State can be enjoined, restrained, or indicted. Nor can the citizen who persists in plural marriage after the change be in any way punished. He has violated no law of the United States, nor of Utah. If Utah, by coming into the Union under this condition, shall have made, as Mr. Curtis claims, a compact with the United States essentially limiting her own sovereignty, it is not the individual who makes it, and he cannot be punished because the State fails to keep it. Mr. Curtis admits that the State cannot be punished, but he would enforce the penalty for infraction not upon the State, which made the covenant, but upon the individual, who did not make it. When Utah becomes a State, it is a State law against polygamy alone which the citizen violates, if any; and the State alone can punish him; and when the State has repealed that law he no longer violates any law. If the State has covenanted with the United States that it will not repeal the law, and then repeals it, the State alone can be dealt with, for it alone has offended. And if the United States are without power to reach the State, they are without remedy. Nor can future legislation provide a remedy, for all this is *ultra vires*. The Constitution clothes the United States with no power to make any such compact with a State. The United States have no power over State or citizen not granted to them by the people or States themselves. They have no original powers; all are derived, and are expressed in the Constitution or implied as necessary to carry out expressed powers. What part of their sovereignty the people took from their State and gave to the United States is clearly defined in the instrument by which the people created the United States. That is all the sovereign power the United States can assert in a State, and it is the same over and in all the States. One will search in

vain for power in that instrument by which the United States can make compacts with particular States for special or particular surrenders of sovereignty in those States alone, and to enforce their fulfillment. Even the approval or disapproval of the pardon provided for in this Constitution could not be required of the President, for it is no part of his constitutional duty or power to pardon offenses against State laws, and if he does it, it is a voluntary act of the individual, and not of the President.

Mr. Curtis has added to his reasoning in support of his new method for the suppression of polygamy other propositions and statements not necessary to his argument, but which require some notice. He asserts that no one of intelligence enough to have an opinion upon the subject will dispute the following proposition :

“Congress is at all times under the obligation of a public trust to bring every Territory into the Union as a State, whenever its inhabitants desire it, and they have population and resources sufficient to sustain a State government.”

Are numbers and resources all that fits a body of people to become a State of this Union? Is Congress, to whose discretion alone the Constitution has left the answer, under the obligation of a public trust to admit into this Union, “on an equal footing with the original States,” a body of anarchists if they are numerous and rich enough, and are desirous of taking their bomb-shells out of the reach of federal authority and under cover of a Statehood created by themselves? Is it no part of this discretion reposed in Congress to inquire into the social fitness for Statehood of a people seeking admission? Is it not worth while, is it not a duty, to look into the palms of their hands to see if they are red with blood, into their “resources” to see if they are made up of dynamite and death-dealing engines? Would Mr. Curtis make a body of savages a State in this Union if they were only numerous and rich enough, and were desirous of bringing their war-dances under their own State control, free from the interference of the Indian office? The Indian Territory to-day meets all his requirements for Statehood; is he ready to admit it on the asking? These questions answer themselves. Something else besides numbers and wealth is necessary to constitute a

State. If the "men who their duties know" are lacking, no other elements have yet been found out of which a State can be built.

Considerations like these, arising solely out of the defiant persistency of a large majority of her people in degrading and vicious social relations, wholly unfitting them to appreciate and maintain the higher and purer life in which Statehood can exist, alone delay the admission of Utah into the Union on an equal footing with all the other States. It is no part of the policy of any party in this country, and never has been, to put her off, "for the purpose," as Mr. Curtis intimates, "of indefinitely prolonging the territorial condition, thereby keeping open a field for the exercise of federal patronage and power." No such purpose or wish actuates the United States in dealing with this people. If delay seems to them grievous they can put an end to it; but not by cleaving to their evil ways, nor by new contrivances to protect and perpetuate them.

It is no part of this argument, but one is strongly tempted to **make** the inquiry why this loud and anxious voice is raised in behalf of Utah, while absolute silence is maintained over the postponement of Dakota, with three times the number of inhabitants there are in Utah, homogeneous, intelligent, law-abiding citizens, living the life and practicing the virtues upon which alone a Christian people can build republican institutions. Why are Washington and Montana entirely ignored in this zeal to erect a new State in Utah?

## SHALL WE CALL HIM MASTER?

LET the temperature of a lake fall to the freezing-point; apply a piece of ice to it, and see the radiating lines of crystallization shoot singing from that center of force, in all directions, while other rays start from their thousand nodes of maximum intensity, until the whole surface of the water becomes a solid sheet of ice. Just so the Roman empires, west and east, were subjected to a superficial crystallization of Christianity started in Judea by Jesus Christ.

Four times only has the world seen this phenomenon take place on the grandest scale. Four men only are honored, and justly honored, as prime instigators of quasi-universal reconstructions of human society; four persisting representatives of the self-revealing Deity; four blasts of the trumpet of creation; four human gods, repeating with renewed power the first command to chaos: Let there be light! Let the dry land appear! Let us make men in our image! And these four, as all thinkers know, were Confucius, Gautama, Jesus, and Mohammed. Why should mankind not worship them?

Science merely means right knowledge; there is, therefore, a science of everything and all things; and it can be attained. There must be a science of so great a phenomenon as that of human worship: first, a right knowledge of the facts; then, some correct explanation of origin and meaning; lastly, of products and consequences. As worships have been and still are numerous and diverse, each kind of worship is an object of scientific inquiry; and the inquiry must be conducted according to those now well-defined rules of investigation which furnish the powerful intellectual apparatus of the modern mind, and have filled the nineteenth century with a sunshine of discovery.

Science has always been the knowledge of the true, the real, the explained, and comprehended. The love of science is a wor-

ship of the truth, heartfelt, ritualized, inspired ; an admiration of the truth for the sake of its mere goodness and beauty ; adoration of it for the benefits it must bestow ; invocation of it against deceits of all kinds and the ills sure to flow from them. The thinker caresses science as his own special and particular bosom friend, as a man kisses the mother of his children ; for truths are the children of his science ; and there need be no jealousies, for every one can have his own science, an innocent monopoly, as every man may have a wife all to himself, and her children are all his own.

There is a science, then, of worship, theology ; and we are inducted into it, as into any other science, by a comprehensive study of all its phenomena, great and small, subjective and objective, internal and external, past and present. There is no royal road to its knowledge ; no ready-made, safe and easy, pontifical, ecumenical, biblical, or private chariot, coach, or railway train to ride in to our destination. He that arrives will arrive through many *détours* and tribulations ; strengthened but footsore ; with a radiant countenance, but covered with sweat and dust, and with the garments of his outset dropping in rags from his back. He will cut many a dogmatic walking-stick by the road, throw it away, cut another, and go days' journeys without any kind of staff whatever ; but in the end there will be given him by invisible hands the breastplate of righteousness, sandals of peace, and a helmet of perfect safety.

All these metaphors come from old times and the far East ; but they too, like all other gifts of the world to man, are objects of scientific investigation, and get illumination and elucidation in our western present day. They are precious relics of antiquity stored and studied in our museums ; priceless gems, once set in the eyes of oriental idols, now passing current as part of the wealth of modern civilization and modern knowledge. Pseudo-science only will call them antiquated or fictitious. In genuine science they become comprehensible, and recover their divine values. The old is better than the new, for it has stood the test of time, is guaranteed, has blessed many generations, stands for permanence ; it persuades the human will by a double authority, that of its own virtue and that of an ever-increasing prestige ; it satis-

fies the heart like a schoolboy friendship ; it enriches the imagination with a thousand varied suggestions and impulses to the pursuit of truth.

To discover the nature of things there are two methods, both good, and the man of science adopts first one, then the other, alternately : by synthesis ; by analysis. In his scientific investigation of worship, the professional theologian usually studies items, and reasons from them to the whole. But as the items are infinitely numerous, and all of them local and temporary, the theologian seldom has the opportunity, and seldomer still acquires the faculty, of comparing and contrasting more than a limited number of these items, accidentally presenting themselves to him, and by no means selected as typical specimens. The clergyman is imprisoned in his parish, learns only the ritual of his sect, knows nothing of other races and their worships except by vague rumor ; and, of course, the science of religion is as narrowly restricted in his creed as the science of biology is restricted for any entomologist who spends his whole life in the one study of moths and butterflies. There may be many species and even genera of souls in his church or chapel, but they all belong to one family of one class of human souls. Every other family, every other class on the surface of the planet, is a world in itself, of very different forms and habits from anything he has ever clearly seen ; and their phenomena, so foreign to his train of investigation, so beyond his reach, become for him either false or unnatural. From the play of soul life around him he gathers all he ever knows, can know, or cares to know, about the divine in mind and matter. All other creeds are heresies ; all other worships idolatries ; all other philosophies foolishness.

But the scientific theologian with a devout zeal sets himself to observe and compare all types of human souls ; their different modes of thought ; their different race sentiments ; their different faculties for self-expression. The science of worship is to his view as comprehensive a grouping of various allied phenomena as that presented to the naturalist who studies the science of life in all mineral, vegetable, and animal realms, taken together as subdivisions of a complete, semi-conscious and conscious, continuous world. He is not at liberty to select beforehand one



creed or worship as the only true ; all are historical phenomena and have their natural values. It is his business to discover the precise natural (that is, divine) value of each. Features common to all, when clearly comprehended, combine to create for him general truths. Comparative theology, like comparative philology or comparative botany, is a product of modern science, and will assuredly extinguish the rage of fanaticism, sect against sect, in the exact measure of its adoption into the common education of nations ; at a speed inconceivably slow, no doubt, but to an extent among the governing and teaching classes of mankind sufficient to abolish all kinds of public and legal intolerance, and to an extent among the millions sufficient to diminish somewhat, and to place under some slight restraint at least, that personal, private, and family intolerance which is one of the inherent elements of the struggle for life among creatures evidently created not only to eat, but also to worship. For what touches the eating, the science of comparative human interests (political economy) seems destined to do much ; as regards worship, the science of comparative theology will surely do as much.

What is the largest view one can take of worship as a world fact ? The earth-ball hums with worship on its way through space. Every hour of every day in every year through the centuries millions are at worship, kneeling, reciting prayers, singing or shouting hymns and liturgies, at one and the same time, but in a great variety of language, style, and sentiment.

Set a terrestrial globe upon a table in a darkened room ; place a lamp so that the right hemisphere shall be illuminated and the left remain in shadow. The line of sunrise will then stand north and south from the poles to the equator. Turn the globe slowly toward the lamp, and you may in imagination hear the inarticulate whisper of multifarious devotion along the line of sunrise ; millions of Mohammedans reciting their morning prayer ; millions of Christians chanting theirs. As you turn the globe the edge of the lamplight brings belt after belt of praise to Buddha, to the Sun, to Jehovah, to Allah, to Jesus and the saints, before you. Each meridian, as it passes from darkness to light, starts fresh millions from their beds to worship and to work. Could the sounds be magnified, what a zone of song

and wail, what a deafening roar of rapture and despair, what lovely lyrics of thanksgiving, pleadings for forgiveness, cries for mercy, invocations of patron saints, savage howlings of nature-worship, supplications for daily bread and daily strength of soul, yearning protests over deathbeds; what cathedral music, what beating of tom-toms, what mutterings of hermits, along that north and south meridian line! And then immediately along another and another and another as fast as one grows still the next belt to the west of it breaking forth, to be followed by the next, and so continuously. Meanwhile, on the far side of the globe, the evening twilight line, with its Angelus, its sleeping prayers, its songs of gratitude, is performing an antiphony, traveling westward likewise. As these sunrise and sunset lines cross the crowded continents the noise swells; when they pass into the oceans it dies away; but one or other is always continental, so that the worship of mankind never ceases for a single moment of time; and never for a moment is the worship pure, but always like the plaintive wailing of an Æolian harp, the strings of which are not attuned to the diatonic or any other scale of notes, but all are sounding in discord, now one, now another, taking the precedence. Does God listen to all this? And what does he think of it? Certainly, nothing is more tedious and depressing than the sing-song of an Æolian harp.

Fortunately, each worshiper hears but his own part of it, or that of his own village church, or little sect of co-religionists; and unfortunately, he is instructed by his local religious guide to believe that God is a severe musical critic, picking out one instrument from the orchestra to which alone he pays a pleased attention, counting all the rest a disgusting, but inevitable, nuisance to his ear. God is made to play the unhappy *rôle* of an Orpheus reversed; an Orpheus compelled to listen without cessation through all ages to a few larks and nightingales in a waste of roaring lions, braying asses, and screaming cockatoos. No man of science, even if he possesses not a spark of the poetic in his composition, can help smiling at so silly a formula of nature. Were such the real state of things God would surely imitate Verdi, who hired ninety-six hand-organs as they consecutively came in front of his study windows, and stored them away in

comfortable silence in his back rooms, thus clearing the air of his neighborhood for six months, while he composed his opera. Infinitely numerous indeed have been the petitions sent up to God on Friday by Moslem muftis, on Saturday by Hebrew rabbis, and on Sunday by Coptic, Nestorian, Armenian, Greek, and Roman priests, and Protestant clergy, that he would confiscate forever ninety-five, but let the ninety-sixth enjoy a profitable monopoly of popular custom. But as he has never answered any of these petitions, every naturalist must draw the logical inference that all kinds of worship are equally agreeable to him, or equally unheard. The first alternative is evidently preferable. But a still safer hypothesis would be one that should harmonize variety of human worship with variety of animal and vegetable form; with the changeful sequence of geological formations and the extinct races they contain; and with the exquisite counterplay of human emotions in every individual of our own last and noblest race.

It has become fashionable to begin and end the discussion of every subject with a taste of evolution, like the egg and apple at a Roman symposium. But even if the fact of the divine tolerance of every kind of worship be brought to the test of this superficial and ephemeral yardstick of truth, it would be justified; for evolution in life-forms gives a completely satisfactory sanction to every necessary intermediate phase of growth. But as evolution in religion is of all others the most terrible bugbear to a devout soul, trusting solely in inspired Scriptures, once delivered to a given class of saints, God's pleasurable listening to the whole world's worship can only be explained by his indomitable affection for all his creatures and his cheerful appreciation of their natural infirmities. Still better; with a Creator's insight he can measure with discretion the value of their doings, and, like a wise farmer, enjoy both the heavy wheat which waves in the breeze on the best soil, and the scanty grass that springs up from a cold and soggy meadow.

Confucius organized the religion of plain, virtuous, common-sense, and the worship of parents and ancestors. It was well done. It has worked well three thousand years. It has experienced no evolution. Myriads of millions have lived and died

in it. Social contentment is its characteristic feature. Sobriety, thrift, politeness, and common helpfulness are its fruits. History is its science; birthdays are its Sabbaths; thanks for life bestowed are its liturgy; and it has no litany. In all this it is like the religion of Jesus, but it lacks the Heavenly Father.

Gautama organized the religion of self-abnegation, the renunciation of desire, and the worship of the spirit of the universe. It has not worked well. It has suffered a backward evolution. The bad yeast of the unnatural has soured in the bread. Instead of making, it has destroyed, the home. Its characteristic feature is the lamasery, the monastery. It annihilates the individual man for the sake of the universe, and turns the public school into a society for the suppression of cruelty to animals. Its essential principles were originally those of the religion of Jesus, but its contempt for common-sense spoiled their application to the commonwealth.

Mohammed organized the religion of enthusiasm, and the worship of one God, unknown, undescribed, incomprehensible, but absolutely one and no more. Whatever God might be, the great point of his character was oneness. To avoid the possibility of multiplying him, in any sense, no image of him, or of any of his creatures, or of any imagination of the human mind, should be made. To destroy all other gods was the end and aim of Islam; the sword was the word, and the word was with the faithful. It is a religion of energy, of self-sacrifice on the battle-field. It is essentially a religion of temperance, truth, and justice; also, in a wide sense, a religion of human brotherhood, for it welcomes all races with that indifference to rank and caste which befits an insurrection of slaves and a republic of nomads. It has the vice of all pure democracy, the habitual elevation of the meanest and worst to the social power; the slave becomes grand vizier. Yet "it has abolished drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution, the three curses of Christian lands." It enforces successfully the social virtues: temperance, cleanliness, justice, fortitude, benevolence, hospitality, veracity, and resignation to the inevitable; but not the highest personal virtues: self-sacrificing gentleness, pure morality, public spirit for the general good, and thirst for useful knowledge. It is the religion of all others best applicable to

savage and degraded races; the most missionary and the only successful missionary religion; the antidote to both heathen and Christian superstition; a veritable John the Baptist to Jesus Christ; for primitive Christianity made but a flying visit to the earth to announce its second coming, and the earth has waited long for the fulfillment of that promise.

Jesus inaugurated the religion of unselfish human friendship, and the worship of the sacred and secret heart. All other religions say: Fear God and keep his commandments; this says: Love God, and thy neighbor as thyself. In Chinese, in Sanskrit, in the Talmud, we read the expedient advice: Do not unto others what thou wouldst not have others do to thee. Every respectable parent in all ages has reproached his child for wrongdoing in the same mundane tone: How would you like it yourself? Jesus alone converts the negative into a positive, inoffensiveness into cordiality, the self-expedient into an enthusiasm for others: Do unto others what thou wouldst have others do to thee; and whether they do it or no. He alone negotiated the triple alliance of man and man and God, and pronounced it universal and irrevocable under any and all circumstances whatsoever: an alliance of infinite and eternal friendship; and sealed it with his blood. An alliance of equal rights and duties all round—unheard-of proposition! Communism in heaven and on earth—unheard-of philosophy!

Is it true that "the incompatibility of the religion of Jesus with the requirements of actual life" is a subject which troubles the minds of millions of men? I doubt it. The statement looks like an exaggeration. Only a small percentage of Christians (so called because baptized) ever think seriously on such subjects. Those who do are very wholesomely troubled in mind at the incompatibility of their own lives with the high ideal of human existence offered to their view, not only by Jesus of Nazareth, but by other great and good men, both dead and living. It is a trouble which they should count among their blessings in disguise. The religion of Jesus certainly comes the nearest to being a religion suited to the whole race of mankind; nearer than Mohamudanism, or Confucianism, or even Buddhism, which, in its essential spirit and prominent ideas, resembles it so

curiously. What inventor would think of complaining of the mental trouble to which he subjects himself in his efforts to make the best application of steam power or electric power to his handicraft? Neither by sermons, nor books, nor by word of mouth, nor even by example, can the application of Christianity to daily life be made, in any quarter of the globe, an easy thing; it will never be play; it must always be a personal, hand-to-hand fight; a running and a wrestling; a private and particular and mostly lonely duel with circumstances for right of way across the Campagna toward some dome of St. Peter's in the distance. Everywhere are the opposing swords; and the man's enemies are those of his own household. The sole merit of the religion of Jesus is, that it has fulfilled its promise to make this war last through the centuries; nor is there a show of coming peace. Certainly the religion of Jesus is as incompatible with a *dolce-farniente* enjoyment of society, or a *laissez-faire* practice of business, as sulphuric acid is incompatible with coolness in a glass of water. Surround the water with ice, the irresistible spirit of heat will work out its chemistry. The words of Jesus are of no special value except as vehicles of his spirit. Every ray of sunlight leaves behind it the ethereal atoms by the momentary use of which it has bridged the distance and reached the planet. Jesus himself said that only the essential meaning in language has a life-giving quality. His oriental metaphors served precisely the same purpose then that our chemical metaphors serve now, and are to be regarded for no more than they are worth in suggesting the fundamental energetic spirit of goodness to various kinds of minds. They all have to be translated by the disciples, each disciple translating as best he can into the language of his own existence, to make them applicable to his own conditions of growth. The process is troublesome; but what of that? It is the salutary daily exercise of the human soul in functioning its triple nature—mind, heart, and will.

I see no incompatibility of the religion of Jesus with modern life provided the letter of his teaching be subordinated to its plainly expressed spirit; and that is why I can call him Lord and Master. As a man of science I should not, will not, dare not, "swear in the words of any master;" but the whole life of a

man of science disciplines him into a positive and habitual worship of genius; makes him an enthusiastic admirer and imitator of the *spirit* of every master in science. Why not in morals? Why not far more, infinitely more, in morals? As the conduct of life is every way grander than any scientific work can possibly be, so the Sun of Righteousness must outshine the lesser luminaries of physical knowledge. Therefore I recognize no incongruity when Keplers and Newtons, a Linnæus, a Davy, a Joseph Henry, or a Cuvier, worship Jesus of Nazareth; or when a Washington or a Lincoln confesses to the self-molding of his whole life on the well-known, perfectly comprehensible and comprehended Christian model. It is then with a sense of buoyant exultation that I, as a man whose whole life has been devoted to exact science, say that I worship Jesus of Nazareth as the ideal man, and therefore King of Men. His reported words are but the locks of hair upon his head, the folds in his robe. His metaphors are merely the colors of the spectrum of the sunshine of the man, refracted by a Hebrew, an oriental, prism. Nor is the word "worship" a whit too strong.

In spite of the apparent predominance of superstition in the Christian churches, the common-sense of the crowd saves itself. In proof of this it is only necessary to adduce the fact that the bulk of sermonizing is made up of complaint that church members lead a worldly life, and stubbornly refuse to be converted into mystics, ascetics, and devotees. It is a fountain of hope for the lover of his kind—this persistent refusal of the congregation to be led astray by the pulpit orator, out of the wholesome pasture of a simply virtuous, everyday, commonplace, common-sense life, into all sorts of artificially arranged ornamental grounds planted with unsatisfactory exotic shrubs, some of which are as noxious as they are bitter. Our Amexican theologians may not unjustly be likened to Arab sheiks accustomed to feed their flocks and herds on acacia bushes in the Palestinian desert, who cannot bring themselves to accept as proper pasturage Kentucky blue grass.

Now, if Jesus stood for a special theological reformer, like Luther, or Mohammed, or Gautama, or for a mere social philosopher, like Confucius, it would be out of reason to worship

him as the ideal man, the man of all ages and races, the image of the realized perfection in human living, the risen Sun of Righteousness, the Son of God—meaning by God all that is best, and by Son the best personified in man. But as his character, so far as we can study it, exemplifies and enforces contentment and docility enough to suit the East, practical energy and common-sense enough to suit the West, heroism and self-sacrifice enough to suit the Arctic tribes, and a flaming imagination and passionate heart, and infinite devotion for the unseen cause of all beauty and utility, such as may satisfy the most tropical climes—there is ample reason for placing him historically at the head of the human race; nor can I see how we independent citizens of the great republic can shake off our spiritual allegiance to him, or cease to love and worship him as our natural judge and leader; in our hearts, at least, even while in insurrection against the tyranny of some of his officials.

Of the corporeal Jesus I think it may be safely asserted that we know nothing with certainty, and little with even probability; neither his race-blood, nor his parentage, nor his aspect, nor his early habits and employments. He bursts upon history with the dazzling brilliancy of a great meteor, in northern Palestine, at a mature age, when the war of races and nations had ended in the universal empire of Rome. It is said that Buddhist teachers had settled in a monastery on Mount Carmel. It is known that Jewish rabbis had transferred their schools from Jerusalem to Alexandria. The Greek philosophies had exhausted themselves in fruitless speculations respecting the nature of things and the duties of gentlemen and sages. Luxury, tyranny, slavery, filled the air men breathed, and cursed the ground on which they tried to live, living a lingering death. Universal peace meant universal unrest. The gods were all dead; but the Roman soldier, the tax-gatherer, the usurer, the robber, the poisoner, the unjust judge, the priest, the necromancer, wretches broiling in the sun on crosses, gladiators and wild beasts, were everywhere. The people had no saviour, human or divine. Even Jehovah had abandoned Israel. A descendant of Ishmael sat on the throne of David. The virtuous law of Moses and the prophets had degenerated to a



pharisaic code of washings and tithings; the serene faith of Socrates had been poisoned at the court of Antioch, and transmuted at Jerusalem into a bald denial of man's immortality, and an Epicureanism in which remained not a trace of the noble doctrines of Epicurus.

Suddenly, in that filthy world, a young man appeared who cried with a divine voice the cry of the old prophet: Wash you; make you clean! In the midst of those woful times he spread forth his arms and called: Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. For sophistries and rites and negations he gave them beatitudes. On the wreck and rubbish of society he stood like a beautiful, shining monument newly erected to the Living God, around which a crowd gathered to gaze and wonder and worship. As if he had first discovered it, he brought life and immortality to light. He lit a beacon-fire for the nations. He taught the fatherhood of God over all, and the brotherhood of all men as men for one another. He was crucified, and his cross drew all the western part of mankind unto him. The mere tradition of what he said and did has molded the history of civilization, and explains the difference between the eastern and western hemispheres.

Call him what you please, he was an avatar of the God of justice, love, and order; and as such I worship him. I look in vain to Benares, to Peking, to Mecca, to Athens, or to any other nucleus of mental and moral activity, in past or present times, for such an original and complete guide through the labyrinth of practice and opinion. He speaks indeed in parables, but a child can understand them. His reported utterances are extravagant, oriental, unpractical, inapplicable, impossible, if you will; but for all that they never deceive; they never mislead or seduce from the noblest path a human being walks. He was a mystic, but sends no man into dream-land. He was a socialist, but left each human being to apply the principles of communism to daily business according to an inward impulse to do all possible good and avoid all possible evil. What is true democracy, what is ideal republicanism, what is modern philanthropy, but the flower and fruit of the divine socialism of Jesus? He preached meekness and contentment; but who was ever bolder,

more uncompromising, more energetic. Has Christianity ever retarded the development of industry, invention, or enterprise? Will any one be hardy enough to assert that the ruling presence of Jesus in the market, the exchange, the railroad director's room, the Masonic lodge, the working-men's association hall, the court of justice, now, in the nineteenth century, would not be as divinely beneficial as it was at Capernaum in the time of Augustus Cæsar?

We are making a new world. Some think that it cannot be successfully, or at least properly, made on the basis of the religion of Jesus. I think that it can. The millions are, in fact, making it upon that basis; and in the end the millions do what is right; at all events, the millions, while at their work of making this new world, worship Jesus. Therefore is his name above every name—the most precious legacy of time to the ages.

J. P. LESLEY.

## INTERNATIONAL LEGAL TENDER.

GOLD and silver have by universal consent ever been the chosen measures of general value. The Old-World commerce of former centuries was universally based on silver. Gold, which in those times was a rarer metal than it is to-day, was rated by foreign traders to silver; and whereas silver became by universal consent the unit of account, gold was accepted in commerce at an ever-varying rate. Commerce has grown, and the necessities of trade have changed. The total volume of the two metals has largely increased during the past century. For various reasons, traders of all countries and governments of all nations have chosen to make gold the single standard of value and international exchange, while silver has step by step been degraded to the position of token money.

A valuable work on the intricate history of the standard of value in Europe during former times has been written by an eminent authority on this subject, Mr. S. Dana Horton. His work, "The Silver Pound," narrates the vicissitudes which coinage has gone through in Europe since the year 1600. The arguments which he presents in favor of the rehabilitation of silver as a standard legal tender are interesting in themselves, and of great importance to the trading communities of Europe at large.

The world of commerce in Europe is day by day drawing nearer to a financial precipice; and while it dimly foresees the danger, it steadily refuses to contemplate the remedy. Europe is menaced with social complications of serious moment because of the unwillingness to consider this great question, "What is to be the international medium of exchange; what is to be the universal legal tender of the world at large?" Population is growing at a rapid rate, and production is increasing in overwhelming volume. So far as Europe is concerned, the medium of exchange, the legal tender of account, is practically

stationary in its growth. Prices are falling in every European country; there is unrest in the money markets of the world; securities of every description are blown about like weather-cocks, and no man knows what difficulties the money markets may have in store for him in his trade and business.

Gold is fought and scrambled for between the three great money markets of the world. London, Paris, and New York, and the manufacturers and stockholders of Europe and America are dismayed by frequent monetary cyclones, which unsettle values and render steady commerce impossible. Banks and gold bondholders of all sorts are having a glorious time. Money trading was never so brisk; legal-tender gold had never so high a purchasing power. The effect of this state of things upon the army of laborers and wage-earners must eventually be serious. As prices fall before the appreciating movement of gold, wages must either fall or remain stagnant, while the creditor is receiving a larger and larger share of the laborer's product, owing to the continuing fall of prices as measured in legal tender.

Eight hundred and ten millions of Asiatics who occupy the eastern hemisphere of this globe have remained uncontaminated by the gold craze which has fallen upon the civilized West. These communities, in their attachment to established custom, continue to accept the ever-increasing volume of silver, which is poured into the East as an article of commerce from the great West, without depreciating silver as a standard of legal value among themselves. Throughout Asia, China, and India the cowry shell or the copper cash is still, in all the remoter districts, the current money of commerce.

Consider for a moment this difference of the world's legal tender. Since Germany adopted the gold system after the war with France, and thereby compelled the Latin Union to close its mints to free coinage, as well as the United States to cease coining free the silver dollar, the eastern hemisphere is the only market for the ever-increasing volume of silver coin. Silver of itself has no large commercial value apart from currency; hence, while the West is providing the eastern nations of the world with an unlimited amount of the substance of their legal tender, at whatever price the Orientals choose to give for it, the growing com-

merce of the western nations has to be measured by the ever decreasing ratio of the volume of gold to the volume of the world's increasing trade. Even if the East were separated commercially from the western portion of the world more completely than at present, and were a cessation of the great trade which is growing between the eastern and western hemispheres supposable, the disorganization that would be produced by the existence of two different standards of value in the world would be considerable. We should still have a falling scale of prices in Europe, as measured in the legal standard, gold. But when we come to consider that the trade of India and China with the West is growing day by day, the fact that the legal tender and measure of prices in these two portions of the world should have no fixed or permanent relations to one another produces a state of things which is disastrous to the interests of the trading communities of Europe and America.

Europe has drifted into her gold system almost unwittingly. The English Parliament, under the influence of Lord Liverpool, set the example to European nations of making gold the one standard of value, without in the smallest degree comprehending the gravity of the measure. While, until the end of the last century, Europe possessed only a silver coinage and silver was the only measure of value, gold was imported into England, owing to the fact that the guinea was habitually rated by the government at varying values, but always above the ratio accepted by the continental bourses. During the eighteenth century, while the guinea was accepted by the English Treasury at prices varying from thirty to twenty-one shillings, the value of gold in the bullion markets of Europe never rose above  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to one. The English silver coin was clipped or exported by enterprising traders for the purpose of obtaining the arbitrage of exchange. Lord Liverpool's statement, that the world of commerce preferred gold, and that, since there could be only one standard of value, this gold metal must be selected by England as the basis of her resumption of specie payment, was absolutely fallacious; and the arguments used by Sir Robert Peel in discussing the Bank Act in the House of Commons accredited and confirmed the errors which Lord Liverpool first promoted. The gold sys-

tem became thenceforth an article of faith with the English Treasury and with the English Parliament. It has been confidently believed that the gold legal-tender system lay in some way or other at the base of England's prosperity, and while the Latin Union and the United States were coining silver free, England failed to see that the liberal action of the silver states practically gave her the advantages of a double legal tender. The whole money of the world, as Mr. Horton shows, is the arbiter of prices. The ratio of the total volume of money to the total volume of trade must be in the last resort the criterion of international exchange, and no one state can separate herself from the financial policy of the world at large. Even England was protected down to 1872 from the consequences of her false financial policy by the more liberal action of America and the Latin Union.

Since 1872 the monetary situation of Europe has been in a state of the most chaotic confusion. Germany has bitterly repented her attempts at establishing the gold standard. Not only has she seen her newly coined gold largely withdrawn from her coffers, under the natural action of the balance of European trade, which is against her, but she has been compelled to re-issue, to a considerable extent, the condemned thalers which at different times she has threatened to put upon the European market for sale. France has protected herself by maintaining an enormous gold reserve, and, while she has ceased to coin silver, the silver which is in circulation is accepted by the government as legal tender. Italy is in the same condition.

In England silver is only a token of account, and is legal tender to the amount of only forty shillings, hence the gold speculators of London have an easy and prosperous trade. America, on the other hand, has been the victim of rival physicians. Her gold doctors would gladly demonetize her silver if only they could succeed in hoodwinking Congress to the consequences of such a proceeding. On the other hand, her silver advocates would wish to produce a boom in values by opening again the mints to the unlimited free coinage of the silver dollar. Meanwhile, the compromise which the Bland Act has effected tides over the present difficulties.

The advocates of silver legal tender in Europe would almost wish to see the United States cast their enormous reserves of silver upon the world's markets, being confident that the disaster caused thereby would necessarily compel the trading nations of the civilized West to meet the difficulty by international arrangements. Apart from the dislocation of American trade in the wreck of prices which such a proceeding would cause, the direct loss to the people of the United States would be inconsiderable compared to the ruin which it would cause to Europe. The silver which is coined annually under the Bland Act is purchased by the government in the open market and issued to the public in the shape of silver notes at par. The government gains the advantage of the difference in the value between the market price of silver and the face value of the silver note.

The direct loss to America in demonetizing silver would therefore be the difference between the price at which she could sell this silver in Europe and the value which she places upon it for the purpose of currency, together with the further fall which would be produced in the silver market in the amount of the commodity which she does not at present require for coinage, but exports annually for European or Asiatic nations.

The disaster to Europe would be otherwise. Silver has already fallen from sixty pence to forty odd pence per cent., and the only factor which in any way maintains the price of silver in the West, is the small amount which is annually purchased by the United States and the South American republics. The only other customers for the silver of the world are the eight hundred and ten million Orientals, with whom England is in close trading relations.

If silver, therefore, were to fall ten to fifteen pence further, as it would undoubtedly do if America repealed the Bland Act, we should have a complete collapse of prices throughout the whole civilized West. The price of silver has steadily varied with the price of grain, and for every penny of depreciation of silver we have seen a corresponding fall of a rupee in the value of a bushel of corn; and this fact may be taken as a criterion of the oscillation of the level of prices generally.

Various arguments are used by advocates of the gold stand-

ard in favor of the continuance of their system. It is maintained that there cannot be two standards of value. This has never been denied. I have said that up to the end of the eighteenth century silver was the only standard of value and a universal legal tender, and that the action of England in the first place was the cause of transferring that standard from silver to gold. Had the world of trade maintained silver in its former position, the present difficulties would not have arisen. But now that the transfer has been made, escape from the intricacies of the situation is by no means easy. In the first place, we cannot return to the former system; and, secondly, to adopt both metals as legal tender at a fixed international ratio offers many difficulties to the negotiator; while, on the other hand, the sudden increase which such an arrangement would give to the total volume of the world's currency would produce an inflation of prices which would be dangerous in the extreme to the conditions of trade, and would produce a panic of speculation which could in the end result only in gigantic disaster.

That it is not impossible to rate one metal against the other, while making both of them legal tender, is conclusively shown, first, by the rating of gold to silver, which was done by European bourses in the past, and then by the action of the Latin Union and America in more modern times, in rating silver as a legal tender with gold. The only value which can be attached to either form of bullion comes of the fiat of the state, which makes either the one or the other legal tender of account for the purpose of discharging either public or private monetary obligations. It is idle, therefore, to say that silver cannot be maintained as a legal tender at the same time as gold, since we have innumerable instances to prove the contrary assertion.

Another argument used by mono-metalists is that modern facilities of exchange are practically so unlimited that bullion is not required as heretofore for the purpose of meeting every transaction in trade. Undoubtedly, if the credit of every state was unlimited, the internal, if not the external, trade could be carried on completely on a paper basis; but it is a well-ascertained fact of finance that the surplus margin of paper to the available store of bullion cannot safely exceed a certain proportion.



No mass of legal tender can, in a period of stringency or panic, perform two distinct operations in trade at one and the same time. This is the fundamental fact of all currency, and I may compare it to Newton's first law of energy, so important are its bearings upon the whole question of currency and finance.

The question of currency has not only been little studied by European governments, but has also remained a mystery even to the minds of those whose daily avocations in life have brought them into contact with matters of trade and commerce. The practical merchant and man of business seldom stops to think what is the ultimate basis on which the conditions of price and value really depend. The notion that a certain mass of bullion, whether gold or silver, is in some way or other the invariable measure of value, is an idea so ineradicable in the public mind that, except in periods of national peril or of general debasement of the coinage, governments even have rarely considered the character of the legal tender in its bearings on the trade and prosperity of the people. No doubt in recent times the exigencies of international trade have brought into the foreground an army of disputants in this intricate field of finance. The ordinary public, however, is still completely unaware how intimately these movements in the values of the money market are related to the condition of legal-tender currency. For the purposes of trade and commerce, steam and telegraphy have made the world one vast market; any divergence, therefore, of an important character in the legal-tender system of the different civilized states produces uncertainty and complication both in values and exchange. From among the various problems suggested by the consideration of the foregoing, two main issues stand out in bold and prominent relief.

Admitting that there cannot be two standards of either internal or external value, does it follow logically that there cannot therefore be two species of legal tender? Is it more artificial for a state to accept silver bullion or silver paper as a legal tender for the payment of public obligations and private debts, than it is for such a government as, let us say, the United States, to allow the national banks to issue a paper currency of their own against a deposit of United States bonds? Is it not

the fiat of the state which makes any substance a legal tender for the purpose of measuring values? And supposing that silver was non-existent, what reason is there to deny that copper or any other metal might be elected by the state to perform all the functions of an auxiliary standard of value in conjunction with the principal standard, gold? The thing to be sought, in selecting the material which shall, in conjunction with gold, be accepted as a legal-tender substance, is to prevent a divergence of value between the market price of the material in question and the face value which the government may put upon it for the purposes of exchange or the discharge of public obligations. The paper of a state, whatever the conditions of its issue, depends for its unvarying value on the credit of the state in question. The obligations issued during the War of Secession in the United States, which fell to a fractional value, and were bought by speculators, notably by the able financiers of Berlin, have to-day risen to their full par value, and stand on a higher level financially than the bond of any European state. The English or French bank-note is equally to-day accepted at its full par value, and no one would for one moment refuse to accept the paper of either of these three great states as equal and equivalent to their gold measure.

The volume of paper which any one of these states would issue is limited by the legislation of the respective states, and the money markets of the world have no fear that an inflation of the paper currency in either of these countries would disturb their European credit. The difficulty with regard to silver as an adjunct of the monetary system of civilized states is in a measure the same as if we selected any baser metal, such as copper or iron, for the same purpose. We have no such guarantee against increased output of these metals from the mines as we have with regard to the paper issue of these three solvent states; and it is conceivable that if, either by international arrangement or otherwise, silver was as freely minted as formerly by either America or England or the Latin Union, the money markets of the world might be flooded with legal-tender specie which the mints of the respective countries in question could not, under their joint arrangement, refuse to coin into money.

Hence we have this proposition: That whereas there can be only one universal standard of value (which standard has diminished in volume, as compared with the increase of the volume of products which it is called on every day to measure), it is possible to supplement this measure of exchange by adding thereto another form of legal tender, either paper or silver, which shall increase the general bulk of money to such extent as shall preserve the relation of the volume of the whole world's legal tender to the whole world's international trade. I admit that the advocates of the free minting of silver have carried their propositions into a field of speculation where it is impossible to lay down with accuracy the consequences which might ensue from the complete remonetization by European nations of this ancient form of legal tender. The disasters which would befall trade from a rapid enhancement of values and the inflation of prices of every description, would be perhaps more fatal to the general welfare than the desperate stagnation which continues at present under the restricted conditions of gold tender, and the unfair advantages which those restrictions confer upon holders of gold bonds and on gold traders generally. The cure of these evils must be sought for in a wider field of legislation than that of simply remonetizing the whole silver output of the world's mines.

I have said that the first law of currency and finance, like Newton's first law of energy, involves that no mass of legal tender can, in a period of stringency or panic, perform two different and distinct operations in trade at one and the same time. Now the only legal tender which cannot under any possibility depreciate in value, and can therefore conform to this first law of finance, is the standard itself, namely, gold. Every other form of legal tender will, in periods of panic or national disturbance, depend for maintaining its par value on the credit of the state in question. The sound conclusion to draw from these propositions is, that the augmentation which we can safely give, either by international arrangement or by the independent legislation of any one state, to the silver legal tender of a country, must be determined by a consideration of those conditions which, in a period of external or internal danger, would affect international credit.

No better illustration can be had of a wise and prudent financial system than the present condition of the United States. The free mintage of silver, which prevailed up to the time when Germany forced the Latin Union to close her mints, has been superseded by the Bland Act, which provides for the gradual yearly addition to the legal tender of the country of a "limited mass of silver." The growth of wealth and prosperity in this country more than keeps pace, therefore, with the annual addition to its legal-tender bullion, and under no circumstances can we conceive that the amount of silver placed in circulation as legal tender under this measure can ever produce an undue inflation of prices in the United States.

Undoubtedly, if silver continues to fall considerably in value, the increasing difference between the face value which is given to the silver dollar and the market price at which silver is sold in the bullion markets of the world, will create difficulties. Silver certificates would approach the condition of state paper. Either the United States will have to cease to coin silver altogether, or they will have to raise the face value of the dollar by re-coinage. This latter expedient would present immense difficulties and would be costly in the extreme.

The point, however, of exceptional interest in the financial system of the United States is the system of paper issues. In the first place, the United States bonds, unlike the English consols and French *rentes* (which are registered in the names of the holders of the stock), are used in this country as an addition to the legal tender. They not only offer a form of investment to private individuals, but they serve as security to the public credit for the paper issue of the national banks. Were England to place her public debt on the same footing on which the public obligations of the United States stand, she would increase the available currency of commerce by eight hundred millions sterling, less the ten per cent. margin on their par value which the national banks here are required to issue their notes upon, while she would raise the market value of the consols themselves.

The legislation in England which made one corporation, the Bank of England, the fountain of paper issue under government control, has in America received a wider extension. The credit

of the state itself, instead of the security of a given mass of bullion deposited in the coffers of one institution, has been taken as the basis of the paper issue. Instead of giving to one corporation the power of issuing notes against a given bullion reserve, the United States permit certain banks to issue their paper against a deposit of United States Government obligations. A further addition to the legal tender exists in the form of the greenback currency, which amounts to three hundred million dollars, more or less. Besides this, we have the paper, both gold and silver, which represents the bullion stored in the United States Treasury.\*

America has learned the lesson of basing her trade entirely on legal-tender paper, and this paper is supported, first, by the gold and silver bullion in the treasury vaults, and, secondly, by the national credit. No one would assert that the mass of paper in excess of the bullion, which is in circulation to-day in the United States, stands at a higher level of value than the credit of the United States warrants. By this system, the government of this country has developed, so far as prudent finance would admit, both those agents of auxiliary legal tender, namely, silver and paper, which I have already alluded to. If the states of modern Europe would agree among themselves to adopt a general scheme of international finance on the basis of a limited silver currency, and the use of undepreciated state paper for the purpose of guaranteeing the private bank currency, we might alleviate the present financial distress which weighs upon Euro-

\* The following is an official statement of the condition of the United States Treasury for October 31, 1887 :

Greenbacks outstanding .....	\$346,681,016
Gold certificates in circulation.....	99,684,773
Silver certificates in circulation.....	160,713,957
Coin and bullion in treasury, gold .....	302,544,605
Silver, exclusive of tokens.....	218,897,528
Bank currency outstanding.....	271,861,274
Greenbacks held to redeem called-in notes.....	102,781,559

Greenbacks are redeemable on presentation in gold or silver. The treasury holds a fixed reserve of \$100,000,000 in gold coin for such redemptions, but the treasury is free to reissue the notes after they have been redeemed, or to issue new notes in their place.

pean markets and paralyzes international trade. The free coinage of silver alone would be a measure of doubtful value unless such coinage were accompanied by limitations as to the amount of silver which should be put in circulation, as well as by prudent legislation with regard to the issue of public obligations.

The object of the next international congress on the question of finance should therefore embrace a wider field than that of the free mintage of silver; and in the event of such congress failing to arrive at a unanimous conclusion with regard to the action of the states of Europe on this difficult question, it remains open to any one state, and notably to England, to modernize and adapt her financial policy on the lines which have been so successful in the United States; and while she may legitimately undertake to extend her volume of legal-tender paper, and place her public scrip in an available form for the purposes of currency, she may, without injury to the solidity of her financial institutions, remonetize silver as a standard of value and legal tender to the extent of an annual limited coinage of this metal. Did the officials of the English Treasury understand fully the uses of a paper currency, coined bullion, which we are at present carrying in our pockets, would remain in the vaults of the national banks, and a one-pound-note issue would do away with this barbarous system of gold and silver barter.

MARLBOROUGH.

## CONCERNING WOMEN.

ON receiving an invitation to contribute a paper "Concerning Women," in reply to an article recently published in the FORUM "Concerning Men," my first impulse was to decline; for the article had been written by a friend of my own, whose sudden death has fallen upon the world of letters at once as a shock and a sorrow. Few writers of our time have met with a more general or a more appreciative recognition in both hemispheres than that which has been earned by the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman;" and, therefore, even if I had not had the privilege of her personal acquaintance, I should naturally have avoided, within a few weeks of her death, anything in the nature of criticism upon her last words to the public. But, after reading the article, I could only feel that it was a fortunate accident which had led the editor of this journal to apply to me for the rejoinder, which his previously published arrangements required him to solicit from some quarter. For I found that every line of the article was in full agreement with my own views upon the subject of which it treats. Therefore, it became apparent that a fitting opportunity was afforded me, not only to meet the wishes of the editor, but, in doing so, to pay my tribute to the memory of so admirable a type of womanhood as the world has just lost in the person of Mrs. Craik.

"Concerning Women." I doubt whether it would be possible to set a theme more suggestively surrounded by every circumstance conducive to advantageous treatment, than is that which is thus made ready to my hand. With such a woman in the foreground of one's memory, speaking to us within a few weeks of her departure her thoughts upon women,\* one's only

\* As she remarks in the essay itself: "It seems as if this paper 'Concerning Men' were drifting into an essay upon women." Under the circumstances which have since arisen we may deem it a fortunate current of thought that occasioned this drifting.

regret must be that her own gift of literary expression is too rare to be wisely emulated; and nowhere in the widely extensive range of her writings is that gift more happily displayed than in the essay before me. Even those of her own sex who may not agree with its opinions, must be hard indeed if they fail to be softened by its gentleness, or moved by a class of arguments which, as the aphorism says, are stronger as coming from the heart, to those who have a heart, than are any that can come from the head. Here is a woman who, during forty years of unobtrusive activity, has made a greater mark in the world than any of her "strong-minded" sisters; and the very last essay she writes is one of the best things that ever have been written in condemnation of the error into which those sisters have fallen. I have had occasion to read a good deal on all sides of the "woman question," and I have not met with any expression of opinion upon the subject which is at once so sensible, so tender, and, to my thinking, in all its parts so true. Even, therefore, if it did not come to us with the august and pathetic interest by which it is now invested, we could not fail to be affected by its beauty; and, in view of the peculiar interest which now does attach to it, we may the more confidently trust in its power for good.

Not having anything in the way of criticism to advance, my object will be to supplement the essay of my friend, and, in carrying out this object, it will be my endeavor to avoid repeating anything that I have already published regarding distinctions of psychology as determined by sex. In particular, allusion must here be made to my essay on "Mental Differences between Men and Women," published in the May issue of the "Nineteenth Century;" for if any of the readers of the FORUM are led to feel that in what follows I take too much for granted, they will thus learn where to look for the basis for my present assumptions. Moreover, as that essay has exposed me to a good deal of cuffing by fair hands, I may take this opportunity of warding off a few of the not distasteful blows.

To any one who agrees with Pope, that the proper study of mankind is Man, it must soon become apparent that much the most difficult part of this study consists in approaching, within



any measurable distance, an accurate understanding of Woman. If space permitted, it would be easy to prove this—should any proof be required—by quoting numberless opinions of philosophers, poets, and novelists, from Aristotle downwards. The collection of such opinions which I have made is most instructive. Notwithstanding that woman is an object so generally and so constantly present to observation, these opinions about her, expressed by the greatest men the world has produced, differ from one another through all points of the intellectual compass. Therefore we may at least fearlessly conclude two things: first, that woman must be about the most puzzling of all things beneath the sun, or beyond it; and, next, that in venturing to treat of such a creature within the narrow limits here assigned, it is desirable to consider only one or two points regarding her. Let us select those which have already been touched upon by Mrs. Craik.

These points nearly all have reference to what may be termed our latter-day quarrel touching the ideal of womanhood. By a large section of the promoters of the "woman's movement" it is stoutly maintained that naturally, or originally, there is no assignable difference between the intellectual capacities of the two sexes; and that the only reason why women have not hitherto performed the intellectual work of men is because they have been artificially excluded from anything resembling fair competition. On the other hand, by the world in general it is still believed that the almost universal absence of women from the ranks of genius, and their comparative paucity even in the ranks of conspicuous ability, is much too large a fact to be accounted for by any merely conventional usages of a social or an educational kind. And, as following from these differences of opinion upon a question of psychological fact, there arise corresponding differences of ideal as to the part which women ought to play in the drama of human life. What these differences of ideal are it is needless for me to detail. It will be sufficient to state that in my opinion there is the best evidence to prove the last-mentioned view upon the matter of psychological fact, and, therefore, that we have the best reasons to hold by the time-honored ideal of womanhood, at all events as regards first principles. The dis-

tion of sex runs deep. The whole complex web of human life is interwoven with the two complementary colors, and to any observer who does not happen to be color-blind it must be obvious that in this duality neither element is before or after the other; they are coequal; they are consubstantial; by them, and of them, our world is made.

But if there is thus a masculine and a feminine principle running through the whole structure of our being, our doing, our suffering, how radically mistaken must be the view that the sphere of woman's work is restricted by that of man's. In the matter of manual employment we do not hear of any such supposed interference. Because men are physically strong enough to dig and to build, it is not suggested that women should cease to cook or to sew. And the reason why reticence is displayed on this point by advocates of "woman's rights," is because every one is bound to see that for the weaker sex to rival the stronger in the way of physical toil is physically impossible. But it is not so obvious to every one that for women to rival men in the way of intellectual toil is psychologically impossible. Yet we have quite as much real evidence of the one fact as we have of the other. For in both cases our evidence must be derived from experience. We may not be able to show that in the nature of things a race of Amazons is antecedently impossible; and, similarly, we cannot show that there was any necessary reason why an order of beings should not have been evolved with the body of women having the brains of men. But in both cases we can show that no such beings actually exist. Very frequently, indeed, we meet with individual women who are physically stronger than individual men; and similarly, of course, we often meet with individual women who are mentally stronger than individual men. But in both cases this arises from, or admits of being scientifically expressed by, Quetelet's law of averages. The average level of female strength, whether of body or mind, being given as below that of the male—yet not sufficiently far below to prevent the higher variations of the one from commingling with the lower variations of the other—it would follow from this law of averages that now and again a pre-eminent instance of female strength should stand above the average

level of masculine strength. But for every such instance of pre-eminent female strength there would be another instance of pre-eminent masculine strength, which would stand as high above the exceptional female instance as the average level of all the men stands above the average level of all the women, supposing the numbers of men and women equal, and the limits of individual variability the same. And this is just what we find to be the case, in fact. The numbers of men and women are virtually equal, and the range of variability about a mean is assuredly no greater in the case of women's minds than in that of men's. Consequently, on merely antecedent grounds we should expect all degrees of exceptional talent in women to stand as far below the corresponding variations in men, as the general average of the one stands below that of the other. And that the general average is conspicuously different as regards acquisition, still more as regards judgment, and most of all as regards originality—that is, in all the respects where the conditions of great intellectual achievement are concerned—I must refer to my previous paper to prove.

So much for a brief statement of what I take to be demonstrable psychological fact. Turning next to the question of ideal, I hold that our strong-minded sisters are here making a double mistake. Not only are they running their smaller and more tender heads against the wall of partition that nature has set up between the psychologies of sex, but, in doing so, they are performing an action which appears to me as ungraceful as it is unwise. Or, to speak in plain and unmetaphorical terms, these women are mistaking the best interests of womanhood. Among the diversities of gifts which the self-same spirit of humanity has bestowed, I cannot see that those which have fallen to the masculine mind are intrinsically superior, or more estimable, than those which have fallen to the feminine. If strength alone is to be regarded as the one criterion of excellence, then is a horse better than a man, and the lines of the Laureate must be held literally true :

“dragons of the prime,  
That tare each other in their slime,  
Were mellow music match'd with him.”

No human being, I should suppose, could seriously maintain this as regards bodily strength. And no more, in my opinion, ought it to be maintained as regards mental. Among all the wonderful excellencies which the human mind displays, sheer force, even in the direction of creative thought, is only one, and, rightly viewed, not the chief. Those qualities of mind which belong by nature to the woman, and which, generally speaking, are distinctively characteristic of female excellency, are at least as great and admirable as any of those which belong by nature to the man. Unless this can be controverted, we must conclude that the ambition of these strong-minded ones, who seek to seize us by our characteristic beards, is as unjust to themselves as it is annoying to their partners. We do not envy them the beauty of their flowing hair, nor do we honestly believe that the charm of their faces would be increased, even if it were possible that their peculiar form of covetousness could be gratified.

But let me not be misunderstood. In thus holding that the psychological distinctions of sex are as great and insurmountable as the corporeal; that in the latter, as in the former case, each is complementary to each; that the feminine type in our common humanity is quite as great and noble as the masculine, so that, as before phrased, in this duality neither is before or after the other—in holding all this, I do not for one moment doubt that all the excellencies of the female mind admit of being developed, polished, and in all ways improved, quite as much as is the case with the masculine mind. Therefore I emulate the most vehement advocates of woman's rights in their cry for higher education. And I even go with them so far as to say that every artificial hindrance to their competition with men on fair and equal terms should be, as far as practicable, removed. University education, university degrees, the professions of medicine and law, business and commerce, in every possible branch: all these things, I hold, should be as open to women as they are to men. My difference with the strong-minded ones has reference only to what would be the result of such changes. There will always be a small percentage of women, who from temperament and circumstances would be eager to avail themselves of

such opportunities to compete with men in the struggles of practical life. Now, I see no reason why they should not be allowed to do so. I think, indeed, that such women are to be doubly commiserated; first, because they are almost certain to be the least happy in themselves, if not also in many cases most distasteful to others of both sexes; and next, because the majority of them are likely to fail in the objects of their ambition. Nature will always take care that this mistaken form of feminine ambition will be comparatively rare, and that, of those who are afflicted with it, comparatively few will succeed. But for the sake of those who wish to try, and still more for the sake of those who may succeed, our instincts of fair play should induce us to break down all barriers to legitimate competition.

But not only for the sake of removing a "grievance" do I advocate the woman's movement. Were this all, the matter, in my opinion, would not be worth writing about; when the grievance is removed, a very small number of women indeed will ever be able to benefit themselves by the competition in question. The important point, however, is that, so far as higher education is concerned, we are in the presence of a totally distinct question. No doubt the strong-minded women of whom I have been speaking look to higher education as the necessary means, or preliminary, to the end which they have in view. But we must not confuse these strong-minded ones with the much larger and more intelligent body of women who call for higher education as an end in itself. With these women every intelligent man ought to find himself in the fullest possible sympathy. Let me state categorically the following reasons for the faith that is in me:

1. The statistical results of what has now grown to be a vast experiment both in England and America, prove that girls are capable of the highest mental culture without thereby sustaining more injury to health than boys.
2. The intrinsic value of genuine mental culture to a woman herself is inestimable.
3. The value of her culture to the society in which she lives is still more so. (a) Nothing is so conducive to brilliancy in a man as to meet with it in a woman, and *vice versa*; how immeasurably, therefore, would the pleasures of social intercourse be enhanced

if both sexes were more generally able to meet on common ground as regards culture. (b) The importance to a cultivated man whether his wife is or is not cultivated is immeasurable. (c) The importance to a family whether or not their mother is a cultivated woman is still more so. (d) Therefore, and finally, even if we disregard the question of heredity, the woman's movement in our own generation is likely to be fraught with consequences to posterity of a magnitude unequalled by that of any other social movement within the range of history.

To conclude with a few remarks addressed to the fair critics of my previous essay. Nothing that I have there said appears to have disturbed them so much as my brief statement of the anatomical fact that the average brain-weight of civilized woman is about five ounces less than that of civilized man, and that this is both a greater difference than obtains among savage races, and more than proportional to the difference between the weights of their whole bodies. Some of my critics simply say that these facts they will not believe. But as the facts stand upon the highest authorities, a bald denial of them only serves to display the kind of argument which is in itself suggestive of cerebral deficiency. Others of my critics, however, adopt the more reasonable course of pointing out that there is no invariable correlation between brain-weight and mental capacity. But the answer to this is obvious. Although the correlation is not invariable, it is certainly general, not only in the human species, but throughout the whole animal kingdom. Although, therefore, it would be unwarrantable to argue from brain-weight to mental capacity in individual cases, one might be perfectly justified in doing so over a very large number of cases, even if not so numerous as to constitute one-half of the entire human race. But in point of fact—and this is my final rejoinder—I did not avail myself of this argument. All I said was that, so far as anatomy had any bearing on the question, it would lead us to anticipate intellectual superiority on the part of the male. But the fact of such superiority was argued entirely on grounds of psychology, or on the results of cerebral action in the two sexes respectively. Of course, if any reason could be shown for supposing that the quality of the female brain is superior to that of the male—if,

for instance, the convolutions were deeper, the cells in the gray matter more numerous, or even the blood-supply more copious—my anatomical considerations might have been superseded by physiological. Unfortunately, however, not only is there an absence of such evidence, but in regard to all the points just specified the quality of the female brain (as well as its quantity) is found to be deficient.

Most of my lady critics tell me that I have over-estimated the moral virtues of their sex. No doubt they ought to know best, and I can only express my sorrow if in this matter they are right. But I am still free to confess that they have not shaken my good opinion of women in this respect.

Lastly, all the rejoinders I have read make, in some form or another, the following statement, which I quote from a work published a few days ago:\* “The widely separate set of circumstances which have attended their unfoldings has tended to exaggerate their original dispositions;” by which, I suppose, is meant their original diversities. But this is exactly what I have said. It would have been out of analogy with what we know of inheritance as limited by sex, if women could have suffered all the social and educational disabilities which they have suffered since the race became human, and that the fact should have left no mark upon their psychology.† But how long it will take for the woman’s movement to evolve the missing ounces of the female brain, as an evolutionist I am afraid to surmise, lest I should be fallen upon with greater fury than before by the ever-active promoters of that movement.

While strenuously supporting the opinion that women ought to aim at the achievement of real culture equally with men, I as strenuously oppose the too-frequent implication that

\* “Women and Work,” by Emily Pfeiffer. Trübner & Co.

† “In order that women should reach the same standard as man, she ought, when nearly adult, to be trained to energy and perseverance, and to have her reason and imagination exercised to the highest point, and then she would probably transmit these qualities to her adult daughters. . . . It is fortunate that the law of the equal transmission of character prevails with mammals; otherwise it is probable that man would have become as superior in mental endowment to woman, as the peacock is in plumage to the peahen.”—Darwin, “Descent of Man,” p. 565.

they should do so for the sake of rivaling the stronger sex in the practical pursuits of life. And I do not know that the validity of this view could receive a better illustration than was afforded by the particular lady whose essay upon the subject I have thus endeavored to supplement. The work that has been done by Mrs. Craik could not have been done by any man, because its value consists essentially in its womanliness. By example, therefore, as well as by precept, she showed that woman's work, even of the intellectual kind, is of most value to the world when conducted on the lines of womanhood. True, her novels are not to be cited in evidence as to the advantage of culture. They are all eminently of the domestic or homely type—honest tales plainly told. But what I am endeavoring to represent applies equally to all the female novelists who have attained real distinction; and the greater the evidence of culture, the greater becomes the charm of their feminine authorship. We often hear comparisons drawn between the greatest writers of fiction in both sexes, and this is usually done in order to prove an equality of achievement in this department of literature. Now, unquestionably, it is remarkable how much more equal the creative faculty of the two sexes has proved in the case of fiction than in any other department of intellectual activity. But I do not remember to have seen it noticed that even here the distinction of sex is stamped upon the work. Austen, Brontë, Gaskell, Eliot, Oliphant—no one of their works could have been written by a man. They are all magnificent monuments of feminine thought and feeling, when raised to the level of genius. But they would all have been marred had their writers endeavored to imitate the genius masculine.

GEORGE J. ROMANES.



## DEFECTS IN OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

PERSONAL investigation and inspection only make more clear the imperfections in our consular service which have so often been the subject of executive communications to Congress; and Americans abroad are compelled to recognize the fact that, as a whole, with few exceptions, our consular establishments compare unfavorably with those of other countries. There are three chief defects, all susceptible of being remedied by legislation:

1. The American service is underpaid. There are not more than ten consular officers at important posts who receive, in direct salaries, compensation adequate to the duties they are called upon to perform.

2. It is not sufficiently national. A large proportion of our consular representatives are not citizens of the United States, and owe allegiance to the governments of the countries in which they are stationed.

3. It is handicapped in some instances by trading privileges, and in many other instances discredited and demoralized by a system of payment wholly or in part by fees.

Serious as these shortcomings are, they are scarcely to be wondered at when it is considered that our foreign service has, since its inception, received less attention from Congress than any other department of the government. On the 10th of February, 1790, George Washington, President of the United States, of his own motion, issued a commission to Samuel Shaw, a Boston tea-merchant, empowering him to act as Consul of the United States at the port of Canton, China. He was the first consul of the republic. On the 7th of June following, President Washington commissioned John Marsden Pintard, of New York, consul at Madeira; James Maury, of Virginia, consul at Liverpool; William Knox, of Massachusetts, consul at Dublin; Joseph Pennick, of

Maryland, consul at Bordeaux ; Burrell Carnes, of Massachusetts, consul at Nantes ; Nathaniel Barrett, of Massachusetts, consul at Rouen ; Sylvanus Bourne, of Massachusetts, consul at the island of Hispaniola ; and Fulman Skipwith, of Virginia, consul at the island of Martinique. With scarcely an exception, they were merchants residing and doing business at the ports to which they were accredited. Their compensation was at first left open to private arrangement between the consuls and those who availed themselves of their services, but in subsequent commissions it was restricted to "such fees or perquisites as should be expressly established by some law of the United States." In 1792 Congress passed an "Act concerning consuls and vice-consuls," which for the first time defined their duties, empowering them to receive protests and declarations of ship-captains, merchants, sailors, etc., to take charge of the effects of Americans dying abroad, to render assistance to shipwrecked vessels, and to receive fees for such services according to a schedule provided. From that time forward the number of consuls appointed increased from year to year, but no further efforts were made to define their duties or to fix their compensation.

In 1833 President Andrew Jackson directed his Secretary of State, Edward Livingston, to investigate this subject, and to prepare a schedule of regulations for the government of the service. In carrying out these instructions Secretary Livingston made a masterly report, which appears to be but little known, and is not quoted in any of the discussions of this question that have fallen under notice. The following extracts show its tenor :

"The subject of compensation is one that has engaged my close attention since I have had the direction of the department, and I have no hesitation in giving a decided opinion that the exaction of fees has been the source of misunderstandings between our consuls and the masters of vessels, injurious to the reputation of the country ; that it is degrading to the officer who is obliged to wrangle for them, is unequal in its operations, oppressive to our commerce, and ought either to be wholly abolished or so modified as to make the operation of the system more equal. But I cannot avoid expressing the opinion that these officers, like all others, should be compensated by adequate salaries, and should be prevented from engaging in commerce. According to the present system, our consuls, with very few exceptions, are commission merchants, anxious, like all other merchants, to increase their business and obtain consignments. In many, perhaps in the greater number of cases, the place is sought

for chiefly for the advantage and the influence it will give to extend the commercial affairs of this officer. Can it be believed that this official influence will always be properly exercised? When it is, will not contrary suspicions be entertained? This must create jealousy, detraction, and all the arts that rivalry will exercise and provoke, amidst which the dignity of the public officer is degraded and his influence with the foreign functionaries lost. The consul at least, therefore, if not the vice-consul, ought to be a salaried officer. They will never then by their countrymen be suspected of acting toward them as their commercial interest, not their duty, requires; and their complaints in behalf of their fellow-citizens will be attended to, because they will not be liable to the suspicion of advocating their own interest. Consular offices will no longer be held in counting-houses, nor the consul himself called from defending the case of an injured American citizen to sell a barrel of sugar, or to dispatch the settlement of an account. All fees paid to public officers are taxes; fees to consuls are taxes on commerce. Are such taxes, in the state of our finances, necessary? Are they just? Are they equal? Are they easily collected? None of these questions, it is believed, can be answered in the affirmative. They are certainly not necessary; the customs alone produce more than sufficient for the payment of all the expenses of government. Why should an extra tax be laid upon commerce, which already bears the whole expense of government, for the support of a particular set of officers? It is easily conceived that, in the infancy of our government, when we were burdened with a great amount of public debt, every available mode of supporting the different institutions of the country should be resorted to, and that therefore the examples set by other nations of supporting particular offices by the exaction of fees should be followed; but now, when one uniform mode of collecting revenue yields a product more than sufficient for all the wants of government, why should others, liable to so many objections, be continued?"

It is not creditable to congressional legislation that the criticisms thus made on our consular establishment in 1833 remain largely applicable to-day. When Livingston wrote, the United States had one hundred and fifty-six consuls, vice-consuls, and commercial agents, as set out in a schedule which he appended to his report, all of whom were paid by fees. The only act since passed by Congress which has assumed, in express terms, to regulate and organize the consular service of the United States on a salaried basis (the Act of August 18, 1856) made provision for fewer consuls than existed in 1833, though in the meantime the requirements of the service had greatly increased. It established only one hundred and thirty-two salaried consulates, forty of them being of the objectionable trading class, receiving salaries ranging from \$500 up to \$1,000 a year, and having the privilege of continuing to engage in trade. An outward

semblance of economy was thus preserved, but the door was left open for the perpetuation of the costly and pernicious system of indirect payment by fees, by the following provision :

“Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That consuls-general, consuls, and commercial agents, not embraced in Schedules B and C, shall be entitled, as compensation for their services, to such fees as they may collect in pursuance of the provisions of this act, respectively.”

Under this authority, modified in some degree by a legislative clause injected into the annual Appropriation Bill of 1874, dividing the consulates into seven classes, the consular establishment of the United States is governed to-day. There are seven hundred consular officers of all grades in the service. The consuls-general, consuls, and commercial agents appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and for whose salaries appropriations are annually made in the same manner as for other officers of the government, represent less than one-third of the actual working force. The rest are chosen by the State Department, and pay themselves by fees, within certain limitations prescribed by the consular regulations issued by the department. A large proportion of them are known as “consular agents.” These are persons commissioned by the State Department, on the recommendation of the consuls, to conduct a subordinate office of the main consulate, at some contiguous town. They are paid by the fees they collect in the name of the United States, and the consul under whom they serve is entitled to retain a percentage of their collections, as his own compensation for the supervision he is supposed to exercise over them. They are nearly all subjects of the country in which they serve, and engaged in trade on their own account. Our consul-general in Berlin has recently stated that most of the consular agents in the German Empire are unnecessary. But the system has grown up as an indirect means of raising the compensation of the consuls proper to something like an adequate level ; and to abolish these agencies without increasing the salaries of the main consulates would work injustice to officers whose compensation is already fixed at too low a rate. The United States Consul-General in London reports that of one hundred and sixteen men, constituting the consular corps of Great Britain and Ireland,

eighty-two are British subjects, and only thirty-four are American citizens.

Our consular service in China, as an entirety, is perhaps better paid than that in any other part of the world. In China, Japan, Siam, Persia, and some other countries, by treaty stipulation, the consuls-general of the United States and of the leading European powers exercise high judicial authority, to the extent, even, of trying capital offenses committed by their countrymen. Our commercial relations with China are of greater magnitude and importance than those of any European nation except Great Britain; nevertheless the appropriations made by Congress for our consul-general's office at Shanghai, the most important consular post in that country, are only half as large as the amounts appropriated by France and Germany, and little more than one-fifth as large as the amount set apart for like purposes by Great Britain. The official figures, taken from the latest publications, are as follows:

UNITED STATES.	
Salary of Consul-General.....	\$5,000
All other consular allowances.....	3,400
Total .....	\$8,400
GREAT BRITAIN.	
Salary of Consul-General.....	\$8,000
Other consular allowances .....	21,350
Judges and officers of consular courts.....	20,650
Total .....	\$50,000
FRANCE.	
Salary of Consul-General .....	\$10,000
Other consular allowances .....	6,000
Total .....	\$16,000
GERMANY.	
Salary of Consul-General .....	\$7,500
Other consular allowances .....	8,760
Total .....	\$16,260

Comparison between the provision made for the consular service of the United States and that made for the service of the

three leading European powers at other important posts, would show even greater discrepancies. Four appointments have been made to one consulate in Central America during President Cleveland's administration, because of the insufficiency of the salary. In a leading city of South America a subscription was recently raised by resident British and American merchants to pay the expenses home of the United States Consul and his family, who were unable to maintain themselves on the compensation allowed by law. While these incidents were taking place, chimerical schemes for the development of our commercial relations with the Central and South American republics were receiving attention in both Houses of Congress, and the legitimate method of promoting commerce by providing a properly equipped consular service was allowed to languish.

The injurious effects of the system of compensating consular officers by fees cannot be doubted. In the scramble for fees between contiguous consulates, undervaluations of invoices are frequently resorted to as a method of attracting business. The practice puts a premium on dishonesty, both on the part of the exporter and of the consular representative. Unjust preferences are thus given to merchants in one locality, where a feed consul or consular agent has control, over merchants in another locality, where the consulate is in charge of an officer paid by fixed salary. A consular agent of the United States, not an American citizen, has recently been expelled from Russia by the government of that country, with the concurrence of our State Department, for dishonest commercial practices carried on under cover of his consular authority.

To remedy these evils, Congress should throw aside false pretexts of economy, and make appropriations directly for a sufficient number of adequately salaried consuls to meet the commercial necessities of the country. This act of justice being done to our consuls, the unnecessary "consular agents" could be discontinued, to the manifest advantage of the service. This would dispose of the foreign element in our consular system, and to a large extent of the trading element also. There would still remain the class of consuls known as those of Schedule C, paid by salaries, who are permitted to trade. This class should

be abolished. The small salaries paid such officers should be increased, and the permits to engage in trade should be revoked. There would then only remain the question of fees. The "Tariff of Consular Fees" enumerates one hundred and six different fees which consuls are entitled to charge for services rendered. Some of these are known as "official" fees, and are turned into the treasury; others as "unofficial" fees, and are retained by the consul. A large proportion of the official fees—as, for instance, the tax of \$2.50 on every invoice certified—could be dispensed with. They are even less necessary now, with our large treasury surplus, than they were in Livingston's time, and they are equally a tax on commerce. In the matter of unofficial fees, retained by consular officers, all such as are exacted for the use of the official seal of the United States should be required to be accounted for and covered into the treasury. A distinction might properly be made in favor of such other acts as a consul, on account of his official position, but not necessarily as a part of his official duties, is frequently called upon to perform. But all fees directly exacted by him in the name of the United States should be accounted for to the treasury, and such fees should be reduced to a minimum.

Congress, during its last session, manifested some disposition toward effecting reforms, by placing a number of feed consulates on the salaried lists, and by renewing a proviso of law which required the next year's estimates to include on a salaried basis all consular officers collecting over \$1,000 per annum in fees. It is earnestly hoped that during the coming season further improvements will be made in this direction. There is still one important subject which should engage the attention of Congress, and that is the question of fitness for appointment. The most competent consular officers of other nations are appointed after special examinations as to their knowledge of the languages of the countries to which they are to be accredited, and other desirable acquirements. Why should not Congress co-operate with the Executive to secure a higher grade of qualification for our foreign service, by extending the civil service rules to our consular system? As pointed out by Andrew Jackson's Secretary of State, in the report already quoted:

“To a country essentially commercial, like the United States, the consular functions are highly important. They are performed in a foreign country, often in collision with the officers of the nation in which they are placed; and therefore public as well as private interests are put in jeopardy by their errors or faults. At home, every officer is surrounded with the means of obtaining information and advice; yet at home every officer has his duties prescribed and marked out by law. Abroad, an officer is intrusted with the most important function, out of the reach of control or advice, and is left with comparatively no written rules for his guidance.”

Ascertained special capacity being established as a condition which shall outrank purely political considerations as a qualification for appointment in our home service, how much more necessary it seems that this essential should be insured for the delicate, difficult, and responsible duties which our consuls are called upon to discharge in foreign countries. In 1864, on the recommendation of Secretary Seward, Congress provided for the appointment, after examination, of a limited number of consular clerks, who should possess certain qualifications, and should not be removable except for cause. Their services are made available within the department itself, or in any of its consular offices. A wide range of experience is thus given. It is recommended that the number of consular clerks thus authorized should be largely increased, and that the system should be extended so as to include a plan of gradation and promotion, which would place at the service of the State Department at all times, and through all changes of administration, a trained corps of consular officers, available to fill vacancies or to meet emergencies.

The honor, the good name, and the commercial interests of the country are largely involved in a proper disposition of these questions. Public sentiment can be wisely directed to secure their early and intelligent consideration by Congress.

**PERRY BELMONT.**



## THE CONGESTION OF CITIES.

SIDE by side with that civilization which takes its name from cities are great disadvantages, which appear only where men and women are crowded together. So great are these disadvantages that the satirists of the world, as well as merely superficial observers, are apt to speak of cities as "great sores." This is an absurd mistake. There is every reason to think that high civilization demands large cities, and does not exist without them. At the same time, it is desirable that there shall be no false impression regarding the use or the attractiveness of cities; that the advantages of urban life shall not be exaggerated; and that larger populations shall not be attracted to the cities than can live there in comfort.

One of the leaders of this time, to whom America has been greatly indebted, wrote to me, some fifteen years ago, that while he had spent no small part of his life in devising plans for public parks, which were intended for the ruralizing of the cities, he considered the urbanizing of the country to be a duty of just as much importance. To that duty I venture to call attention now; for I believe that the generation of young men and women now coming on the stage have no more important work of public spirit before them than the relief of the congestion of the cities.

I need not point out the disease and danger and other difficulties which spring from it. These are patent, and can be illustrated from every issue of a great city newspaper. There is no need of rhetoric to call attention to them, though they are, perhaps, overstated in some quarters. They are particularly observed by the clergymen and the journalists of the large cities. Three-fourths of the hardest work of a parish minister in such a city comes to him because the place is overcrowded. That is to say, there is a considerable element of its population which would be better off elsewhere. The man is at work in education,

in charity, in the welcome of strangers, in improving the health of the city, and in diminishing its crime and other sin. In each of these details the congestion of the large cities brings to him special difficulties, which do not exist in the large towns of thirty or forty thousand people, or in the smaller manufacturing villages, or in the country proper. In any wise discharge of his duty, then, such a man looks to relieving the congestion, that he or his successors may, if possible, work at more advantage.

It is proper to begin any careful consideration of this subject by noticing that very great exaggerations, which conceal the facts, constantly creep into the public prints. It is easy to say that a very large proportion of the people of the United States live in cities; but it must be remembered that the word city is applied to many towns where there is no "congestion" whatever; where it is impossible to say that, in any sense, the population is crowded; where there is every advantage of drainage, air, and light which is to be found even in the sparsest rural population. As American towns are, it would be fair to say that in most or all of the cities which number less than fifty thousand people, there may be found all the advantages expected or sought for in country life. Not that every one has all these advantages, but that every one might have them. Even in the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, which has a population of nearly one hundred thousand persons, there is one real-estate holder for every ten inhabitants. This fact shows that almost every head of a family owns a house.

The difficulty and danger appear in the larger cities, and, for convenience, it would be as well to restrict our present observations to cities containing more than fifty thousand people. Of these there were, in 1880, thirty-five; and their total population was 7,241,684, the population of the country being 50,155,783. Into these cities there is a steady flow of people; that is to say, their population increases more rapidly than does that of the country, even when allowance is made for foreign immigration. This abnormal increase may be referred to three or four different causes. First, the Celtic race, especially the Irish race, likes to live together. The Irishman has never made a good solitary settler; his force has always been shown in close society with

his fellows. On this account, the Irish emigration to America has settled largely in the great cities.

Secondly, it is in the very nature of city life to provide conveniences for the multitude, in a sort of communism or socialism which is very attractive. From the nature of the case, if there is to be a large library, a large picture-gallery, a hospital for special diseases, it will almost certainly be placed in a large city. Whoever seeks comfort or pleasure or profit from the use of such public institutions is naturally drawn to city life. A convenient instance, familiar to the readers of the *FORUM*, is the habit of men who are studying particular subjects, to live in the neighborhood of the large libraries which contain the books of reference on which they must rely. And other similar advantages account for a considerable part of the flow from country into city life.

Thirdly, quite akin to this are certain bonuses, so to speak, not in themselves very important or very large, but, all together, quite attractive. They are exaggerated by the press and in conversation, and to those who have had no experience of them they seem much more important than they are. Indeed, the first day or two of life in a large city has, in itself, for a person not used to it, a stimulus which is pleasant and not unnatural. He who experiences it imagines that that stimulus will remain year after year. It may be added, that all the Miss Mitfords in the world, or all the Miss Esther Carpenters, with their charming delineations of "Life in Our Village," or "Life in the South County," do not succeed in counter-weighting the Goldsmiths and Johnsons and Dickenses and Thackerays and Carlyles and George Eliots, who live in one city or another, whose atmosphere has been a city atmosphere, and who in literature describe what they have seen and known. Literature, therefore, is, on the whole, giving to the young people who read an impression that life in large cities is much more attractive than life in the country. And so it happens that, though Mr. Greeley so frequently and eagerly exhorts the young men of the country to go to the West, the young man observes that Mr. Greeley himself stays in the city of New York; and he follows the example of his adviser and does not take his advice.

Among the bonuses of which we have spoken may be reckoned the escape from that mild police of the country, in which everybody's life is very carefully inspected and registered by a small circle of his neighbors, into that freer life of a large city, where a man may, if he chooses, die in an attic, and no one shall know of his death, nor care much when he does know. With every announcement of free soup, offered by profligate aldermen, or free bread, offered by some one bidding for popularity, the whole press of the country gives the impression to the average loafer of the country, that in Chicago or New York or Philadelphia or Boston life can be passed quite easily, that no man need starve in those cities, and that no one need work very hard for his subsistence. This is, on the whole, quite untrue. Loafers, tramps, and other do-nothings really fare better in the rural life of a State like Ohio, which boasts that no one was ever hungry within its borders, than they do in the city of New York. But the more ignorant loafer or tramp does not find this out till after a long and rather painful course of experience, which tends in itself to the congestion of the cities.

The daily newspaper, which is a necessity of every man's life in America, is, from the nature of the case, published in a large city, and is in effect a daily advertisement of the attractions of city life. In country life one notices the apologies of ignorant people, excusing themselves for not leaving home. They explain to you why they did not go to New York when James and Tryphosa and Nahum and Herman did. This, as I suppose, is due to the fact that every one reads a newspaper published in one of the large cities, and feels as if he ought to claim some sort of kindred there.

Such causes, and others which might be mentioned, tend to produce what I have called the congestion of cities. It is difficult to maintain a low death rate in the city. It is very difficult to provide there the means of proper physical training. Social inequalities show themselves to much greater disadvantage there, too, than in the country, and it seems more difficult to keep open the lines of promotion, which is the great necessity in American institutions. It is desirable, therefore, on every account, to relieve this congestion as far as we can ; and the most

efficient way to do this is by urbanizing the country, to borrow the very happy phrase of my friend whom I have already cited. It happens, I believe, that this copy of the FORUM is manufactured in the city of New York. But there is no reason, in the present aspects of business, why it should not be manufactured just as well in some cheerful and happy town of twenty or thirty thousand people, a hundred miles away from the city of New York. The telephone is now in such condition that the editor could give instructions about his proof-sheets as well if the type were a hundred miles from his office, as now when it is perhaps half a mile away. The compositors and the proof readers, and the other workmen, could live each in his own home, with his own garden, and do the work of the publication just as well as if they were living in the city. It is gratifying to observe that such changes, not simply in the business of printing, but in all other manufactures, are constantly going forward. And with every one of such changes the congestion of the cities is relieved.

The summer exodus from the cities is very suggestive, and is certainly teaching a lesson and working out conclusions which lie in the right direction. Where, fifty years ago, the father of a family took his young people to the Catskills or to Saratoga for two or three weeks in August, a man in the same condition of life now takes the family away early in June to some house which he owns himself, and remains with them there till October or November. In this way the congestion of city life is to some extent relieved for four or five months when it is particularly hard to bear. It is relieved for certain classes of society, and their numbers increase from year to year. Many a man now takes his family into the country for several months, whose father, doing the same business and living in the same social grade, would never have thought of doing so fifty years ago. It is quite possible to carry this same relief very much farther, so as to benefit the artisan and even the day-laborer. In Massachusetts the law now compels every railway company which runs into Boston to maintain what used to be called a "laborers' train," which shall reach Boston before seven in the morning, and which shall leave Boston after six at night, with rates so low as to meet the needs of men who receive the

lower grades of wages. Naturally enough, the railroads disliked this interference on the part of the State, and if they could have avoided it they would not have succumbed to the statute. But they found that they could not avoid it.

They furnished the trains, as they were bidden. The result is that not only merchants and their clerks, whose work begins at eight or nine in the morning, have their country residences outside of Boston, but also that those workmen live in the country whose daily work in the city begins at seven in the morning. The statute which led the way to this was long since forgotten, for all the suburban trains are now willingly run at rates lower than those then enforced. And the result is that in the last thirty years the population of Boston proper has scarcely increased. The warehouses and shops and places of manufacture have increased, in the change which has raised the population of the whole city, including the environs which belong to its charter organization. But the population of the working wards is about the same as it was. For the people who do the work live, in many instances, fifteen miles away from the places of their daily duty.

The result of this legislation has been the growth of a large number of villages where working-men can live with their families in homes of their own, where the children can have the advantages of country life, or out-of-door life, while the workman himself goes into the town for his day's work and returns in the evening. When people say that an eight-hour system would be dangerous, because the workman would throw away the two hours which he would win by it, they forget that, in a very large number of instances, he would be able to use those two hours in an airy and healthy home, or in going to it or from it by a ride which is not a burden.

It is an advantage to a man of care and business to live in the open air, to live a healthy life, to abridge his office hours to the utmost, and to keep in easy and simple relations with men and women. It is an advantage, as Tolstoi would say, to touch elbows with the rank-and-file, and this is most easily done in the natural course of life out of town. It is to be hoped that in the next generation the same arts and methods which, as we have

said, may carry the business of printing out from the crowded centers to the country, will be so applied that men of large affairs may live with their families more, and, from the happy security of family life, may give the instructions and directions by which the large business of the office may be carried on. Any such man who is living in the city is constantly devising methods of escape from bores. He is locking himself into his office, or he has a secret office, only known to his wife and his confidential clerk. It looks as if, in the next generation, this secret office might be in his home, thirty or fifty or a hundred miles away from the city. The average social tramp would think twice before he attacked him in this retreat.

Suburban life at the present moment has a bad name. This comes from the rather curious fact that the people who first undertake the development of a suburb are people who look at their problem from the lowest point of view. They have "lots" to sell, and they are apt to wish to give the impression that their suburb is not a suburb, but that it is a part of the city, with blocks of houses, asphalt pavements and curb-stones, lamp-posts and other physical arrangements, in which they imitate, as well as they can, the dreariness of the place from which they would lure their customers away. Undoubtedly they have their reward, or they would not continue in this course. But there is arising, as one is glad to see, another class of speculators, who understand that He who made the country is, on the whole, wiser than they who have made the towns. Such "improvers" will see that men who leave towns want to retain the charm of the country as far as possible, while they still cling to the real conveniences of city life. Thus, the railway company which gives us a pretty garden around the station, and makes the station itself comfortable—a club-room, in fact, for the people who gather there—does its part toward luring into the suburb the men and women whom it wishes to have as regular passengers. Such lines of improvement might be carried on much farther than they are generally carried at present.

The great hope of the next generation is in the spirit and courage with which the residents of the country themselves develop their great natural advantages, while at the same time

they provide for a population not crowded the more important facilities which the crowded population of the cities really enjoy. I spoke just now of the advantages to a literary man of a great public library. With the establishment of every public library on any considerable scale in towns of the interior, a step is taken which renders the emigration of literary men into the large cities less necessary; and we shall soon see a system by which a man living under the shadow of the White Mountains will order from some dealer in New York the book he wishes to refer to, and will receive it by mail within twelve hours after his order has been given. East of the Hudson River there are already nearly five hundred considerable public libraries. Hardly a month passes but some liberal man or woman establishes a new one in the pleasant home of early childhood, and so far makes that a better and happier home for the next generation. Other agencies of high culture may also thrive in country towns. Thus, within twenty miles of Boston, in the town of Stoughton, a place which is one of the active centers of the manufacture of shoes, there has been maintained for more than forty years a musical society which renders, as often as once a week, some of the best music known to connoisseurs, and renders it in a way that would command the approbation of the most critical city audience. The musical society which carries on this enterprise of entertainment and instruction receives the patronage of the town of Stoughton in the shape of a permission to use the town-hall for a performance every Sunday afternoon. Admission to this performance is free to any citizen or resident of the town of Stoughton. The performers perform because they love to perform; the director directs because he believes good music to be something worth seeking for. Thus the whole town has an advantage which people are fond of saying belongs only to the largest cities, with their elaborate and costly arrangements. Such an illustration does more than forty arguments to show what are the possibilities of the towns in America in the way of improving the advantages which they now have.

Everything is a gain in an important direction which thus makes possible in country life the opportunities generally held to be peculiar to cities. At the same time the physical resources



of railway, telegraph, and telephone must be developed, with a distinct purpose to make out-of-town life convenient for those whose business centers in cities. It is often said, and probably truly said, that if the great railway managers would devote to promoting the comfort of their short-trip passengers the same efforts which they now almost waste in the endeavor to control long-distance travel, they would the sooner reap their reward. It would not come immediately, but it would come certainly. For here are customers whom no rivals can take away from them. "Precisely," say the cynical Gradgrinds in railway direction. "We are sure of them, and that is the reason why we dare give them snuffy old cars, and make them stand morning and night." Here is Mr. Gradgrind's mistake. Let him make his short trips quick, comfortable, and cheap, and he will have ten passengers out from the city and in again where he now has one. He has a new bonanza waiting for his pick when he really relieves the present congestion of the cities.

The most successful positive plan in this direction is in the work of the Co-operative Building Club, based on what is generally known as the Philadelphia plan. The proper description of this work requires a separate article. It is enough here to say that it enables a prudent workman to build and own a house in the suburbs, by the same expenditure which he would else make for his rent in the city. If he can use tools, it enables him to do much of the work in his own house himself if he wishes, so that he knows no "off days" while he is improving his dwelling. And, best of all, it gives him the possession of real estate. That possession alone is stimulus and help to any man, and gives to him a place wholly new in doing the duty of a citizen.

EDWARD E. HALE.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

“WHAT gained we, little moth?” Carlyle’s question, in his one poem, to the moth consumed in the candle beside Goethe’s page, recurs as I remember the books that gave me light. For they were flames also: in them I have burned some things once worshiped, and worshiped some once burned. But it is best to be optimistic concerning the inevitable. Every tint faded from an old heaven goes, perhaps, to adorn the new earth. If the inevitable egotism of the “confidences” be overlooked, I shall not complain of any who transfer my assumed profits to the opposite column.

In boyhood I had access to two libraries, one of law, the other of theology; in each I found a helpful book. One was “The Pilgrim’s Progress.” In later years I have thought it a poetic circumstance that those visions first visited the cell of a prison, their charm being largely due to the dismalness of our early dogmatic dungeons. But perhaps this should be put in the past. A few years ago I witnessed, in a London suburb, a stage performance of “The Pilgrim’s Progress,” by George Macdonald and his family. The audience consisted mainly of young people from the surrounding churches, interested in Macdonald’s religious romances, but they were unable to restrain laughter at Christiana’s lamentations about her soul, or their contempt for Christian when he abandoned his family to the City of Destruction. It occurred to me that the newer generation has, happily, known too little of the catechetical cavern in which their fathers were affectionately prisoned, to realize the splendor of Bunyan’s many-colored torch for imaginations which but for it had been eyeless. I had got hold of “Don Quixote,” and was scandalized that the noblest enthusiasms should be mocked; from that cynical Slough the Pilgrim rescued me. No doubt it was to combat windmill Apollyons for a

time, but gradually the holy war was humanized, and the Beautiful City gained foundations.

This spiritual liberation from the biblical letter, gained from Bunyan, was intellectually sustained by a beloved law-book, Beck's "Medical Jurisprudence." There I found the stuff that dreams are made of dealt with in a scientific spirit, and with exactness. At first interested chiefly in its curiosities of mental and optical delusion, I gradually gained some rules for discrimination, and, in a crude way, enlarged my conception of nature to include the extensive ghost-lore and demonology of our part of Virginia. I remember particularly a poor fellow entreating our venerable Methodist preacher, the Rev. Joseph White, to cast out his devil, and that I felt able to explain, on fairly neurological principles, both the possession and the successful exorcism.

While groping, at fifteen, amid these empirical studies, "Jane Eyre" drew me from deep to deep. The passion of that book, at once burning and purifying, was not then for me, nor was the ethical question it raised; but the miracle it wrought was for me. I was as if guided to a mystical realm canopied by a strange firmament, whose meteors and comets, however weird, I understood and beheld without fear. The fulfilled dreams and presentiments, the cry of lovers, heard and answered across long leagues, the vampire wife, were provided for in nature's new apparatus disclosed in my law-book. Then came "Oliver Twist." Such was my enthusiasm for Dickens, that when he visited Fredericksburg I sacrificed my reputation as an obedient pupil by jumping from our schoolroom window in order to get a glimpse of my hero on the stage-coach; my flogging was envied by some of my school-fellows when they heard I had seen the great man. Of all his works "Oliver Twist" moved me most deeply. An inland boy's first glimpse of the sea and its sails is a Copernican discovery; his homestead or village shrinks to an atom; but even more vast seemed that sea of humanity called London, and small indeed our remote affairs compared with the populations to which we were introduced by our magician. This man, graduated from Grub Street to Belgravia, awakened the sentiment of humanity. From him, too, I learned how much the pen may achieve. We heard good stories

of panics in Dotheboys Halls and Bumbledom under these scathing exposures; and could well believe them, for even our old stage-road began to mend after its caricature in the "American Notes." "The Story of a Feather," by Douglas Jerrold, also made a profound impression on me, with its contrasted pictures of wealth and poverty which left the heart longing to help.

Despite the humor playing on the surface of these dramatizations of human misery they had an undertone of despair. In those days one voice was, indeed, heard which awakened hope—that of Carlyle; but it broke into discords. Carlyle promised the world a millennium if it would return on its orbit, and henceforth move in a reverse direction. The world answered with laughter and tears; but some of us in Virginia received the pamphlet on "The Nigger Question" as a prophecy. My skepticism concerning slavery was suppressed, and when the right master came he found me brooding over Old World oppressions. From a casual English review, one single sentence, quoted from Emerson, spoke to me as never man had spoken. My world was changed. The spell of romancers which carried me to a world over the sea was broken. My own place and time were sufficient. I met Oliver Twist in the haggard little Virginian. More slowly the discovery was reached that my new soul was in discord with hereditary dogmas. This was in part due to nineteenth-year crudeness, but perhaps more to the teacher's subtile influence, which forbade discipleship, and idealized for each that thing he was doing. The generation to which Emerson was a special Providence as subject to an illusion like that of the rustic damsels to whom the young god Krishna came in disguise; in their dances each supposed she had him for a partner. But the dancers could not remain the same. For myself, hitherto, Apollyon had combined steadily with the villains of fiction; now he immigrated, and took shape of the one evil in Virginia I could clearly see—popular ignorance. So I laid aside law studies, and addressed a pamphlet (my first considerable production) to the Virginia Constitutional Convention (1850-'51), on "Free Schools in Virginia." Then I became an itinerant Methodist, and studied Emerson while riding from one to another of my ten congregations. I also read Carlyle in my horseback study,

and gathered treasures from his "Essays," "Heroes," and his two volumes of "German Romance," which last Carlyle once took from the English custom-house and restored to me, as I was lamenting the loss of such old friends.

But neither from Emerson's sunshine nor Carlyle's flame did I discover that I was out of my place. The still, small voice which asked, "What dost thou here?" came from a volume entitled "Conversations on Religious Subjects between a Father and his two Sons," by Samuel Janney, a Hicksite Quaker of Virginia. This unpretending little book weighed the doctrines I had undertaken to teach in balances of common-sense and the moral sentiment. For the martyrdom of my "new departure" courage was strengthened by Carlyle's "Life of Sterling." Inward misgivings, the afterglow of orthodoxy, were relieved by the pious glamour thrown on the new horizon by Francis Newman's work, "The Soul; her Sorrows and her Aspirations." I say glamour, assured now that the "unworldliness" therein commended survives from supernaturalism; but Newman's definition of the spiritual nature as feminine was a mother-thought. The sectarian City called Beautiful was fairly replaced by the society of fine spirits described in the "Memoirs of Margaret Fuller"—utopia fulfilled by Concord. Although Apollyon was now fossilized, Horace Greeley's "Hints toward Reforms" showed the old dragons slipped into new skins, awaiting the spear. My pilgrimage, at times dark and lonely, was cheered by the happy songs of Longfellow; and when I reached my Beulah, Concord, I found a fellow-pilgrim, Arthur Clough, whose song was that of the nightingale. From the "Dial" I gathered the history of the intellectual movement into which I was drawn. Emerson lent me Wilkins's "Bhagavat Geeta"—"to be read on my knees"—and the Persian "Desátir." These were revelations, like peaks and lakes of regions unknown to my spiritual geography. I afterwards gathered, in those regions, the fruits and flowers in my "Sacred Anthology." Among those eastern books I for the first time really discovered the Bible, hitherto thrust too close to my eyes to be legible, and, in my new-found freedom, thrust away; but other scriptures of corresponding date supplied right perspective, through vulgar

superscriptions of literalism illuminations of the palimpsest shone out.

When I first met Thoreau, at Concord, he asked what we studied at Divinity College; when I answered, "the Scriptures," he inquired, "Which?" In Thoreau's "Week on the Concord and Merrimac rivers," and "Walden," I presently recognized parts of the western Vedas, whose opening hymn was Emerson's first work, "Nature." This pantheistic "nature" was beautiful enough while Prospero and his Ariel were summoning the masque. My long-bandaged eyes could not yet look fearlessly out on the world of men and women. My twenty-first summer was passed in a pleasant hermitage near Concord, with the visions and visionaries of religious romances; *e. g.*, Froude's "Nemesis of Faith," and Stirling's "Onyx Ring." These books helped me; their characters were types and shadows dramatizing my new surmises, and Froude's story was a warning that if dragon had vanished serpent remained. Then I came in contact with the robust genius of Robert Browning. His sensuous carnations glorified my wilderness; amid them moved actual man and woman, naked and not ashamed. The pale, bloodless figures of my Oxonian romances were dismissed; in their place moved Pippa, Colombe, Valence, Mildred, the gypsy duchess. Henceforth my reading was somewhat less religious. I found delight in Montaigne, in Boccaccio, in Shakespeare. Bacon's "Essays" I found suggestive; but his cynical views of woman and love were chilling. Strange that any can imagine the hand which wrote Bacon's eighth and tenth essays creating the Shakespearean women, and portraying the love of Juliet! In Landor's "Imaginary Conversations" I found a corrective of tendencies to hasty generalization, an instruction in the importance of details, and recognition of the special tasks of scholarship—to revise popular judgments, to probe institutions, to question conventionalized figures. Landor's felicities flash without effort, as in sentences Melancthon is supposed to say to Calvin: "If we bow before the distant image of good, while there exists within our reach one solitary object of substantial sorrow, which sorrow our efforts can remove, we are guilty (I pronounce it) of idolatry; we pre-

fer the intangible effigy to the living form." "Our reformers knock off the head from Jupiter; thunderbolt and scepter stand." Landor's exquisite English was even surpassed by Thackeray, whose lectures, which I both heard and read, appeared models in their way. But my chief debt to Thackeray is for "Henry Esmond" and "The Virginians;" for their charm, and also for the color of romance shed on the region in which I was born. Hawthorne became to me what Walter Scott was to my elders, Wizard of the North. As allegorist he appeared the Bunyan of our new age. It was the sufficient *raison d'être* of Brook Farm to produce "The Blithedale Romance." I could almost pardon the prickly puritanism which flowered in "The Scarlet Letter." Lord Bacon's method of interpreting "mythological fables" seemed mechanical compared with the reappearance of Cain's mark in the Scarlet Letter; and still more, perhaps, with the artistic transformation of Eve, the serpent, and the hereditary Fall, by our inspired physician in his "Elsie Venner." Beside these was Sylvester Judd's "Margaret." The Yankee girl, whose little brain was a confused mixture of the Shorter Catechism and Tooke's "Pantheon" was as if well known to me under various names.

On the most momentous of subjects, sex, and the moral problems relating thereto, no adequate English work exists. There is no chart of the passionate currents of wind and wave sweeping that dangerous sea which every youth must voyage. Rationalism pilots us from the moorings of fear, past the shoals of tradition, then leaves us, with fallacious assurance that nature's light will lead us. This naturalistic superstition arrests the evolution of ethics corresponding to the liberalism of our age, relegating half of man to "the realm of silence." Over broken monastic chains and exploded hells, the word remains: "But to the girdle do the gods inherit, beneath is all the fiends'." So-called "moralists" sermonize about Goethe, without seeing in his errors reflection of their own incompetence. Goethe has transmuted his faults into guidance for a generation whose girdles of authority and superstition are broken. In "Wilhelm Meister" civilized man appears the product of culture that he is; phantasms fossilized under his feet, his environment of

human, not natural, selection, influenced only by motives related to the world of his creation. Here, for foundation-stones of the normal moral order, are honor, self-respect, sympathy, compassionateness, taste, love of beauty, luxury-loving repose; and here the perception that by educating each human being in these as supreme religion the beautiful society shall be built. In "Elective Affinities," remorseless nature, regardless of morality, and a sacramental morality regardless of nature, appear as upper and nether millstones, crushing hearts and lives. The liberated moral sentiment assumes the seat of judgment, and pronounces these victims of the immoral morality derived from uncivilized nature. Margaret Fuller would prefer to see Goethe slaying the serpent with the divine wrath of Apollo, rather than taming it to his service, like Æsculapius. But this serpent cannot be slain, and by the serpent lifted up men are saved. All subtlety is needed for the art of living. Goethe has shown that if moralists are too prudish to advise youth, Mephistopheles is not. Margaret and Mignon have irremovably taken their place as pathetic monitors of youth emancipating itself from tradition.

An ideal library were analogous to the museum where one ascends gradually from azoic rocks to anthropology. My experience would label the galleries, successively: Bunyan, Dickens, Emerson, Browning, Goethe, Darwin, Schopenhauer, Shakespeare. With evolution Emerson had familiarized me before Darwin; he had seen the whole golden stairway of organization, with forms of ever-increasing perfection ascending. When Darwin showed this vision real, demonstrated the alliance of heredity and variation, what fair translations of the fact appeared! The secret of creation was discovered; Promethean art, to which a thousand years of nature is but as one day, would now by purposed scientific selection evolve an earthly paradise, and domesticate deities in it. We were as those that dream. Our mouth was filled with laughter and song. For Young America was optimist; on its ear "The Origin of Species" was nature's choral symphony breaking into a cosmic ode to joy. But to the ear of the Old World it bore tidings that nature is a monster devouring her children, "red in tooth and claw." European literature henceforth bore



the appearance of a Book of Lamentations. Tennyson's laureate despair, Ruskin's artistic ravings, Winwood Reade's "Martyrdom of Man," Turgeneff's brave figures struggling against nature-gods jealous of excellence, made a fatal chorus round the new generalization. The organizing light cast on science must now be weighed with the dark corollary that nature is predatory, and is impartial between progress and reversion.

While Emerson was speculatively anticipating Darwin's discovery in happy vision, Schopenhauer was surmising our simian origin. Emerson calls Schopenhauer's pessimism "odious," yet his sentences sometimes seem quotations from the pessimist. "Nature works very hard, and only hits the white once in a million throws." "The worst of charity is that the lives you are asked to preserve are not worth preserving." Some of Schopenhauer's essays, translated by Messrs. Droppers and Dachsel, mastered my prejudice. They returned me, indeed, to my familiar old serpent-poisoned world, without its future hopes; but from this thinker a beam shone far into the darkness. For Schopenhauer admits that art is "supernatural." Still the lute of Orpheus can silence the hell-hound of care. Art makes the wheel of Ixion pause. Voltaire's verdict on his eighty years, "*Le bonheur n'est qu'un rêve, et la douleur est réelle,*" is brightened by Schopenhauer with a suggestion of the arts by which the dream may be made real for many.

Schopenhauer's funereal lamp brings out meanings in Buddhist scriptures and legends deeper than their beauties. James Sime, author of the admirable "Life of Lessing," told me that, when near his end, Schopenhauer said, "I am Buddha." His friends suppressed the incident, unnecessarily. Buddhism, with its hope of euthanasia and non-existence, not attributable to any individual teacher in the East, was incarnate in Schopenhauer. But Nirvana is not the solution of life's dark problem; it is pre-Darwinite; evolution must secure survival. But the pessimist's admission, "Art is supernatural," is a lamp which turns his other to a taper. Its light illumines also Zoroastrian scriptures—Zendavesta, Bundebesch, etc. Here is another solution. There is no Cosmos yet; the Good Mind is making one out of a world largely alien

to itself. Amid the inorganic chaos, Armaiti, the Persian Madonna, ever labors, gently and patiently pressing back the frontiers of ferocity, reclaiming man and nature by culture. Armaiti is the supernatural Art. I have met her in the "Gulistan" of Saadi, the "Rose Garden;" in Boccaccio's circle, beguiled from remembrance of the plague with artful stories; in Rabelais's Abbey of Thelema. Walter Besant, author of "The Monks of Thelema," built in London the People's Palace of Delight on the foundation of Rabelais's dream. And what shall I say of the miracle-worker, of Shakespeare? Nothing; it were vain to try and tell a tithe of my debt to him, and once touched he is so hard to leave. Yes, the answer to Schopenhauer is Shakespeare. In youth, the millennium seems near; with advancing years it recedes; and I do not know what more can be done, amid the world's miseries and anarchies, than what Shakespeare has helped us to do—create an ideal world which shall sometimes overlay the hard face of necessity with its enchantment.

I lay down my pen, but many loved helpers have not been named. Their reproachful faces look from my shelves. The anthropologists, scientists, mythologists, archæologists, philologists, interpreters of religion; the scholars who have given our century its richest bequest, the sacred books of the East; these have changed the past from a cemetery to a city select of every age's best, with forms more alive than our swarming populations. When the canon of sacred books of the West shall be formed, I personally and especially pray that from them may not be omitted Lessing's "Nathan the Wise," Renan's "Recollections of my Youth," Kalisch's "Path and Goal," Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity," and all of Shakespeare; for these chiefly have aided me toward emancipating myself from the polemical spirit, and to rejoice in varied fruits of the Good Mind, though the trees be not labeled from my own botany. But who can understand his errors? It may be that in this, my first public narrative of intimate experiences, some word survives from the militant age I fancy behind me; if so, I ask forgiveness of any that word may wound, and of these great tolerant teachers.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

## SHOULD THE CHURCHES BE FREE?

“CUSTOM,” said Cyprian, “is often only the antiquity of error.” While this is true, appeal to antiquity might correct some customs comparatively modern. For example, it would be hard to find, in the teaching and practice of the primitive Christian church, any authority or precedent for modern pew-rents. Then, all places of assembly were free; the simple service of worship was conducted without hired helpers; and whatever was needful, for current expenses or for the relief of the poor, was contributed voluntarily. There was no dependence for aid upon any but professed disciples, and even they were under no constraint but that of conscience and of love.

Wherever ancient worship was held, whether in tabernacle or temple, synagogue or upper-room, market-place, river-side, or private house, there is no trace of pecuniary conditions or caste distinctions. In the Jewish church some were shut out from the sacred courts by ceremonial restrictions; only priests could enter the Holy Place, and only the high-priest the Most Holy; but not until the simplicity and purity of the apostolic age no longer survived, and an apostate age cast its shadow, did caste dare to draw its sharp lines of discrimination between rich and poor, and find a sanction even in the sanctuary.

Centuries passed away before such a thing was known as a pew or sitting rented or owned. The watchword of the New-Testament church was: “Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in,” even “the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind.” Not only were all free to come, but the gospel was borne to those who would not come. The resolute effort was to reach everybody, and the success of the effort was marked, especially among the poor.

The absence of any costly features is noteworthy in primitive Christian worship, for it may have had somewhat to do in mak-

ing the humblest feel at home. For hundreds of years there appear to have been no paid preachers or teachers, singers or choirs; nor even hired keepers of the house of prayer, until the sacristy of mediæval times made necessary the sacristan or sexton. Those who labored in the gospel worked without charge; some, upon principle, taking nothing of the Gentiles; others working with their own hands, lest they should burden the feeble church; and such as lived of the gospel were supported by free-will offerings. These are undisputed facts, and it is at least open to serious question, whether the radical changes which have taken place imply an advance upon earlier customs and usages. Possibly, in this case, the "old wine is better."

1. The principle of conceding to any man, at any price, any exclusive rights in a place of worship seems to outsiders inconsistent alike with those democratic and theocratic notions of which the Christian religion claims to be the exponent and embodiment. Christian believers hold that a place of worship is the house of God; that there he meets true worshipers, and, as the name implies, God is there acknowledged as sole proprietor. If so, the system which admits into such a place individual property or proprietorship condemns itself. The ceremony of dedication or consecration is an absurd farce, unless it sets apart the whole structure from corner-stone to cap-stone, without reservation of human right or property therein, to the exclusive uses of God and his worship. And if it is given to God, how can it be properly leased or sold, wholly or in part, to man?

Paul and James saw the spirit of caste invading church assemblies, marring fellowship by respect of persons, gauging manhood by rings or rags, and even profaning love-feasts by contrasting the dainty viands of the rich with the barley loaves of the poor; and with stinging words, that snap like their Master's scourge of small cords, they lashed those who thus violated Christian fraternity and equality. But how can the caste-spirit be kept out or kept under, where every pew has its price and invites the highest bidder? The costly seat may be put next to the cheapest, but this only abates an invidiousness which it does not abolish; the rich and the poor sit side by side, but the church itself draws a line and builds a barrier between them.

Proprietorship in a place of worship implies, logically and legally, a right of control. "No taxation without representation" is a political principle that made a teapot of Boston Harbor and a battle-field of Bunker Hill. He who, by paying for a pew, buys a right in the church-building, has a voice and vote in the affairs of the society. A vicious man may thus put legal obstacles in the way of church progress, and help to supplant a faithful pastor or other officer by one as corrupt as himself.

The renting or selling of pews tends to make a church edifice exclusive, by hindering, if not preventing, its free use for popular purposes. Pew-holders have property liable to damage, and, therefore, preferences entitled to consideration. Objections made on the ground of injury to the house and its furniture and garniture, have caused even pastors to be refused their own church edifices for occasional gatherings. A house of worship cannot be free to all the uses of religion, where individuals thus have the right to control the pews; and trustees who venture to place a house at the disposal of popular assemblies, risk censure, complaint, and removal from office. A few selfish, stubborn people may shut not only pew doors but church doors.

This is, to say the least, unfortunate. A church-building should be free both to all attendants and for all proper purposes; all gatherings, whether on Sundays or week days, which, by legitimate attractions, may draw the people, should be welcome. If the popular stream flows into the church-building during the week, it is likely to run in the same channel on Sunday; and if the churches are to get and keep hold of "the masses," the people must learn to think of church-buildings, not as of club houses or palace cars, for an elect few, but as their own homes, where they find brothers and a cordial welcome. Surely it is worth while, in view of the lamentable neglect of even the forms of God's worship by the bulk of the people, not to be unduly tenacious either of preferences or of customs; and it may be worth while to give full, fair trial to another system of administration, and make God's "house of prayer for all people" free to all, whether rich or poor, and free to all uses by which those who now stand without may be drawn within.

2. The prevailing pew-system tends to erect a money stand-

ard in the churches. While dependence is placed upon pews for revenues, it must be an object to court the highest bidder, and hence the applicant will be rated principally at his money value. How much intelligence, integrity, probity, or even piety he represents, is by the nature of the case a subordinate matter. If there be two applicants for the same pew, one poor but devout, the other rich but immoral, the money consideration will naturally, though unconsciously, control; for spiritual gifts, however desirable, do not pay bills.

Probably money will remain the standard of measure and weight so long as the costliness of modern church establishments continues. The city congregation hires a sexton and collector, at from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars annually; an organist and choir, at from fifteen hundred to four thousand; a preacher, at from twenty-five hundred to ten thousand; often a debt of from ten thousand to fifty thousand makes necessary annual interest-payments; so that the sum total of running expenses averages from five thousand to twenty thousand. This estimate excludes still costlier churches, where much larger collections are annually needed to prevent falling in arrears.

Where there is such outgo there must be corresponding income, secured by methods other than free-will offerings, which are often meager, and always uncertain. Hence, so far as voluntary contributions enter into the prevailing church-system, they are mostly for charitable objects, which, by a ludicrous inconsistency, are supposed to be able to bear the fluctuations of popular caprice; and some congregations omit all benevolent contributions as so much money diverted from the channel of necessary expenses.

3. The present pew-system makes no discrimination as to the character of those from whom church funds are drawn. This would seem to an outsider scarcely in harmony with Scripture. If Abram would not take from the King of Sodom the value of a shoe-latchet; if Elisha would accept no gifts from a worshiper of Rimmon; if early Christian teachers made it a principle to take nothing of the Gentiles, it would seem a serious departure from biblical standards to allow men to hire and buy pews without regard even to their morality, their trade, or their spirit. Yet in

most cases the one test question is, "Will he pay the price?" If so, he takes his choice.

Much has been said of "the bondage of the pulpit." But surely it does not help the preacher to the courage of his convictions, that his bread depends on pews let to the highest bidder, without regard to his moral standing. He knows, perhaps, what proportion of his salary comes from one whose character, business, and social life he abhors. The highest-priced pew may be held by a moral leper, whose touch taints everything with his own vileness, and yet whose vote helps to control. It takes a brave soul to hurl his bolts against intemperance and adultery, when he is expected to please those who sell liquid damnation or trample on the seventh commandment.

A sagacious statesman has remarked that the inevitable tendency of any system of wages is to sacrifice the independence of the workman to the will of his employer. The pew-system fetters the independence of the preacher by making him a hired servant. We are discussing tendencies. The great body of ministers in Christian churches are justly held in high esteem. A few, doubtless, shape their speech to please and flatter their hearers, or consent to a politic silence where silence is virtual consent to wrong; but hundreds of heroic servants of God and man scorn to be in bondage, and would accept the hair garb and desert fare of John the Baptist rather than hold their tongue before sin even in high places. And yet the question is whether the system of pew-renting tends to muzzle mouths whose utterances should be frank and bold. If it does, it is as unwise as it is unscriptural, and those who do speak out must first have learned to rise above the temptation to a compromise with conscience.

4. If free churches can be maintained, benefit will accrue to preacher and hearer, and many who are now outsiders may become insiders. The minister, according to the Christian idea and ideal, is not man's servant, hired and therefore controlled by his employer; but the servant of God, and therefore holden only to him. His support should come from willing hands and hearts, without the taint of tax or assessment. The tendency of the times is to lower the preacher's calling to the level of a trade or profession, to be rated at a price accord-

ing to learning and eloquence. But the Scriptures treat it as a divine vocation. Its money-returns are not wages for work, but means of relief from the distracting cares and entangling affairs of this life; as a divine calling, its only adequate compensation must be the consciousness of service rendered to man and rewarded of God. Should a voluntary system of church revenues be adopted, it might reduce the income of the preacher until the hearers were raised to a higher plane of giving, but the self-denial would be more than repaid if the result were a manlier independence, a more untrammelled tongue, and a larger service.

The effect of the voluntary system would be equally good on the hearer. It trains people to give generously, to lay the responsibility where it belongs—on their own heart and conscience. Some may take a mean advantage and evade responsibility, but others will find that the very habit of confronting the question of their ability and duty educates them to give liberally and systematically. The tie between minister and people grows strong and sympathetic when the donor remembers that upon his fidelity and generosity hangs in part the pastor's comfort. A wise philosophy lies back of the scriptural plan, which leaves to the giver to say what he can and will bestow, while it teaches him to give as unto the Lord, according to ability, not grudgingly or of necessity. If reverses compel reduction, or successes permit expansion in contributions, the humiliation that hurts and the pride that puffs up are both avoided by this wise plan.

There is some danger that the pew-system may nourish the vice of self-complacence. It is a principle of ethics, not to say of Christianity, that a man is to be judged not by his outward gifts but by his inward self. The truly upright man obeys a law written on his conscience and enshrined in his heart. The immoral and hypocritical man shirks and shifts, upon every pretext, the demand for a true, real, inner life. What a soothing salve for an unquiet conscience, to compensate for ill-gotten gains and compound for secret sins by liberally supporting the church! Jacob robs and wrongs Esau, and sends his gift before him to purchase a truce of hostilities. The robbers in Sherwood Forest coolly seize the treasures of travelers, and then build monasteries to escape purgatory. Self-righteous sinners



atone for robbery of God and the poor by helping to pay the preacher !

But our argument covers a still wider field. The bulk of our city populations are found in no place of worship, papal or Protestant. The mass of the working-men and of the poor go to no church. They feel themselves intruders, having no admitted right or real welcome unless they hire pews. Would they go to places of assembly where all are free? When Spurgeon preached at Exeter Hall and Surrey Gardens, those monster buildings could not hold the people, and crowds blocked even the streets. Preachers who have long faced empty pews, meet throngs in the theater or opera-house, not only because these places are associated with amusement, but because all who go are on a level of equality. They know that such places are opened for worship in order to get hold of non-attendants; they see that pains are taken to make even the poor and outcast feel at home; they read posters, in large letters, urging all to come, or they receive on street-corners cards of invitation assuring them of a welcome; and so, while elegant church-buildings with eloquent orators and costly pews stand half empty, a public hall, with no attractions but rousing congregational singing, plain extempore preaching, and a cordial welcome to a free seat, is crowded to overflowing.

When Ahaz put a carved altar from Damascus in place of the unhewn stone enjoined in the Law, it was accounted a profanation. Moses was enjoined to make all things after the pattern shown on the Mount. Certainly, modern church economy has deviated widely from the model found in the Scriptures and in the primitive age, and it is possible that the departure involves not policy only, but principle. Artistic singing has displaced simple responsive praise; elaborate essays have crowded out plain expositions of Scripture; costly buildings have supplanted humbler places of worship; and attendance has become the expensive privilege of a few, instead of the common right of all. Not least among all these modern and doubtful "improvements" upon the ancient order, instead of making the gospel free to all and urging all to come, a price is put upon pews and sittings, and preference is practically given to the rich. The God whom Christians profess to worship might be supposed to honor

his own pattern of church administration and to prefer his own chosen plans and agencies. The innovations which have gradually transformed the type of church conduct, have been inspired by the spirit of this world rather than by that of separation from the world, which is a distinctive feature of scriptural living. Secularism has invaded the courts of the sanctuary, and the traditions of men have again made void the word of God. There are Bethavens where there should be Bethesdas; and where crowds ought to gather we have stately mausoleums, where the preacher's voice echoes as in a sepulchral vault, and a few mourners come as if to give a dead gospel a decent burial!

The fact that there are free churches which are successful is a proof that they are practicable. If the members of a church are taught and trained to systematic, proportionate giving; if debt is avoided by spending only what is contributed; if, instead of requiring a fixed, stipulated sum, preachers are content to accept free-will offerings; if a system is devised by which every member may be reached, and the little gifts be organized into a large sum by regularity and frequency of collection, we see no reason why any church may not become a free church.

Socialism and anarchy threaten, in these days, even the foundations of the social structure. The only hope is, to get the Christian churches once more into close contact with the common people. Whatever men may think of religion, the historic fact is, that in proportion as the institutions of Christianity lose their hold upon the multitudes, the fabric of society is in peril. Whatever be the cause, there is growing alienation between the churches and the "masses." That gulf must be bridged. A noted anarchist, pointing with menacing finger to the magnificent metropolitan temples where the rich few are found, said, "Those are our allies; they make the people hate the churches and Christianity. All we fear is the Carpenter's Son and those who tread in his steps, preaching to the poor."

ARTHUR TAPPAN PIERSON.

## MR. GLADSTONE'S CLAIMS TO GREATNESS.

It is my purpose to set forth in a very few words the grounds for dissent from two opinions concerning Mr. Gladstone that are almost as common as the occurrence of his name: that he is a great statesman; and that he was the leader of the English nation in its progress toward democracy.

What are the prime qualifications of a great statesman? Insight, I think, is the most distinctive characteristic—instaneous and deep insight into the feelings of the people. The statesman always deals with a people, even under the most despotic government, for a despotism is always “tempered by fear of revolution.” The statesman’s work is much the same as that of the architect, namely, the disposition of masses. Rapidity and positiveness of decision are next in importance. Of course, skill in the details of administration is of great value; but insight, and quickness in making up the mind, and a firm purpose, are the *sine qua non* of statesmanship. Said Louis Napoleon, “I have felt the pulse of the nation.” That is one half of statecraft. It was said of his uncle, that “he never hesitated a moment in making up his mind, nor wavered after he had reached a decision.” That expresses almost the whole of the other half. That a scrupulous sense of honor and an undeviating patriotism should underlie these traits is obvious. I am speaking only of the gifts that are the tools of the statesman’s trade.

History affords abundant examples of the possession of these qualities in the highest degree by great statesmen. Count Cavour saw at a glance the desire and destiny of the Italian people for unity. He measured their strength and, never going beyond his means, never straining too far the love of the people for his government, with his marvelous diplomatic *finesse* and his signal administrative ability, he achieved the integration of

Italy. He was perhaps the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century. Almost precisely the same feat, though without many of Cavour's difficulties, Bismarck accomplished in Germany. We credit him with a proportionate share of ability. We call Cromwell the greatest statesman in British history, for he measured his people and formed his plans unerringly, and raised his country to an unheard-of height. We would add Napoleon to the list, if for nothing else than for his sweeping legal reforms, as expressed in the "Code Napoléon." Nothing illustrates, better than this measure, insight into the people's needs and unwavering steadfastness of resolve. Richelieu in France, Burke and both the Pitts in England, are further examples. Our own country, among others, boasts Hamilton and the younger Adams. Now observe wherein all these men agree: they knew what they wanted; they calculated the strength of their hold on the people with whom they had to deal; and they never subjected that hold to too severe a strain. Therefore they succeeded.

In the present century of English history, the statesman's need of insight and of knowing his own mind is immensely increased by the peculiar conditions of political life in the United Kingdom. While the object of statesmanship is more and more imperatively the good of the people, the people themselves are becoming every day more exclusively the means. The infusion of democracy into the much-adored British Constitution has resulted in a curious compound. An utterly mischievous perversion of the principle of democracy, not contemplated for a moment by those political philosophers who have been friendly to that principle, has been the outcome. The reigning idea of English political practice has become this: that the enfranchised English people are able to regulate by ballot the details of government. The power of a minister, when he is defeated on any measure whatsoever, to dissolve Parliament and "appeal to the people," is a fact of vastly different import from the periodical submission to the masses of broad and evident issues. And in England the evil results of overlooking the limits of the efficiency of popular power are intensified by the guiding influence which public opinion in all its variations is permitted to exercise upon the deliberations of Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone is the child of these conditions. As long as they persist, such progeny may be expected. With splendid eloquence, a supreme grasp of administrative details, a gift for parliamentary management, and, above all, a faculty for varied and efficient work, which is the more wonderful the more it is thought about—with these abilities, which could not fail to put him in the front in whatsoever walk of life he might choose, Mr. Gladstone is a magnificent embodiment of the limitations and the ineffectiveness of English politics. From the parliamentary point of view he has been pre-eminently successful; from the national point of view his career has been a lamentable failure. He began life, in the words of Lord Macaulay, as the "rising hope" of the "stern and unbending Tories;" he bids fair to end it in the ranks of the so-called philosophical Radicals. His change of sides was not instantaneous, like Disraeli's. If his transition had been immediate, if it had been the deliberate result of convictions, or even, as Disraeli's was, of selfish calculation, we could not have denied him the title of statesman. But it was not. As a heavy stone, loosed by chance from the top of a hill, falls heavily down the jagged side, striking jutting points and rebounding only to resume its uneven way till it lies inert in the marsh below, Mr. Gladstone has made his descent from the heights of strict Conservatism to the dead level of the Manchester school. The simile, however, is not quite adequate, for Mr. Gladstone has covered, with almost mathematical precision, every point of view between these two extremes. He has successively advocated and opposed almost every policy in the region of practical statesmanship. The American Confederacy counted him among its ardent friends for a while, only to see him espouse the side of the Union. His maiden speech in Parliament was in favor of colonial slavery; later on, no one could have abhorred it more. The famous defense of the Irish Church Establishment, which called out Macaulay's more famous reply, was the work of the man who afterward overthrew that Establishment. He was opposed to the Crimean War; then he was in favor of it. He has carried on a greater number of petty wars than his rival Beaconsfield, against whom he so strenuously urged the policy of "peace with honor." A bill in 1844, to absorb

railroads under government control, was originated by him; but he soon wearied of the idea and abandoned it. The revelations (including a letter of Gordon's) made within the last few weeks, by Mr. Wilfred S. Blunt, have thrown a strong light on Mr. Gladstone's uneasy veerings of resolution and fear of popular opinion in regard to the revolt and subsequent perpetual imprisonment of the champion of the Egyptian *fellah*, Ahmed Arabi Pasha. Protectionist and free-trader, landlord's advocate and tenant's advocate, against the admission of Jews and for the admission of Bradlaugh, denouncer, even vilifier, of Beaconsfield in 1878, extravagant eulogist in 1881, violent enemy and eloquent advocate of Home Rule for Ireland, he has demonstrated beyond cavil that there are two (at least two) sides to every question. He actually opposed in his earlier days a scheme of national education, because it proposed to educate dissenters—a scheme infinitely less sweeping than that which Mr. Forster, a member of his own ministry, forced through Parliament in 1873. Mr. Gladstone never originated and carried out any new principle or even any entirely new measure. Not another word need be said in answer to those sciolists who say that he led the United Kingdom from the *régime* of 1832 to the *régime* of 1887. Emerson has said: "An institution is the lengthened shadow of a man;" but here the man is the foreshortened shadow of institutions.

Statesmanship? We can apply the term to the leader of the Liberal party only when we cease to think of the facts of his career. I have said that the two indispensable conditions of statesmanship are to know one's own purpose and to have a clear insight into the character and wants of the people, who are at once the object and the means of the statesman's art. As to Mr. Gladstone's steadfastness, I have perhaps said enough, but I cannot forbear to add a word or two about one signal instance of his levity of political principle, to wit, in the matter of Home Rule in Ireland. Many times, even in recent years, Mr. Gladstone has declared with emphasis that England could never consent to a dissolution of the Treaty of Union, for that would mean "dismemberment of the empire." It was he who subjected the Irish people to the severest persecution they have

suffered since that iniquitous treaty was enacted. The most merciless coercion bill of the long series of such enactments he himself forced through Parliament in the face of the most determined opposition of the Irish members. And after it was passed, hundreds of the most prominent and respected public men of Ireland, on the sole accusation of being "under suspicion" of nameless offenses, were hurried into prison without even a drum-head trial. The disgusting exhibition Mr. Gladstone made of himself when he announced at a Mansion House banquet that his chief political rival was at that moment "kicking his heels in Kilmainham Jail," will not easily be forgotten. His admirers cannot apologize for the apostasy to his principles into which that rival has lately dragooned him, by declaring that he was successively trying both the principles of repression and concession; such vivisection is not allowed to the statesman. Nor was there anything in the Irish Question of 1886 that was absent in 1880, except, indeed, a more powerful force in Parliament.

It has been remarked that Mr. Gladstone is the only statesman in Europe who keeps a conscience. Possibly; but it is an eleventh-hour conscience. Unlike the mills of the gods, it does not grind fine enough to make up for its slowness. Inert at first, its rebound is both untimely and ill-directed. By his successive aggression and truckling, he has brought England to the lowest place in point of dignity among European powers. To enumerate many instances in so short a space is impossible. One will suffice. In the war with the Transvaal Republic, England had taken a position of outrageous aggression. An outcry against the war was raised at home, but it did not avail. The Liberal administration persevered until the British troops had suffered several defeats in the field. Then this conscience of Mr. Gladstone's began to operate. The righteous opposition of the English public reached him at length, after it had changed into a demand for vengeance upon the people who could defeat the British army—and peace was made.

The defects of the great leader may be summed up, as Mr. Arnold has indicated, in his want of insight. It was said above that from a parliamentary point of view he was a success, but from a national point of view a failure. His bills pass (*i. e.*, he

is an able parliamentary manager); his measures fail to accomplish their object (*i. e.*, he is no statesman). And this is owing to an inherent inability to discern the needs of the English people. So his Land Act of 1870 had to be supplemented by his Land Act of 1881, and that several times since. His reform of parliamentary procedure failed. His course in the Soudan, ending in the abandonment and murder of Gordon, I shall not speak of; it can hardly be treated with becoming calmness. When his letters from Naples on the state of the prisons, and his disestablishment of the Irish Church are mentioned, the catalogue of Mr. Gladstone's great services to the world is completed. Even in the Irish Church matter, however, he left a loophole by which the Irish ecclesiastics made off with an inordinate sum of money.

A clever sentence of Mr. Matthew Arnold's about the late Frederick Denison Maurice applies with more fitness to Mr. Gladstone: "He spent his life in beating about the bush without starting the hare." Best of all does it apply to his eloquence. Mr. Gladstone can argue equally well on either side of a question, for he never goes to the root of any. In his late speech, delivered on the introduction of his Home Rule Bill, which has been eulogized as one of the greatest oratorical efforts of his life, he never comes in contact with the vital heart of the issue, however eloquently, and with whatever majestic and glowing periods, he may circle around it. One can easily imagine him making just as convincing a speech on the other side. It is necessary but to compare Mr. Gladstone's floods of impressive but unconvincing words, with Mr. Parnell's simple, cold, straightforward, and brief speeches, to see which has in the higher degree the statesman's mind. It has been said that Mr. Gladstone is *par excellence* the minister of the *bourgeoisie*, with their "hot and cold fits, with their backwardness and boundedness and lack of insight." And it is also just to say that he is the typical statesman of a time in which it is fondly imagined to be a creditable extension of democratic principle to relegate the details of government to the votes of a great, unwieldy nation.

It will naturally be asked: If this, then, is the character of Mr. Gladstone, what is the source of the enthusiastic and deferential admiration of him which is felt by half the British people



and by far more than half of the people of America and the colonies? What is the spring of that feeling which finds vent in such epithets as "Grand Old Man," the feeling that causes Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Lord Roseberry, and even such a sober spirit as John Morley, to declare it a glory to march under the banner of the "ever-victorious leader"? The answer is very simple. It is to be found in certain external characteristics of the man. It is to be found in the iron resolution and apparently superhuman love and capacity for labor of the most extraordinary old man of a land and century of extraordinary old men. It is to be found in the odor of humanitarianism that has clung to him from the beginning of his career, and through all his inconsistencies and changes of front. It is to be found in his really stainless personal character, and in his ingenuity and resource as a debater and party manager; for whatever his status as a statesman may be, as a man and as a parliamentary figure Mr. Gladstone is wholly admirable. It is to be found in an absolute lack of the sense of humor, which enables him always to maintain a ponderous impressiveness even in the act of combating his former cherished principles. He is always impressive. He rises to the pettiest debate with the air of a man to whom is intrusted the support of morality, humanity, and religion. "I shouldn't care much," Mr. Labouchere is reported to have said, "about his always having a card up his sleeve, but he must have you believe that God Almighty put it there." Everybody knows the passage in Macaulay where he describes Louis XIV.'s mastery of the art of majesty and kingliness, and it has been remarked by a recent writer that Louis himself was the first dupe, in his solemn and almost religious belief in his own unapproachable superiority. Conceit Mr. Gladstone seems to have none, but in his overpowering faith in his identification with piety and justice he resembles Louis of France, or the prophets of old—as you are his enemy or his friend. It is impossible for his party in Parliament, or the crowds that flock to his public speeches, to see in him what Professor Tyndall, with justice, calls him, "a hoary rhetorician."

Such are the sources of the influence which is even at this moment so perniciously exercised. The vital provisions even of

the wretchedly inadequate Home Rule Bill of last year, which the Irish leaders were persuaded to accept as a "finality," are to be given up, to conciliate the dissenting wing of the party. The very head of the measure Mr. Gladstone hands to the Liberal Unionists on a charger. The well-known twenty-fourth clause is to be abandoned; Ulster, if Mr. Chamberlain desires, is to be separated from the rest of Ireland; the powers of the native legislature, restricted in the original bill, by reservation of powers to the general Parliament, to little beyond the department of education, are to be severally delegated, thus denying to the country what the Parnellites have declared to be the minimum that they would accept, namely, a position relative to the central government like that of an American State. And yet it is as impossible for those who are thus at once awed and duped by him, to take his true measure, as it was for the courtiers of "*Le Grand Monarque*" to see, as was found when his corpse was exhumed, that he was rather below than above the average stature of man.

DICKINSON S. MILLER.

# The Forum.

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FEBRUARY, 1888.

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## THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TELEGRAPH.

THE first dispatch containing information of interest to the American people that was sent over a telegraph wire in the United States, was transmitted over part of the line set up by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse between the national capital and the city of Baltimore. That message first announced to the members of Congress and to the people of Washington the nomination by the Whig party, in national convention, of the great commoner, Henry Clay, as its candidate for President of the United States. The announcement of the nomination of a great statesman for the presidency was, however, of little consequence in comparison with the remarkable fact which the telegram indicated—that the wonderful invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph, wrought out by Professor Morse, could be successfully used for the transmission of intelligence with lightning speed between distant parts of the land.

It is not surprising that the people were slow to believe the possibility of doing what Professor Morse had accomplished. Shortly after the line had been completed to Baltimore and a successful test had been made, the Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore and nominated Mr. Polk for President and Silas Wright, then in the United States Senate, for Vice-President. Mr. Polk was in Tennessee and beyond the reach of the

little telegraph line, but Mr. Wright was at Washington. When he was nominated the fact was immediately telegraphed to him, and he at once telegraphed back declining the nomination. This was done so quickly that the convention could not believe that the message of declination had come from Mr. Wright, and adjourned until a committee appointed for the purpose could visit him at Washington and verify the report. The committee found that the telegraph had performed its work not only with accuracy, but with what then seemed marvelous rapidity. The fact that a report of the proceedings of the convention was correctly made gave the public confidence in the telegraph, and its use for the transmission of intelligence may be said to date from that time.

In 1843 Congress appropriated \$30,000 "to test the expediency of the telegraph projected by Professor Morse," and in 1844 the line already referred to was constructed with this appropriation. This line, erected with the people's money, was placed under the charge of the Postmaster-General, where it properly belonged, and for three years it was operated by the government in connection with the postal service.

The government was, therefore, the original promoter of the telegraph in the United States. It demonstrated its practicability, something no capitalists could be induced to undertake, and yet to-day the United States is the only civilized nation in which the telegraph is not under governmental control. The advocates of a government telegraph are suggesting nothing new. They are simply advocating the policy which prevails in all other leading nations. They are simply advocating the resumption by our government of the control which it at first properly assumed over the most powerful agency of communication known to the world, the management of which was unfortunately relinquished to private persons forty years ago.

It is urged that the government has no right to interfere with, or to carry on, a private business; but it must be admitted that the transmission of intelligence is, in the strictest sense, a public service. The United States Supreme Court has declared that

"A telegraph company occupies the same relation to commerce, as a carrier of messages, that a railroad company does as a carrier of goods. Both

companies are instruments of commerce, and their business is commerce itself. They do their transportation in different ways, and their liabilities are, in some respects, different ; but they are both indispensable to those engaged to any considerable extent in commercial pursuits."\*

From the beginning, the telegraph was recognized as being naturally and properly an adjunct of the postal service, and the action of Congress in the construction and operation of the original line was strictly in harmony with the general idea of the functions of the Post-office Department which prevailed when the government was organized. In assuming control of the postal system of the country the ordinances of the Continental Congress declared its functions to be "the communicating intelligence with regularity and dispatch from one part to another of these United States." Surely no other agency can compete with the telegraph in performing this function of communicating intelligence with dispatch. The idea thus expressed in those ordinances has ever since controlled the administration of the Post-office Department, and the government has never, for any great length of time, allowed itself to be outstripped by private enterprise in the transmission of written correspondence for the public. Nor has it ever hesitated to exercise whatever authority was needful, or to employ every new agency or instrumentality for communicating intelligence "with dispatch" that inventive genius has produced, save only the one that easily outstrips all other instrumentalities—the telegraph.

After the completion of the original line, Professor Morse proposed to transfer the exclusive use and control of the telegraph to the United States, saying to Congress that it was "an engine of power for good or for evil, which all opinions seem to concur in desiring to have subject to the control of the government, rather than have it in the hands of private individuals or associations." The government unfortunately neglected to accept this proposition, and allowed this mighty "engine of power" to pass out of its hands. The line then constructed, being of service only to the people of Washington and Baltimore, was but little used, and did not pay expenses ; and it was feared that the system would not prove practicable for long distances. The re-

\**Western Union Tel. Co. v. State of Texas*, 105 U. S., 464.

sult was that the line was sold, under authority of the Act of June 19, 1846; the telegraph business passed out of the control of the government; and to-day it is a gigantic monopoly virtually in the hands of one corporation, if not of one man.

This change of policy was most ill advised. During all these years it has cost the people many millions of dollars, exacted from them in the shape of excessive and unreasonable charges for telegraphic service. If the policy first adopted by the government had been continued, the development of the telegraph system would have gone hand in hand with that of the postal system, as it has in other countries, and during all these years the people would have enjoyed better and more widely extended telegraphic facilities, which would have been supplied to them at cost. Some idea of the saving that would have been effected to the public can be gained from the fact that from 1867 to 1883 (both inclusive) the shareholders of the Western Union Telegraph Company received \$34,000,000 in cash dividends, in addition to stock dividends of \$25,817,198.

But the do-nothing policy, which has ever been a popular one with a large class of statesmen, was allowed to prevail. The development of the telegraph business was left to private enterprise. Many companies were organized; but all in turn, either voluntarily or by compulsion, sold out to the one master and dominating power—the Western Union Telegraph Company, which now practically controls the field and enjoys a virtual monopoly of the entire business.

When England found itself in a position similar to that which the United States occupy to-day with respect to the telegraph business, the British Government did not long hesitate to act, but bought out the existing lines and assumed control of the business. And this was done, too, although the government was forced to pay extravagant prices for the lines, and to assume a heavy indebtedness in order to buy them. But England has never hesitated to undertake any expenditure, however enormous, that promised to promote the business interests of the nation, a fact which largely accounts for her success in maintaining her commercial supremacy. The benefits conferred upon the public by this arrangement cannot be computed in dollars and cents;

but notwithstanding the excessive prices paid and the heavy interest charge to be borne, the bargain, considered simply as a business transaction, has not been a bad one for the government. A statement prepared by Mr. F. E. Smith, principal bookkeeper of the General Post-office at London, shows that for the year ended March 31, 1886, the government derived from the telegraph business a balance of profit of 1.34 per cent. upon the capital expended (\$59,289,685), "the amount available on commercial principles for dividend on capital or for a reserve fund" being \$797,215.

The results of the purchase of the lines in England afford the best answer to the objections raised against the assumption of the telegraph business by the government of the United States. They are briefly summarized in the concluding paragraphs of an elaborate paper entitled "Fifty Years' Progress in Telegraphy," which was read before the Society of Arts of London, on May 18th last, by Mr. W. H. Preece, F. R. S., Vice-President of the Society, as follows :

"It is amusing, after this length of time, to read the arguments that were adduced against the absorption of the telegraphs by the state. Every reason has been proved wrong, every prophecy has remained unfulfilled. I can say this with a good grace, for I was one of the prophets.

"The advantages of a state-controlled telegraph system have been amply shown. There has been established a cheaper, more widely extended, and more expeditious system of telegraphy ; the wires have been erected in districts that private companies could not reach ; the cost of telegrams has been reduced, not only in their transmission, but in their delivery ; the number of offices opened has been trebled ; a provincial and an evening press have been virtually created. Adam Smith said that the post-office was the only kind of business that government had always managed with success. We can now add telegraphy."

Previous to the purchase of the telegraph lines by the British Government, three great companies competed for the business of the kingdom, but in 1865 they pooled their issues and agreed upon uniform rates. The result was, that only the main centers of trade and population were served, the smaller towns and villages being for the most part ignored, though in many cases the wires passed through their limits. In 1869 there were eighty-eight towns in England, each having a popula-

tion of 2,000 or more, entirely without telegraphic facilities. Public opinion forced the British Government to act, as it surely will in time force our government to act, and the telegraph lines were transferred to the state on February 5, 1870. The official figures cited by Mr. Preece fully sustain the claims he makes as to the good results accomplished. At the time of the transfer there were 2,932 public telegraph offices, while now there are 6,514. The number of messages transmitted in 1869 was 6,000,000, while in 1886 it had increased to 39,235,813, and it was expected to exceed 52,000,000 for 1887. At the close of the year 1870 the gross receipts of the Telegraph Department were \$3,061,500, while, notwithstanding the large reductions made in the rates, they increased to \$8,936,320 for 1886, and were expected to reach \$9,750,000 for 1887. The charge for the transmission of a telegram between any two points in the United Kingdom is twelve cents for the first twelve words and a cent for each subsequent word, the address and signature being charged for. Ordinary postage-stamps are placed on the telegrams for payment for their transmission. The average cost for the transmission of a telegram is now sixteen cents.

The change has been of very great and especial advantage to the press of Great Britain. The press rates are very low, the average price paid being less than five cents per 100 words. While these rates entail upon the department a supposed loss of about \$1,000,000 a year, yet the arrangement is a wise one, because it very materially aids in the dissemination of intelligence, and in the benefits of this the whole people share alike. What the government has accomplished in the matter of the press service is shown by Mr. Preece :

“ One of the great objections raised against the absorption of the telegraphs by the state was the difficulty which the government would have in transmitting news. In no country is there now such a complete system of telegraphy for news purposes as there is in the United Kingdom. . . . Whenever any great political event arises, such as the delivery of a great speech, all the important towns throughout the kingdom receive simultaneously a *verbatim* report of the speech. There is not a town in the country where a daily paper is printed which is not placed, after 6 P. M., in direct communication with London, and where there is not deposited on every subscriber's breakfast table a nearly *verbatim* report of the previous night's debate in Parliament.”



In a country like ours, in which the perpetuity of the government depends upon the intelligence of its citizens, who have a voice in the ordering of its affairs, it is of supreme importance that every possible facility should be afforded for the prompt dissemination of intelligence, and especially of the fullest information in regard to all public affairs. At present such facilities are enjoyed only by the leading newspapers in the principal cities, whose large patronage enables them to pay the tolls now demanded for the transmission of news. But there are hundreds and hundreds of daily newspapers in the smaller towns throughout the country that cannot afford to pay these tolls, and whose hundreds of thousands of readers are not promptly supplied with full news reports. No greater boon could be conferred upon the millions of people who live remote from the larger cities, than to enable them to procure the news of the day promptly and fully. And if the government, by engaging in the telegraph business, can accomplish even a tithe of what the British Government has accomplished in this direction, it certainly can exercise no higher function, nor one that will tend in a greater degree to fit its citizens for the peculiar responsibilities devolved upon them by our government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Is there any reason to believe that a postal-telegraph system would prove less successful in this country than in England? I can conceive of none, and I am not willing to admit that we cannot successfully manage any enterprise that can be managed successfully in any other country.

It will be said that we cannot afford to extend telegraphic facilities to every corner of our vast domain, and to make low rates, irrespective of distance, as has been done in England, because of the much greater extent of our territory. In answer to this, I say that we labored under exactly the same disadvantage, as compared with England, in respect to our postal service, and yet we have been able to extend that to the most remote parts of the country and still make the rates of postage very low, irrespective of distance, and the Post-office Department practically self-sustaining, and we will soon make the rates of postage still lower. If we can do this with respect to the mail service, not-

withstanding the vast extent of our territory, we can do it even more easily with respect to the telegraph service. Telegraph lines can be constructed very cheaply, compared with other means of communication, and when once constructed there is practically no further expense for the actual transportation of messages over them. It does not cost any more to handle all the telegrams sent in this country than it costs to handle all the letters sent, nor as much; while the letters bear, in addition, a heavy annual charge for their transportation, from which telegrams are exempt. The expenditure for inland mail transportation in the United States was \$29,806,508.87 for the year ending June 30, 1887. The entire plant of the Western Union Company could be duplicated for less than will be paid for inland mail transportation during the next two years. Hence, it is clear to me that what we have done in the case of the mail service, we can do with greater ease and in less time in the case of the telegraph.

If the government, by undertaking the telegraph business, can accomplish here what has been accomplished in England; if it can establish "a cheaper, more widely extended, and more expeditious" service; if it can extend the wires to the interior towns not now reached; if it can accommodate twice or three times as many places and people as the private monopoly now does; if it can furnish better service at less than half the present rates; and if it can enable every daily paper, no matter where published, to obtain cheaply and promptly the news of the world, surely the government could perform no grander or more beneficent service for the people.

There is no lack of constitutional authority to deal with the question effectively. Indeed, I do not think the constitutional right of the government to establish a postal telegraph, under the power granted to Congress to establish post-offices and post-roads, is seriously questioned. The telegraph is used exclusively for the transmission of intelligence: in this respect it differs not at all from the postal service. The only difference is in the methods employed for the communication of information. Congress has already added to the postal system two branches of business that do not partake of the nature of "communicating intelligence," which is the especial function of the Post-

office Department. In this respect the constitutional right of the government to engage in the express business, by carrying merchandise and parcels in the mails, or to engage in the banking business, as is done in the case of the money-order system, is much less clear than its right to establish a postal telegraph for the transmission of intelligence. And in both these branches of business the government is competing with private corporations. The express companies and the banks have as much reason to complain of the government for undertaking a part of the business in which they are engaged, as the telegraph companies would have if it likewise undertook that business for the public convenience. The only difference is, that one great monopoly does not control the express or the banking business, as is the case with the telegraph.

The Constitution provides that "Congress shall have power to establish post-offices and post-roads." These words have received the broadest possible construction by Congress and the courts. The Supreme Court has sustained the right of the government, under this clause, to acquire lands in the States by condemnation through its own agencies.\* If this may be done, we cannot doubt the right of the government to acquire by similar means whatever lands or rights of way may be necessary to enable it "to establish post-roads." This power has been frequently exercised in the past. Under it roads were opened in Georgia, in the Indian country, and from Nashville, Tenn., to Natchez, Miss., during the administration of President Jefferson. The construction of the Cumberland road from Maryland to Ohio was authorized at the same session. Sundry acts for the repair of post-roads and the survey of new roads were passed before the era of railroads. Even without the post-office clause Congress might invoke the war power, the power to regulate commerce, and the power to provide for the general welfare, as authority for constructing telegraph lines. The government has already constructed more than 6,000 miles of telegraph lines for military purposes and for the use of the Signal Service, and is now operating them without occasioning any severe strain to the Constitution, so far as I am aware.

\* *Kohl v. United States*, 91 U. S., 372.

Under the post-office clause Congress clearly has authority, in the conduct of the postal service, to avail itself of any existing methods of communication or of transmitting intelligence, or itself to put them into operation as a part of the postal system. It, therefore, has the power to purchase or to operate the existing lines of telegraph as a part of the postal system, or to make use of them by contracting with the telegraph companies for the transmission of postal telegrams, or to establish a postal telegraph by constructing and operating lines of its own. And, under the power to regulate commerce, the Supreme Court has affirmed "the supreme authority of Congress over the subject of commerce by the telegraph with foreign countries or among the States," "whenever that body chooses to exert its power." \*

All of these plans have been proposed in Congress. I believe it would be wise to enact a law similar to the Inter-State Commerce Act, so far as its provisions would apply to the telegraph business, placing that business under the supervision of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, in case Congress declines to establish a postal-telegraph system. This would afford the public some protection against unreasonable charges; but no system of mere regulation can accomplish the supreme object that should be aimed at in the establishment of a postal-telegraph system. That object should be the extension of telegraphic facilities to every place throughout the United States where there are post-offices, and at the lowest possible rates, irrespective of distance, so that the use of the telegraph may be within the means of the humblest citizen, just as the mail service now is. It is evident that this most desirable result can never be secured while the telegraph business is a private monopoly, and the rates are adjusted with a view to earning dividends upon an enormously inflated capitalization. It can be hoped for and secured only when the telegraph business of the country is conducted by the government as the mail service is managed; not with a view to raising revenue, but with a view to furnishing the public with the best possible facilities at the lowest cost at which the business can be made self-sustaining.

The purchase of the existing lines is not seriously contem-

\* *West. Union Tel. Co. v. Pendleton*, 122 U. S., 347.

plated, because they cannot be acquired at anything like a fair valuation. The choice, therefore, lies between the contract system and the construction of new lines. The former plan follows the policy pursued in regard to the transportation of the mails, and avoids any considerable increase of the patronage of the department. This proposition is, that the Postmaster-General shall be authorized to contract with the existing lines for the transmission of messages, which shall be received and delivered by the department, the compensation of the carriers and the charges for telegrams being first prescribed by Congress. Until this plan is tried we cannot know whether any, or how many, companies would make contracts at the low rates which Congress would establish. The construction plan would, within a few years, provide the government with a better system than that now in existence, and it avoids the obstacles and delays that would be encountered in attempting to deal with the present companies. It is claimed that this plan would practically confiscate the existing telegraph properties by driving the companies out of the business, and would establish a government monopoly; but this objection comes with bad grace from the Western Union Company, which has itself driven more than fifty competing companies out of the business, and confiscated their properties at a fraction of their original cost. The Western Union has never been granted a monopoly of the telegraph business; it has simply acquired it, and has enjoyed enormous profits therefrom. It is not proposed to prevent the Western Union from carrying on its business. It will be free to compete with the government for the patronage of the public. And if it can furnish better service than can be given under a government system, as its advocates insist, it will be assured a profitable business.

The objection most seriously urged against a postal telegraph is, that its establishment would place too much power in the hands of the political party in control of the government, by adding enormously to the already large patronage of the Post-office Department. This objection has not prevented the extension of the postal service hitherto, and will not in the future. The army of employees in the postal service is increasing con-

stantly. The telegraph is properly a branch of the postal service, and there is no more reason to be alarmed at the increase of officials from the addition of a new branch to that system than from the extension of branches now in operation. Practically, there is less reason for alarm on this account in establishing a postal telegraph than in extending the present system. It requires special training and fitness for the work to be a telegraph operator, and these places could not be given as rewards for political service, as is the case in the post-offices. Besides, as was well said by the late Postmaster-General Howe :

“The increase has doubtless been exaggerated. At a very large percentage of the offices the telegraph operator would not supplement the postmaster, but would supplant him, and that would result in giving to the administration of not a few offices men who have learned to do one thing in place of those who have never learned to do anything.”

It is contrary to the genius of our institutions to multiply the functions of government unless some great gain is probable. I do not believe in a paternal form of government, but we are often obliged to choose between two evils, and I do not believe the American people will hesitate long in making a choice as between a government control and a private monopoly of the telegraph.

SHELBY M. CULLOM.

## WHAT SHALL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TEACH?

THE most important instrument of our civilization is the daily newspaper. It is likewise its symbol: it gives to each individual every morning a survey of the entire world. To each, on all days of the year, is presented the spectacle of his community, of his nation, and of the entire world. This makes possible a daily readjustment of one's life in view of what is happening in the life of all humanity. Through such interaction between the individual man and the race there results a process of urbanizing, a sort of elevation of the entire population into city civilization. The rapid growth of cities, which has attracted notice and has even aroused concern in the minds of those sociologists who regard the phenomenon as abnormal—this tendency of our population to collect in cities, is not so significant a fact as the extension of urban life into rural districts everywhere. The telegraph and railroad furnish to the daily newspaper its right and left hands. Every village is annexed to the city by rapid transit and instantaneous intercommunication, and thus becomes a part of the great urban system of the world. Each outlying rural district becomes on its part a suburb.

This aspect of modern civilization seems a sort of literal reality that the fullness of time has given to some Platonic dream, in which it had been feigned that each person is endowed with the gift of seeing with the eyes of all and of thinking with the brains of all; an ideal world, in short, in which the individual can become at will the entire species.

I speak of the newspaper as the symbol of modern civilization because it is an emblem of the democratic spirit which insists on the removal of every obstacle to the participation of each in the good of all. So surely has this become the ruling principle that we summon all institutions, past and present, before us, and in its light pass judgment on them. In how far does a nation realize the highest ideal, and in how far does it make

participation in this ideal actual for all the people? This is a fundamental test to which all our varying provisional judgments are finally submitted. To it we may safely appeal whenever we attempt to justify the existence of such an establishment as, say, the common-school system, or to decide what ought to be its course of study.

Education should fit individuals for this interchange of all with all. Each must learn the indispensable means for intercommunication. Each must be brought on the way toward comprehending the experience of his fellow-men, and each must be rendered capable of lifting himself into a helpful relation toward all. A simple reference to this principle which rules our civilization, and to which the newspaper points as symbol, suffices for the justification of a public-school system. In its light we may discuss the question, What should be taught in such a system?

The school places first on its list of studies reading and writing, and it will appear that this choice is grounded in reason. It is certain that the wisdom of the race after much winnowing gets stored up in the printed page. The school does not give the new human being the first use of his mother tongue (its colloquial vocabulary); that he acquires in the period of family nurture, and it is the most important part of the education which the family provides. But the school alone furnishes the secondary and higher possession of language: it teaches how to preserve it by committing it to writing; it teaches how to master its higher and special vocabularies; it teaches how to pass from one's own tongue to the tongues of other peoples past and present; and finally, it teaches how to study the structure of language and see in it the structure of the human reason itself, with all its variations, racial and national. This in the aggregate may be called language study, and it lies at the foundation of school education as the discipline which makes possible all the others and which leads to the knowledge of one's self; and by self-knowledge I do not mean an acquaintance with one's own peculiarities and idiosyncrasies, but that far more desirable knowledge of what is essential and eternal, the nature of reason itself, the logical structure of thought and the ethical structure of the will.



The most elementary form of language study deals with reading and writing. It emancipates the pupil from the thralldom of dependence on the spoken word. When one can come in contact with life only by personal experience or by oral tradition, his opportunities are so narrow that he can never ascend above savagery except by the rarest chance. But the printed page will wait upon his leisure with the offer of all that has been observed and comprehended in the world, and with all the wisdom that has been derived from human error and suffering. The printed page adapts itself to the needs of the reader. He may read when he can, and as deliberately as he will. Reading and writing make possible the subsequent stages of school work.

After learning how to read, the next thing is to learn what to read. The school accordingly lays out its work in view of the five-fold structure of human learning. It comprehends two realms, nature and man. Nature presents itself under two phases, organic and inorganic. The organic includes plant and animal. Man has three phases, intellect, will, and sensibility. These phases named in this abstract manner do not suggest their concrete importance. It may be noted that they comprise the whole contents of man's world, but at first one does not see that even elementary education proceeds to determine its course of study with due respect to these five departments of human learning.

Illiterate man is shut up in the dark tower of ignorance, and the school undertakes to illuminate and emancipate him by opening windows on five sides (for this tower is a pentagon). It teaches arithmetic, geography, history, grammar, and literature.

Arithmetic opens a window of the soul directed outward upon the inorganic phase of the world. It notes the abstract relation of all existence to mere time and space.

Geography is directed upon organic nature and its relations, first to inorganic nature which it presupposes, and secondly, to the triple world of man above it, for whom it offers its service.

History looks out upon man's will, realized in institutions rather than in mere deeds of the individual. The institutions reveal the essential and eternal in the human will; the individ-

ual deeds that history records show how men have attacked and defended their substantial will as embodied in those institutions. Man as a little self looks through the window of history and sees his big self. He can read, as it were, in magnified words the description of his nature as a practical being. It would take a very long life for one man to unfold all his possibilities. In history, by the aid of innumerable examples, he sees all his potentialities unfolded at once.

Grammar opens the vista upon that aspect of human nature which language itself presents. The mind expresses in language its acts whatever they are—feelings, perceptions, volitions. The grammatical structure of language reveals the logical constitution of the mind. Grammar is the introduction to psychology and to all philosophy. The uncultured human consciousness lives, but does not know its living; it has very little self-knowledge. The window of the soul that looks out upon the structure of language lets in a flood of light for the explanation of all problems which human experience can enunciate. The operations of grammar, as conducted in school, seem trivial and circumscribed in their bearing. The mind, however, always retains from its grammatical discipline a certain power to unfix its gaze from the stream of phenomena before it, and to concentrate its attention on the form of the phenomenon as a whole. By grammatical training it learns to see its own processes, to make careful discriminations, to define logically, to lay out work and arrange for division of labor. It is, first of all, therefore, a study that cultivates directive power in the soul.

By literature as a school study I mean to designate those parts and portions of poetry and prose works of art that get into the school reading-books, as well as those more extended or complete works of art that are taken up in the higher education, and include, besides English literature, the literature of other languages. Literature as such opens a window on the side of human life as a totality. This is the unity of the intellect and will in the form of life. Life is continually separating into its two strands of intellect and will, and continually uniting these into habitual forms of action: habitual ways of looking at things, and habitual ways of acting under the same circumstances.

These habitual views and actions make up what we call life or mere living. When we stop the stream of habit, and question our accustomed modes of seeing and doing, we begin to act intellectually; when we adopt a new method of action in conformity with new views of life, we use our will-power; when we act and think wholly along the line of old habit, we live, but do not think or will in any eminent sense of those words. Now literature embodies the transitions of the soul from mere life or unconscious habit to conscious thinking and willing. It reveals, therefore, what is well named the "human heart," that is to say, the essential in human character, and its upward or downward progress. It is not necessary here to show in detail that the study of literature is the most important of all the school studies named heretofore, and that it opens the window that gives the pupil most enlightenment regarding human nature and the conduct of life. Even the literature of the school-readers, fragmentary as it is, consists of gems of expression—sparks, as it were, struck out at a white heat of artistic fervor. These are valuable chiefly for expressing moods of the soul and situations in life, rendering that conscious and vocally communicable which hitherto had been dumb and unutterable.

The second stage of language study I have spoken of as the acquirement of higher vocabularies. The family education in language gives what is called the colloquial vocabulary. The school's greatest work is to help the pupil to acquire the higher special vocabularies of language used in literature and other departments of human learning. The colloquial language does not suffice for elevated thought or feeling. Fine discriminations necessary to utter profound thought require words used more or less in technical senses; delicate shades of emotion or beautiful and sublime conceptions cannot be expressed without words and phrases drawn from the higher vocabulary of the language. Each literary genius has more or less a dialect of his own, and the pupil begins to expand his list of words and customary combinations as soon as he is set to reading and paraphrasing a selection in a school-reader.

He learns a new vocabulary in studying geography; a long list of technical terms is necessary to describe the essential mat-

ters of man's environment. Geography undertakes to show the relation of each place to all others. After he has acquired some knowledge of this branch, the pupil is equipped for understanding the language and interpreting the ideas of all printed information regarding geography. The study of arithmetic initiates the pupil into the language of quantity and its modes of expressing ideas. So in history, so in grammar, new vocabularies are learned as means for getting new views of the world.

The five windows of the soul which open on the five cardinal aspects of the world have been provided for, as we have seen, in the studies of the elementary school. It is interesting to observe that the symmetry of the course of study is preserved in higher education. Mathematics reveals for us the laws of time and space that condition nature. Arithmetic for the elementary school becomes algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and chemistry in the high schools; and in the university it passes over into analytical geometry, the calculus, and applications of mathematics to matter and motion as factors of inorganic nature. Geography opens the door to meteorology, astronomy, geology, botany, and zoölogy in the higher schools. As mentioned already, grammar leads to logic and philosophy as well as to philology. History leads to jurisprudence, sociology, politics, political economy, archæology, and ethnology. Literature conducts to the realization of all these things, and ultimately leads the pupil up to the oracles of religion. In the higher education it passes out of its national literature, and approaches, through the study of foreign languages, the treasures of other nations.

Here comes up appropriately the question of the study of so-called "classic languages." What is the educative function of such study?

"Classic languages," whether Sanskrit for the Hindu, or Latin and Greek for the modern European, furnish for the pupil the requisite discipline for the understanding of the derivation of his civilization. The Sanskrit literature contains the genesis of the caste system and the dreamy pantheism of the Hindu; its study is necessary to the Hindu for his self-knowledge. He ought to distinguish in his life its substance from its accidental elements. So, too, the modern European civilization is a derivative one,

having one of its sources in Greece and another in Rome. Greece gave to us the poetic or æsthetic view of nature which is presupposed in all our poetry and prose literature. Greek is the conventional vehicle for the expression of our elevated thoughts and sentiments. For Greece invented not only art and poetry, but also philosophy and science. All these themes use Greek words or Latin equivalents for their technical expression to this day.

So, too, the Roman invented, as his national contribution to civilization, the ideas, the technical expressions, and the set formulæ in which to define the process of the human will in its organization into corporate and political institutions. Roman law gives also the terms which designate crimes and trespasses. The legal forms talk Latin to this day.

The study of these languages for a brief period has a wonderful power to give the pupil insight into the strands of his civilization. It is not the ability to read and write these "dead" languages that is to be prized as a result of classical study. It is known that the pupil puts on the spiritual clothing of those peoples in reading and writing their language, and thus lives over their lives and acquires their methods of looking at the world. This gives the scholar the ability to understand, without tedious investigation, these elements in our derivative civilization. Enlightened zoölogists study the embryology of an animal in order to comprehend it scientifically. Our higher education likewise insists on the preparation of the cultured youth by a study of the embryology of his civilization. It is not necessary to say here that this part of the course of study is often taught injudiciously, on account of a misapprehension of its significance.

I have named the five great lines of study that radiate from the center and relate to the five great departments of human learning. These should always be represented in every course of study. There are other matters that should not be neglected, although they cannot be compared with these five cardinal studies. Industrial drawing, for example, should have its place in the common school side by side with penmanship. It is of sufficiently universal value to justify this place for it, as we shall see if we compare it with another proposed branch of instruction, namely, manual training.

It is proposed to introduce into all common schools a course of instruction in the mysteries of working in wood and metals. This is urged on two grounds: first, that of fitting pupils to earn their living; second, that of gaining the culture of character that comes from labor with the hands. To the latter it may be answered, that manual training at school is not devoted to productive industry, because its intent is not to supply the market of the world. The great moral culture that comes from the labor that earns one's daily bread is not derived from the muscular exercise of the hands and body, nor from the mental activity that directs the muscles, but rather from the subordination of one's self for the good of others, the earnest bending of all one's powers to the task of producing something for the market of the world, so as to share in the production of one's fellows by the process of exchange. To earn one's living has, therefore, a special educational value of its own. But manual training is not of this character. Hence the industry over books and science, which is genuine industry, is superior in character training. To the former it must be replied, that to train all pupils for the wood and metal industries is to overcrowd those occupations. In the twenty-five industries relating to wood-work, and in the twenty-two relating to the metals, there were engaged, according to our last census,\*

\* In the census for 1880, the total number of metal-workers in the twenty-two occupations that contain 99 per cent. of the whole, is given at 585,493. Of these, 172,726 are blacksmiths; 114,539 are employed in iron and steel manufacture; 101,130 are included in the "machinists;" 42,818 are tanners. The other occupations, which enroll the remaining 150,000, are designated as brass-founders, copper-founders, engravers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, gunsmiths, locksmiths, lead-workers, zinc-workers, plumbers, and manufacturers of agricultural implements, clocks, watches, files, nails, screws, sewing-machines, steam-boilers, stoves, furnaces, tools, cutlery, and wire.

The wood-workers number 763,814, and are enrolled in 25 trades. Carpenters and joiners number 373,143; cabinet-makers 50,654; saw-mills and planing-mills employ 77,050; 49,881 make carriages, and 49,138 are coopers. The other 160,000 are distributed among the makers of blinds, doors, sashes, boots, boxes, bridges, cars, picture-frames, organs, piano-fortes, pumps, scales, rules, shingles, laths, ships, staves, trunks, umbrellas, wheels, carved and turned wood-work, and buildings. It may be seen from this that the metal-workers form only 117 in each 10,000 of the population; the wood-workers only 152. Both classes constitute 269 in each 10,000, or, if we count their families, 807 of each 10,000 of the entire population. This is less than one-twelfth.

in the aggregate less than three in one hundred of the population, or, counting in the families, about 8 per cent., or one in thirteen of the entire population. The number is not likely to increase, because the invention of machinery continually increases the production of each laborer. Now culture in taste, such as drawing gives, fits all laborers for more lucrative situations, and helps our productions to hold the markets of the world. Manual training, therefore, has not an equal claim with industrial drawing for a place in our common schools. But it has an unquestionable claim for a place in special schools. Manual-training schools should be provided everywhere in sufficient number to take the place of the wasteful and antiquated system of apprenticeship in the several trades and occupations. I am very earnest in the belief that natural science should be taught in oral lessons from the very first year of the school. One lesson a week, if a long lesson, is sufficient. Knowledge of natural science is of universal application to all human employments that deal with the conquest of nature. While manual training is useful to a few, a knowledge of natural science is useful to all, and this both in business and in culture. I think, too, that there should be one lesson each week in general history, given in all the grades of schools, like natural science, orally. It leads to the habit of looking at humanity, while natural science leads to the observation of physical nature.

I omit here, for want of room, all discussion of the subject of moral education in schools, saying only that I find such education in the discipline of any good school which, without too much talk about the subject, insists upon habits of regularity, punctuality, silence, industry, self-control, courtesy, neatness, and truthfulness.

WILLIAM T. HARRIS.

## HOW PROTECTION PROTECTS.

THAT combustion consumes and that light illuminates are universally accepted propositions ; but that protection in the form of customs duties protects the capital and labor engaged in the productive industries to which such duties apply, is denied by sects of discordant *doctrinaires*, who propose to administer the industries and revenues of great nations in contemptuous disregard of the teachings of experience, but in accordance with their own deductions from assumptions of fact which are, in themselves, often palpably and absurdly false.

This procedure is defended by all the recognized authorities of the modern school of British economists, though they differ widely among themselves as to the details of their so-called science. Said John Stuart Mill, who was one of the highest authorities of these co-operating but discordant sects, in his essay on "Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy":

"It is essentially an abstract science, and its method is the method *a priori*. Such is, undoubtedly, its character, as it has been taught and understood by all its most distinguished teachers. It reasons, and, as we contend, must necessarily reason, from assumptions, not from facts. It is built upon hypotheses strictly analogous to those which, under the name of definitions, are the foundation of the other abstract sciences. Geometry presupposes an arbitrary definition of a line: 'that which has length but not breadth.' Just in the same manner does Political Economy presuppose an arbitrary definition of man, as a being who invariably does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries with the smallest quantity of labor and physical self-denial with which they can be obtained in the existing state of knowledge. It is true that this definition of man is not formally prefixed to any work on Political Economy, as the definition of a line is prefixed to Euclid's 'Elements;' and in proportion as, by being so prefixed, it would be less in danger of being forgotten, we may see ground for regret that this is not done. It is proper that what is assumed in every particular case, should once for all be brought before the mind in its full extent, by being somewhere formally stated as a general maxim. Now, no one who is conversant with systematic treatises on Political Economy will question that



whenever a political economist has shown that, by acting in a particular manner, a laborer may obviously obtain higher wages, a capitalist larger profits, or a landlord higher rent, he concludes, as a matter of course, that they will certainly act in that manner. Political Economy, therefore, reasons from assumed premises; from premises which might be totally without foundation in fact, and which are not pretended to be universally in accordance with it."

Let us pause for a moment to ascertain whether there is any analogy between the geometrical definition of a line as "that which has length but not breadth," which is simply the statement of a fact, and the assumption that "man is a being who 'invariably' does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries with the smallest quantity of labor and physical self-denial with which they can be obtained in the existing state of knowledge." Do the condition and conduct of every man we meet demonstrate the correctness of this assumption? And if they do, why do we maintain almshouses, prisons, and penitentiaries, and erect over them all the gallows as the supreme element of our punitive system? Why, indeed, it is pertinent to ask, are we required to provide the means of restraining and punishing beings who are so absolutely and universally obedient to a beneficent impulse, and who are politically so free to yield it implicit obedience that they cannot go astray? It is not matter for surprise that practical business men should doubt the value of a science based on such monstrous assumptions as these, and should prefer to be governed by laws for the regulation of trade and finance which have been slowly and deliberately deduced from the experience of mankind during centuries in every clime.

No man knew better than Mr. Mill that insatiable rapacity has ever characterized British commercial enterprise, and that the army, navy, and diplomatic service of England have always been administered in the interest of that country's trade and manufactures. Before Mr. Mill wrote the essay under consideration, that government had, by the employment of these instrumentalities upon Turkey, Portugal, Ireland, India, China, and Japan alone, deprived more than six hundred millions of people of freedom of commercial action, and interdicted the exercise of

that fundamental human right, the right to supply their wants by the application of their faculties to the conversion of raw materials found in their respective countries into matters of utility. That the once prosperous industries of these and other countries had been extirpated by the British Government was known to Mr. Mill; and, in view of that knowledge, his assumption as a scientific postulate that all men are free to act upon their own judgments, savors of the indulgence of sarcasm at the expense of victims who, like those who people Dante's *Inferno*, have been robbed of hope itself.

I had prepared for use in this connection a statement of the atrocious means by which the British Government achieved these results; but there is not room here for it, and I must show from our own history that there is but one method by which the capital and labor of any people employed in productive industries can be defended against the assaults of foreign enemies.

There is a popular impression that the revolt of the American colonies was brought about by a single point of misgovernment on the part of the mother country—taxing them, yet allowing them no voice in laying the taxes. This was but one of many causes of the revolt. Chief among the evils from which they suffered, as stated by Dr. William Elder in “*Questions of the Day*,” was the fact that “the colonies were held under restraint so absolute that, beyond the common domestic industries and the most ordinary mechanical employments, no kind of manufactures was permitted.” And McCulloch admits that it was “a leading principle in the system of colonial policy adopted by England . . . to discourage all attempts to manufacture such articles in the colonies as could be provided for them by the mother country.” Bancroft says:

“England, in its relation with other states, sought a convenient tariff; in the colonies it prohibited industry. . . . The British nation took no part in the strifes between the governors and the colonies, but they were jealously alive to the interests of their own commerce and manufactures. That the British creditor might be secured, lands in the plantations were, by act of Parliament, made liable for debts. Every branch of consumption was, as far as practicable, secured to English manufacturers; every form of competition in industry in the heart of the plantations was discouraged or forbidden.”

And with reference to the manufacture of woolen goods in the colonies, Adam Smith says :

“ She prohibits the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land, upon horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woolen goods, of the produce of America; a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family commonly makes for its own use, or for that of some of its neighbors in the same province.”

In support of these allegations, I cite some of the provisions of but one act of Parliament, that of 1750, though scores of such restrictive acts might be quoted :

“ And, that pig and bar iron made in his majesty’s colonies in America may be further manufactured in this kingdom, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and fifty, no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected, or after such erection continued, in any of his majesty’s colonies in America; and if any person or persons shall erect, or cause to be erected, or after such erection continue, or cause to be continued, in any of the said colonies, any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, every person so offending shall, for every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, forfeit the sum of two hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain.

“ And it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, so erected or continued, contrary to the directions of this act, shall be deemed a common nuisance, and that every governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief of any of his majesty’s colonies in America, where any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace shall be erected or continued, shall, upon information to him made and given, upon the oath of any two or more credible witnesses, that any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace hath been so erected or continued (which oath such governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief is hereby authorized and required to administer), order and cause every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace to be abated within the space of thirty days next after such information given and made as aforesaid.”

As this act was in force in 1776, the year in which Adam Smith’s “ *Wealth of Nations* ” was published, and the Declaration of American Independence proclaimed, it is not remarkable that Mr. Smith should have said that

“ While Great Britain encourages in America the manufactures of pig and bar iron, by exempting them from duties to which the like commodities are subject when imported from any other country, she imposes an absolute pro-

hibition upon the erection of steel furnaces and slit-mills in any of her American plantations. She will not suffer her colonists to work in those more refined manufactures even for their own consumption, but insists upon their purchasing of her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind which they have occasion for."

But I must refer those who would study this instructive portion of our history to the pages of Carey's "Principles of Social Science" and to "The History of Iron," by James M. Swank, to both of which works I acknowledge my constant indebtedness.

But the agents of foreign manufacturers, who have nearly monopolized our foreign commerce, and their American parasites, will exclaim, "Why compare this country, with its limitless resources and the energy and genius of its people, to Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, India, Japan, and China? or why present as a warning to us the hardships Britain inflicted upon her colonists before Cobden, Bright, and Stuart Mill had liberalized her commercial policy?" And with characteristic adroitness and effrontery they may add that it would be absurd for England, after her experience in our Revolutionary struggle, and again in the war of 1813, to attempt to control our trade and commerce; and that we may, therefore, safely throw down all statutory barriers by which the industrial rights of our people are protected. There is, I not only admit but assert, no danger of any nation, or confederacy of nations, making a successful assault with arms upon our national life. The war of Titans which desolated the southern States for four years proved that we may welcome the world in arms, should it conspire against us. But such suggestions as those of the agents of our foreign competitors are not more applicable to our industries even now, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and when our government has entered upon its second century, than is Mr. Mill's definition of man, as a being who is always and invariably a free agent, applicable to the six hundred million abject and enslaved subjects of the British Government above referred to.

We are without a navy, and although great bodies of men of approved courage fill our work-shops and till our fields, we are without an organized army or military appointments for

foreign war. Yet no lurking fear for the national life haunts the dreams of any American citizen. The dangers that threaten our country belong to an industrial age, and will come, if come they must, from entangling diplomatic alliances, or unwise legislation touching international trade; for if our navy were as strong as that of Britain, and our army as numerous, well-disciplined, and ready for mobilization as that of Germany, Austria, or Russia, they would not enable us to defend the right of our people to employ and improve their aptitudes, genius and manual skill, and to earn their subsistence by the conversion of native raw materials into wares and fabrics for their own use and commercial interchange with other countries. But one means has yet been discovered of defending and protecting in the enjoyment of these elementary rights the people of any country which may engage in international trade, and that is by the enforcement of a system of customs duties high enough to secure the home market to resident laborers. This is the only available defense in the warfare between industrial nations. To be effective, it must provide a system of duties ascending in rate with the additional labor involved in each advance of the material used, and sufficiently high to secure the home market in all ordinary times to the labor and capital of the country, so that the nation may grow in wealth and power by the constantly increasing number and productive ability of its people.

Of the facility with which a nation whose manufactures are advanced, and whose establishments are numerous, well-appointed, and sustained by abundant wealth, can, in the absence of a protective tariff, overthrow the feebler establishments of countries which are attempting to compete with them, our history affords many illustrations.

Henry Brougham was elevated to the peerage and made Lord Chancellor of England, as rewards for his fidelity to British industries, and for the courage with which, as a member of Parliament, he had advocated the use of British wealth and power in stifling the manufactures of foreign countries. He selected the United States as the nation whose industries, beyond those of all others, should be overthrown and forever prohibited, and on the 9th of April, 1816, said to the House of Commons:

“The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect, though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European market the year before; both because ultimately the Americans will pay, which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely; and because it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States, which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things.”

Thus did Henry Brougham indicate to British manufacturers the means by which they could re-enslave a people who had by a seven-years' war achieved political independence of Britain's power, and by a two-years' war, just closed, had won the right to enjoy commercial independence by compelling “the mistress of the seas” to forego her claim to search American merchantmen sailing under their national flag.

The tariff then existing was an experimental one, and though it had been hoped by Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and the great lights that illuminated our first Congress, that its duties would be sufficient to foster manufactures, it proved wholly ineffectual for their defense; and as the influx of British wares and fabrics threatened ruin, the Calhoun tariff of 1816 was enacted. It was, however, too late, and its rates of duties were not sufficient to stay the tide of cheap goods which British greed, under the advice of Brougham and the Parliament of England, was still pouring in upon us.

For these foreign commodities thus thrust upon us, money was demanded. We had never been rich in gold or silver, and the little stock we held was soon exhausted. Indeed our financial necessities had been so great, and the war had created such opportunities for the establishment of work-shops and small factories, that notes of State banks had been resorted to in many parts of the country. With the export of our entire stock of coin for foreign goods, which, under adequately protective duties, our own people might have continued to produce from raw material with which their land abounded, the banks were unable to redeem their notes; insolvency overtook our financial institutions, merchants, and manufacturers. And the glut having, as Brougham had predicted, stifled the rising manufactures which the war had forced into existence, our laboring

people were without employment, and consequently without the means of obtaining sustenance for themselves and their families. There was no demand for the productions of the farm; for the people of the towns, whose spindles, looms, and anvils lay unused, had not the means of paying for their daily bread. Real estate lost its value, and to prevent its concentration in the hands of a few persons, and those chiefly foreign creditors, many of the States passed stay or stop laws, but not until farms in hitherto prosperous parts of the country had been sold under the sheriff's hammer for less than the costs of suit. William Cobbett, who was a resident of Philadelphia in 1822, accepting a consequence as a cause, ascribed these evils to the use of paper money, instead of to the fact that foreign goods, forced upon our markets and sold at less than cost, had deprived us of the means of continuing any branch of productive industry. He wrote thus of the city which I now have the honor in part to represent:

“The particular effects are quite astounding, and will be almost incredible when the reader comes to them; particularly if that reader knew the country forty years ago. He will know the street which they call Market Street, in Philadelphia; he will remember the beautiful houses in that street. If he knew me there, as Mr. Alexander Baring did, he will know that I rented not a very capital house, and not quite in that great street of all, and that I paid fourteen hundred dollars a year, in hard silver, as rent for that house; that is to say, three hundred and fifteen pounds sterling taking the dollar at 4s. 6d. If the reader have not been there recently, I have to tell him that, in the said Market Street, which is (I think) about a hundred and twenty feet wide, which is probably three miles long from the bank of the Delaware to the bank of the Schuylkill, which has in it a market-house half a mile long and the most beautiful in this whole world, which has sometimes five hundred wagons with five horses each standing along the middle of it; I have to tell the reader that, in this Market Street, where very few houses used to let for less than a thousand dollars a year each, that in this very street, in 1822, houses of four stories, with marble steps and copper spouts, were, in great numbers, sold for a dollar apiece! Nay, my friend Mr. Croft, at Manchester, told me that he was offered several houses in that street for one single bottle of wine.

“This would seem to be romance; but the reader will observe that these houses stood charged with a ground rent, or, as they call it in Lancashire, a ‘chief rent,’ which, probably, might amount to a fourth or fifth part of the usual rental; and so terrible had been the effects of the paper money that, at the time I am speaking of, the houses would not let for the ground rent nor anything like it. One of these houses had cost from ten to twenty thousand dollars in the building. . . . The inferior streets of this city

had always been formed by houses erected principally by the savings of mechanics and tradesmen of various descriptions, who built the houses charged with the ground rent, and whose all consisted of these houses. Hundreds of old people, of widows, of fatherless children, who were wholly dependent upon this species of property, were reduced to utter ruin and beggary; and that city which I knew with sixty thousand souls in it, without a single beggar, or a single person whom you could properly call a pauper, became a scene of beggary and of pauperism."

The ruin depicted by Cobbett in this glance at Philadelphia pervaded the whole country. More than one of the banks of Kentucky had branches in Philadelphia, as had, I think, one or more of those of Tennessee. The distress of the farmers and planters of these States, which were then regarded as the far West, intensified that of Philadelphia, for both States passed laws prohibiting the collection of debts at a time when to force collections was simply to transfer the estate of the debtor to his creditor without reducing his indebtedness. It was these circumstances that forced the passage of the protective tariff of 1824, the quickening and life-giving effect of which led to the enlargement of the scale and increase of the rates of its duties by the Act of 1828, which in turn imparted additional life to the mining and manufacturing industries of the country. The rapidity with which prosperity returned to our people, and the marvelous strides they made in many forms of industry, aroused the hostility, not only of their foreign foes, but of the planters of the South, who had already come to dream of the glory that would attend that section of the country when cotton should be king. They regarded an American manufacturing population as dangerous to their interests. To prevent Egypt, India, or any other country from competing with them in cotton, they must produce it cheaper than others could. Cheap provisions for their families and slaves were in their judgment a pre-requisite to the accomplishment of this design, and they must permit no competitors to spring up under the guise of a manufacturing population, for the purchase of the grain and provisions of the Northwest. Free foreign trade was declared to be the paramount question of the day, the sole means of relieving the country from an alleged impending and overwhelming danger. Nullification was threatened; South Carolina manifested a dis-



position to precipitate the question of State sovereignty and the right of a State to nullify a law, or secede from the Union; and Mr. Clay, the father of the American protective system, in the interest of peace and union, submitted a compromise which should in a few years obliterate the protective system. Under this law a gradual reduction of duties was to occur, and as this reduction proceeded, idleness and poverty spread over the country. Insolvency pervaded the commercial and manufacturing centers; bankruptcy overtook the States; and when the national administration sent General William Robinson, of Western Pennsylvania, to Europe to negotiate a loan of five million dollars for the government, the report of that gentleman of the result of his visit to the bankers of England and the Continent was, that he had been unable to find a house that was willing to take the responsibility of putting an American loan on the market. However agreeable free trade with this country might be to foreign manufacturers, it did not give the people, the States, or the nation, credit with capitalists or bankers. There was but one thing to be done, and that was to permit the American people to convert their raw material into matters of utility and commercial value; and this end could be attained only through the enactment of a tariff. Then came the tariff of 1842, forced from an unwilling Congress and administration. I need not recount the beneficent effects of protection illustrated in four years of this tariff, nor is it necessary to tell of the immediate ruin produced by its repeal and the substitution of the free-trade tariff of 1846, which, in spite of the discovery of the gold of California, and of our having meanwhile mined \$1,100,000,000 of gold and silver, reduced us in a single decade to insolvency and bankruptcy almost as extended and universal as had been that of 1822 and 1840.

But while Congress has refused to grant the country the benefit of the protective system, except under compulsion of bankruptcy among the people and actual or impending insolvency on the part of State governments and that of the nation, and has then permitted it to remain in force but for such brief intervals as from 1824 to 1832 and from 1842 to 1846. foreign countries, England especially, with whose manufactures our industries,

if fully developed, would, it was feared compete, have maintained persistent and relentless warfare upon them. The effect of Brougham's pernicious advice was not exhausted by the terrible ruin described by Mr. Cobbett. That that advice was but an expression of the settled policy of the British Government, is shown by the report of the Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the laborers in the mining districts in 1854. The report was prepared by Mr. Tremenheere, and was published by order of the House of Commons in 1856. In the course of the report Mr. Tremenheere, with a degree of candor that would be regarded by the British Government as disqualifying him for diplomatic service, said :

“ The laboring classes generally, in the manufacturing districts of this country, and especially the iron and coal districts, are very little aware of the extent to which they are often indebted for their being employed at all to the immense losses which their employers voluntarily incur in bad times, in order to destroy foreign competition and to gain and to keep possession of foreign markets. Authentic instances are well known of employers having in such times carried on their works at a loss, amounting in the aggregate to £300,000 or £400,000 in the course of three or four years. If the efforts of those who encourage the combinations to restrict the amount of labor and to produce strikes were to be successful for any length of time, the great accumulations of capital could not then be made which enable a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition in times of great depression, and thus to clear the way for the whole trade to step in when prices revive, and to carry on a great business before foreign capital can again accumulate to such an extent as to be able to establish a competition in prices with any chance of success. The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare (if the expression may be allowed) against the competing capital of foreign countries, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained.”

I cannot bring this article to a conclusion without indicating the primary objects to be protected by a tariff, and the method by which may be ascertained the scale of duties on wares, fabrics, and other productions that will defend the elements of individual, social, and national life and progress. The scale of protective duties should be so adapted as to secure the right of every owner of land to provide for his present wants and the future of his family, and to add to the wealth and power of his country by developing and bringing into profitable use all the resources

of his estate, whether they be the products of the farm or those of the forest, the mine, or the quarry. The land-owners of a nation, however, are not that portion of its citizens who are most dependent upon the maintenance of a system of duties which should, under all the vicissitudes of trade and changes in the course of international commerce, defend their rights; for though commercial depression may prevent them from making profits to be hoarded or expended in the improvement of their estates, they may procure sustenance from them. But it is not so with the landless millions. Their estates consist of their thews and sinews; of the training of their eyes and hands to quick co-operative action; of their taste for and aptness in the production of the attractive in form, texture, and color; of inventive genius, which enables them, by new combinations of mechanical principles, or the applications of science to the arts, to increase the productive power of nations. These and like aptitudes constitute the estate of millions of people who are known as artists, artisans, laborers, or by other terms of designation, and who have the right to demand that their estates also shall be defended by the nation, though their defense shall require other agencies than the power of a navy and an army. The daily wages of these toiling millions are the units of measurement by which their estates are told, and their means of comfort and health ascertained. And I repeat that it is the duty of government so to adjust its international trade and commerce by a tariff of protective duties as to secure to its own people all the benefits that are to be derived from the development of the material resources of the country and the conversion of its native raw materials into commodities.

A tariff adjusted to these aims would protect every branch of industry, yet would not call into existence a single monopoly. It would, like a beneficent providence, shed its blessings over all, and prevent the recurrence of such seasons of depression, suffering, and want as occurred between the close of the war of 1813 and the going into effect of the protective tariff of 1824; between the overthrow of protection by the compromise act of 1833 and the adoption of the protective tariff of 1842; or such as followed the passage of the free-trade tariff of 1846, in spite

of the fact that our gold fields yielded in a single decade one thousand one hundred millions of dollars. Here was a direct and unexpected gift from Providence, bestowed at that time as if for the purpose of proving, even to the willfully blind, the truth that a protective tariff is the only defensive instrumentality known to modern industrial warfare; and that, by securing the prosperity of all classes of the people, and thus averting long seasons of idleness and distress, it is, while apparently a law for the benefit of producers only, in fact a boon to those who neither sow nor reap, but are consumers only.

WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

## THE SKY.

INVITED to write for the FORUM an article that would have brought me face to face with "problems of life and mind" for which I was at the moment unprepared, and unwilling to decline a request so courteously made, I offered, if the editor cared to accept it, to send him a contribution on the subject here presented.

I mentioned this subject, thinking that, in addition to its interest as a fragment of "natural knowledge," it might permit of a glance at the workings of the scientific mind when engaged on the deeper problems which come before it. In the house of Science are many mansions, occupied by tenants of diverse kinds. Some of them execute with painstaking fidelity the useful work of observation, recording from day to day the aspects of Nature, or the indications of instruments devised to reveal her ways. Others there are who add to this capacity for observation a power over the language of experiment, by means of which they put questions to Nature, and receive from her intelligible replies. There is, again, a third class of minds, that cannot rest content with observation and experiment, whose love of causal unity tempts them perpetually to break through the limitations of the senses, and to seek beyond them the roots and reasons of the phenomena which the observer and experimenter record. To such spirits—adventurous and firm—we are indebted for our deeper knowledge of the methods by which the physical universe is ordered and ruled.

In his efforts to cross the common bourne of the known and the unknown, the effective force of the man of science must depend, to a great extent, upon his acquired knowledge. But knowledge alone will not do; a stored memory will not suffice; inspiration must lend its aid. Scientific inspiration, however, is usually, if not always, the fruit of long reflection—of patiently

“intending the mind,” as Newton phrased it; and as Copernicus, Newton, and Darwin practiced it; until outer darkness yields a glimmer, which in due time opens into perfect intellectual day. From some of his expressions it might be inferred that Newton scorned hypotheses; but he allowed them, nevertheless, an open avenue to his own mind. He propounded the famous corpuscular theory of sight, illustrating it and defending it with a skill, power, and fascination which subsequently won for it ardent supporters among the best intellects of the world. This theory, moreover, was weighted with a supplementary hypothesis, which ascribed to the luminiferous molecules “fits of easy reflection and transmission,” in virtue of which they were sometimes repelled from the surfaces of bodies and sometimes permitted to pass through. Newton may have scorned the levity with which hypotheses are sometimes framed; but he lived in an atmosphere of theory, which he, like all profound scientific thinkers, found to be the very breath of his intellectual life.

The theorist takes his conceptions from the world of fact, and refines and alters them to suit his needs. The sensation of sound was known to be produced by aerial waves impinging on the auditory nerve. Air being a thing that could be felt, and its vibrations, by suitable treatment, made manifest to the eye, there was here a physical basis for the “scientific imagination” to build upon. Both Hooke and Huyghens built upon it with effect. By the illustrious astronomer last named the conception of waves was definitely transplanted from its terrestrial birthplace to a universal medium whose undulations could only be intellectually discerned. Huyghens did not establish the undulatory theory, but he took the first firm step toward establishing it. Laying this theory at the root of the phenomena of light, he went a good way toward showing that these phenomena are the necessary outgrowth of the conception.

By analysis and synthesis Newton proved the white light of the sun to be a skein of many colors. The cause of color was a question which immediately occupied his thoughts; and here, as in other cases, he freely resorted to hypothesis. He saw, with his mind’s eye, his luminiferous corpuscles crossing the bodily eye, and imparting successive shocks to the retina behind. To

differences of "bigness" in the light-awakening molecules Newton ascribed the different color-sensations. In the undulatory theory we are also confronted with the question of color; and here again, to inform and guide us, we have the analogy of sound. Aerial waves of different lengths or periods produce notes of different pitch; and to differences of wave-length in that mysterious medium, the all-pervading ether, differences of color are ascribed. Hooke had already discoursed of "a very quick motion that causes light, as well as a more robust that causes heat." Newton had ascribed the sensation of red to the shock of his grossest, and that of violet to the shock of his finest luminiferous projectiles. Defining the one, and displacing the other of these notions, the wave-theory affirms red to be produced by the largest, and violet by the smallest waves of the visible spectrum. The theory of undulation had to encounter that fierce struggle for existence which all great changes of doctrine, scientific or otherwise, have had to endure. Mighty intellects, following the mightiest of them all, were arrayed against it. But the more it was discussed the more it grew in strength and favor, until it finally supplanted its great rival. No competent scientific man at the present day accepts the theory of emission, or refuses to accept the theory of undulation.

Boyle and Hooke had been fruitful experimenters on those beautiful iridescences known as the "colors of thin plates." The rich hues of the thin-blown soap-bubble, of oil floating on water, and of the thin layer of oxide on molten lead, are familiar illustrations of these iris colors. Hooke showed that all transparent films, if only thin enough, displayed such colors; and he proved that the particular color displayed depended upon the thickness of the film. Passing from solid and liquid films to films of air, he says: "Take two small pieces of ground and polished looking-glass plate, each about the bigness of a shilling; take these two dry, and with your forefingers and thumbs press them very hard and close together, and you shall find that when they approach each other very near, there will appear several irises or colored lines." Newton, bent on knowing the exact relation between the thickness of the film and the color it produced, varied Hooke's experiment. Taking two pieces of glass, the one

plane and the other very slightly curved, and pressing both together, he obtained a film of air of gradually increasing thickness from the place of contact outward. As he expected, he found the place of contact surrounded by a series of colored circles, still known all over the world as "Newton's rings." The colors of his first circle, which immediately surrounded a black central spot, Newton called "colors of the first order;" the colors of the second circle, "colors of the second order," and so on. With unrivaled penetration and apparent success, he applied his theory of "fits" to the explanation of the "rings." Here, however, the only immortal parts of his labors are his facts and measurements; his theory has disappeared. It was reserved for the illustrious Thomas Young, a man of intellectual caliber resembling that of Newton himself, to prove that the rings were produced by the mutual action—in technical phrase, "interference"—of the light-waves reflected at the two surfaces of the film of air inclosed between the plane and convex glasses. The colors of thin plates were "residual colors," survivals of what remained of the white light after the ravages of interference. Young soon translated the theory of "fits" into that of "waves;" the measurements pertaining to the former being so accurate as to render them immediately available for the purposes of the latter.

It is here that Newton's researches and opinions touch the subject of this article. The color nearest to the black spot, in the experiment above described, was a faint blue—"blue of the first order"—corresponding to the film of air when thinnest. If a solid or liquid film, of the thickness requisite to produce this color, were broken into bits and scattered in the air, Newton inferred that the tiny fragments would display the blue color. Tantamount to this, he thought, was the action of minute water-particles in the incipient stage of their condensation from aqueous vapor. Such particles suspended in our atmosphere ought, he supposed, to generate the serenest skies. Newton does not appear to have bestowed much thought upon this subject; for to produce the particular blue which he regarded as sky-blue thin plates with parallel surfaces would be required. The notion that cloud-particles are hollow spheres or vesicles is preva-



lent on the Continent, but it never made any way among the scientific men of England. De Saussure thought that he had actually seen the cloud-vesicles, and Faraday, as I learned from himself, believed he had once confirmed the observation of the illustrious Alpine traveler. During my long acquaintance with the atmosphere of the Alps I have often sought for these aqueous bladders, but have never been able to find them. Clausius once published a profound essay on the colors of the sky. The assumption of minute globules, he proved, would lead to optical consequences entirely at variance with facts. For a time, therefore, he closed with the idea of vesicles, and endeavored to deduce from them the blue of the firmament and the morning and evening red.

It is not, however, necessary to invoke the blue of the first order to explain the color of the sky; nor is it necessary to impose upon condensing vapor the difficult, if not impossible, task of forming bladders, when it passes into the liquid condition. Let us examine the subject. *Eau-de-Cologne* is prepared by dissolving aromatic gums or resins in alcohol. Dropped into water the scented liquid immediately produces a white cloudiness, due to the precipitation of the solid substances previously held in solution. These solid particles are, however, comparatively gross; but by diminishing the quantity of the dissolved gum, the precipitate may be made to consist of extremely minute particles. Brücke, for example, dissolved gum-mastic, in certain proportions, in alcohol, and carefully dropping his solution into a beaker of water, kept briskly stirred, he was able to reduce the precipitate to an extremely fine state of division. The particles of mastic can by no means be imagined as forming bladders. Still, against a dark ground—black velvet, for example—the water that contains them shows a distinctly blue color. The bluish color of many liquids is produced in a similar manner. Thin milk is an example. Blue eyes are also said to be simply turbid media. The rocks over which glaciers pass are finely ground and pulverized by the ice, or the stony emery imbedded in it; and the river which issues from the snout of every glacier is laden with suspended matter. When such glacier water is placed in a tall glass jar, and the heavier particles are permitted

to subside, the liquid column, when viewed against a dark background, has a decidedly bluish tinge. The exceptional blueness of the Lake of Geneva, which is fed with pure glacier water, may be due, in part, to particles small enough to remain suspended long after their larger and heavier companions have reached the bottom of the lake.

We need not, however, resort to water for the production of the color. We can liberate in air particles of a size capable of producing a blue as deep and pure as the purest azure of the firmament. In fact, artificial skies may be thus generated, which prove their brotherhood with the natural sky by exhibiting all its phenomena. There are certain chemical compounds—aggregates of molecules—the constituent atoms of which are readily shaken asunder by the impact of special waves of light. Probably, if not certainly, the atoms and the waves are so related to each other, as regards periods of vibration, that the wave-motion can accumulate until it becomes disruptive. A great number of liquids might be mentioned whose vapors, when mixed with air and subjected to the action of a solar or an electric beam, are thus decomposed, the products of decomposition hanging as liquid or solid particles in the beam which generates them. And here I must appeal to the inner vision already spoken of. Remembering the different sizes of the waves of light, it is not difficult to see that our minute particles are larger with respect to some waves than to others. In the case of water, for example, a pebble will intercept and reflect a larger fractional part of a ripple than of a wave. We have now to imagine light-undulations of different dimensions, but all exceedingly minute, passing through air laden with extremely small particles. It is plain that such particles, though scattering portions of all the waves, will exert their most conspicuous action upon the smallest ones; and that the color-sensation answering to the smallest waves—in other words, the color blue—will be predominant in the scattered light. This harmonizes perfectly with what we observe in the firmament. The sky is blue, but the blue is not pure. On looking at the sky through a spectroscope we observe all the colors of the spectrum; blue is merely the predominant color. By means of our artificial skies we can take, as it were, the fir-

mament in our hands and examine it at our leisure. Like the natural sky, the artificial one shows all the colors of the spectrum, but blue in excess. Mixing very small quantities of vapor with air, and bringing the decomposing luminous beam into action, we produce particles too small to shed any sensible light, but which may, and doubtless do, exert an action on the ultra-violet waves of the spectrum. We can watch these particles, or rather the space they occupy, till they grow to a size able to yield the firmamental azure. As the particles grow larger under the continued action of the light, the azure becomes less deep; while later on a milkiness, such as we often observe in nature, takes the place of the purer blue. Finally the particles become large enough to reflect all the light-waves, and then the suspended "actinic cloud" diffuses white light.

It must occur to the reader that even in the absence of definite clouds there are considerable variations in the hue of the firmament. Everybody knows, moreover, that as the sky bends toward the horizon, the purer blue is impaired. To measure the intensity of the color De Saussure invented a cyanometer, and Humboldt has given us a mathematical formula to express the diminution of the blue, in arcs drawn east and west from the zenith downward. This diminution is a natural consequence of the predominance of coarser particles in the lower regions of the atmosphere. Were the particles which produce the purer celestial vault all swept away, we should, unless helped by what has been called "cosmic dust," look into the blackness of celestial space. And were the whole atmosphere abolished along with its suspended matter, we should have the "blackness" spangled with steady stars; for the twinkling of the stars is caused by our atmosphere. Now, the higher we ascend, the more do we leave behind us the particles which scatter the firmamental blue; the nearer, in fact, do we approach to that vision of celestial space mentioned a moment ago. Viewed, therefore, from the loftiest Alpine summits, the firmamental blue is darker than it is ever observed to be from the plains.

It is thus shown that by the scattering action of minute particles the blue of the sky can be produced; but there is yet more to be said upon the subject. Let the natural sky be looked at

on a fine day through a piece of transparent Iceland spar cut into the form known as a Nicol prism. It may be well to begin by looking through the prism at a snow slope, or a white wall. Turning the prism round its axis, the light coming from these objects does not undergo any sensible change. But when the prism is directed toward the sky the great probability is that, on turning it, variations in the amount of light reaching the eye will be observed. Testing various portions of the sky with due diligence, we at length discover one particular direction where the difference of illumination becomes a maximum. Here the Nicol, in one position, seems to offer no impediment to the passage of the sky light; while, when turned through an arc of ninety degrees from this position, the light is almost entirely quenched. We soon discern that the particular line of vision in which this maximum difference is observed is perpendicular to the direction of the solar rays. The Nicol acts thus upon sky light because that light is polarized, while the light from the white wall or the white snow, being unpolarized, is not affected by the rotation of the prism.

In the case of our manufactured sky not only is the azure of the firmament reproduced, but these phenomena of polarization are observed even more perfectly than in the natural sky. When the air space from which our best artificial azure is emitted is examined with the Nicol prism, the blue light is found to be perfectly polarized at right angles to the illuminating beam. The artificial sky may, in fact, be employed as a second Nicol, between which and a prism held in the hand many of the beautiful chromatic phenomena observed in an ordinary polariscope may be reproduced.

Let us now complete our thesis by following the larger light-waves, which have been able to pass among the aerial particles with comparatively little fractional loss. Without going beyond inferential considerations, we can state what must occur. The action of the particles upon the solar light increases with the atmospheric distances traversed by the sun's rays. The lower the sun, therefore, the greater the action. The shorter waves of the spectrum being more and more withdrawn, the tendency is to give the longer waves an enhanced predominance in the trans-

mitted light. The tendency, in other words, of this light, as the rays traverse ever-increasing distances, is more and more toward red. This, I say, might be stated as an inference, but it is borne out in the most impressive manner by facts. When the Alpine sun is setting, or, better still, some time after he has set, leaving the limbs and shoulders of the mountains in shadow, while their snowy crests are bathed by the retreating light, the snow glows with a beauty and solemnity hardly equaled by any other natural phenomenon. So, also, when first illumined by the rays of the unrisen sun, the mountain heads, under favorable atmospheric conditions, shine like rubies. And all this splendor is evoked by the simple mechanism of minute particles, themselves without color, suspended in the air. Those who referred the extraordinary succession of atmospheric glows, witnessed some years ago, to a vast and violent discharge of volcanic ashes, were dealing with "a true cause." The fine floating residue of such ashes would, undoubtedly, be able to produce the effects ascribed to it. Still the mechanism necessary to produce the morning and the evening red, though of variable efficiency, is always present in the atmosphere. I have seen displays, equal in magnificence to the finest of those above referred to, when there was no special volcanic outburst to which they could be referred. It was the long-continued repetition of the glows which rendered the volcanic theory highly probable.

JOHN TYNDALL.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE came to me in youth as an inspiration to all the higher faculties of my nature. The title of one of his best-known books, "Aids to Reflection," best expresses his office as a teacher. He was no system-builder; he was hardly, in the strict sense, a great philosopher; but I owe him an immense debt for the stimulation and elevation of my spiritual life. Characteristically a poet, and never more so than when pouring forth his "divine philosophy," he had the poet's power to make the ideal life the real. Everything that passed through his mind suffered "a change into something rich and strange," so that it could neither be identified nor reclaimed; but he would have acknowledged Kant as his master, and, whether or not he was an accurate teacher, he made the great outlines of his master's philosophy known to English thought. And in other ways he gave us the first fruits of that wondrous and wide-spreading tree of German literature. Hardly less was his service in introducing us to buried treasures of the old English divines, Jeremy Taylor, Hooker, and Leighton, whose style reflected the sweetness and grandeur of their thought. These and the works of Coleridge himself still seem to me almost incomparable introductions to the study of language in its application to the highest uses.

Nor was Coleridge of less value to me because at the height of his intellectual power he supported reactionary views both in politics and in religion. He had passed through what are known as liberal views in each, and they had left their influence upon him more deeply than he was conscious of. Undoubtedly he won more adherents to the Old because he supported it in the spirit of the New. But those who could not turn their faces from the sunrise, charm he ever so wisely, were greatly benefited by his loving apotheosis of the past. It is not well to

break from it with scorn and contempt. Before a man goes on, it is well for him to appreciate what he leaves behind, and to see how the intellectual abodes he is leaving may still be to others "fair homes, wherein to live and die."

While the spell of Coleridge was still on me I fell under the gracious influence of Dr. Channing. He, like Coleridge, was of the intuitional school of philosophers, and though widely separated in dogmatic belief, the two had many points of sympathy; and after they had met, Coleridge spoke of Channing as one who had "the love of wisdom and the wisdom of love." Yet how different in temperament and gifts! Coleridge was the genius; Channing the prophet. Coleridge was the poet; Channing the preacher. Coleridge fascinated us with the wealth of his learning and the fertility of his imagination; Channing held us by the simple grandeur of his thought and the moral earnestness of his convictions. Coleridge uttered mystic oracles; Channing gave us a new sense of the beatitudes.

The essay of Dr. Channing on Fénelon I may select as most helpful in setting forth the essence of religion and the real nature of self-denial. I must also acknowledge my obligation to Dr. Channing in stimulating my interest in social questions, and especially in impressing upon me the truth that all reforms were chiefly important as they liberated the spiritual nature, and left man free for the highest development of humanity. Thus was the surest foundation laid for the philanthropies; and the passion for human progress consecrated as one with the ultimate end of religion, "the increasing life of God in the soul of man."

If Coleridge awakened thought and Channing aspiration, Carlyle, no less surely, aroused all that was heroic. He benefited me not so much by what he taught as by evoking an energy of purpose and of will. A course of Carlyle was as an alterative and tonic medicine. It was like that ideal medicine which does not artificially excite or temporarily stimulate, but which calls forth permanently the natural sources of strength. How Carlyle awoke a divine scorn of seeming and a passion for being! How he taught the worth of work, and the worthlessness of all else! How he turned us from that vain pursuit of happiness to that nobler trust in the blessedness which comes

from harmony with the eternal laws! To come under the spell of this giant was surely to gain in insight, in courage, in resolution, in patience, in persistence, and, above all, in a reverent sense of the solemn mystery of life.

From Carlyle to Wordsworth is like going from the wild moors of Craigenputtock to the soft landscape of the Lake Country. But no man's education has any wholeness who does not come under the influence of the poets; and happy is he who, amid the restless questionings and practical anxieties of early youth, can lie down awhile by the still waters of Wordsworth. He it was who opened my mind's eye to the beauty of nature and to its spiritual meaning. I learned that the deepest sources of poetic inspiration were not from the tales of chivalry or the romance of society, but from "the short and simple annals of the poor," from the common feelings of God's children. I was taught, too, the blessing of a receptive mind; that it was not well to be forever striving, even if aspiring; that there was a time for feeding the mind by "a wise passiveness;" that it was true at some "hour of feeling" that

"One moment now may give us more  
Than fifty years of reason."

I do not count among the least of the influences which educated me the sunny hours I spent in college days in the window-seat overlooking the Connecticut Valley, and poring over the pages of William Wordsworth.

I do not forget that Browning, with some misgiving, confesses that he had our favorite in mind when he wrote those scornful yet pathetic verses on "The Lost Leader." But Wordsworth's loss of faith in the bright visions of his early youth did not injure me. Danger did not lie that way. And to any who may still be disposed to think harshly of him I commend the words of John Stuart Mill, at once wise and generous, who used to say to his radical friends who were angry with him for loving Wordsworth, "He is against us, no doubt, in the battle which you are now waging; but after you have won, the world will need more than ever those qualities which Wordsworth is keeping alive and nourishing."



Mrs. Browning's poetry awakened in me the very greatest and deepest interest from the time of her first introduction to the American public as Elizabeth Barrett. That her educational influence over me was as great as that of Wordsworth I should not like to assert, but her emotional was certainly greater. She was eminently the religious, the Christian poet, and so she sounded every depth of feeling. She had learned in suffering what she taught in song, and so she won our sympathy. She was a woman, feminine in all her tastes and feelings, but masculine in the breadth of her attainments and the strength of her intellect. She exhibited the possibility of the highest intellectual power in a woman, but also showed us that there is still "a sex in soul."

However good a purpose metaphysical studies may serve a young man as mental gymnastics, one is not apt to turn to them afterward with gratitude for aid in solving the problems of life. I must, however, in my own case acknowledge an indebtedness to Victor Cousin for a habit of thought which has been of great advantage to me. His eclecticism taught me to look at all systems of belief with large and comprehensive view, and to recognize the fact that they survive and live, not through their falsities, but through their verities. So I have sought, while holding my own opinions tenaciously enough, to discover the element of truth and the aspect of beauty in adverse views.

Dr. James Freeman Clarke, who, I imagine, came under the same philosophical influence, has been a most helpful teacher in the same direction. Through him I learned that irenics was at least as important a division of Christian theology as polemics.

Let me here briefly recall my great obligation to two other eminent preachers who early claimed an admiration which has never been lost or weakened. Dr. Orville Dewey must, I suppose, be distinctively ranked as an ethical preacher. But he was the most earnest, and in a deep sense the most passionate, preacher of ethics that the pulpit of our century has seen. I know not where to look for sermons exceeding in grandeur and impressiveness his "Sermons on Human Life." James Martineau, though belonging to the same general school of religious thought, presents an effective contrast to Dewey in temperament

and style. Though easily the foremost of living metaphysicians among English-speaking people, it is not in this capacity that I owe him most. If any one has an ignorant prejudice against sermons as dull reading, I commend to him the two volumes of Martineau entitled "Endeavors after the Christian Life." In style these sermons are prose poems, in spirit tender and devout, in thought subtile and deep. They have been to me an ever-recurring delight and inspiration.

I now turn to the sources of spiritual strength which have flowed into my life from the Broad Church of England.

Stanley's "Life of Arnold" has been a character-building book for thousands, and its influence over my own life in early manhood was marked and continuous. I do not know that I was ever in danger of falling into the toils of the High Church. But the winning poetry of the devout Keble and the subtile logic of the scholarly Newman, have carried into that inclosure many strong and liberal intellects. A course of Arnold, it seems to me, is one of the best prophylactics. But the influence of Dr. Arnold upon me was not mainly to keep me from error, but was tonic and eminently practical.

Madame De Staël once wrote: "A religious man is usually a recluse; men of the world are seldom religious." And a half century later Margaret Fuller called out for "a spiritual man of the world." Dr. Arnold was such a one. His whole life was a protest against the sundering of religion and work. Religion was to him neither a ritual nor a creed, but the spirit of Christ in every thought and act, the application of the Master's teachings to all the varied relations of private, social, and public life. So, while entering into the work of his chosen profession with all the ardor and faithfulness which characterized him, he retained his healthy relish for all manly recreations and his vivid enjoyment of all domestic delights. His piety, sincere and deep, was natural and unaffected, with not the least odor of the cloister about it, but a thing of cheerful life. To come within the sphere of his influence was to feel the religiousness of work; and this he taught not less effectively than Thomas Carlyle. The influence of Arnold was also eminently helpful in teaching the duties of citizenship. To him these were a part, and

an important part, of his religious obligations. What concerned the state was as near to him as the fate of Jerusalem was to the olden prophets. The love of country was a passion, and the burden of all her problems lay upon his heart. But he had a comforting sense of an overruling providence and a hopeful belief in human progress.

Arnold has been called the founder of the Broad Church of England; but I love to think of him as formulating the foundation of a still broader church—that church invisible but real, universal and not local, the truly Holy Catholic Church, the great assembly of all Christian people—when he wrote, “He is a Christian who follows Christ’s law, and believes his words according to his conscientious sense of their meaning.”

Dean Stanley pronounced Frederick Robertson to be the first preacher of the present century. If most powerfully and permanently to affect the thought of the age is the test of such rank, he can well abide it. Peculiar circumstances favored the great influence such sermons would in any case have had over me. I had ample leisure to take in their impression and to assimilate the food they offered. The wonderfully fascinating yet pathetic “Life and Letters” must be ranked with the sermons in power and interest. Robertson was not merely fervent with the impassioned energy of youth (he died at thirty-seven) and eloquent with the earnestness of deep conviction, but he was the most quickening and suggestive of thinkers. He denied creeds and formulas only to affirm more grandly the truths at their heart. As a disciple of Hegel he ever strove “to seize and hold the spirit of every truth which is held by all systems under diverse, and often in appearance contradictory, forms.” But the best and most enduring office of Robertson was as a teacher of religion rather than of theology. And it was not so much teaching as making one *feel* the truth by contact with a living and magnetic soul. Nor was it the truth of speculation, but the truth of life. This inspiring and uplifting power of Robertson was as unique as it was universal over those who gave themselves up to his influence. He thus became to me, as to so many others, not merely an intellectual stimulant but a spiritual force.

It was the prophetic prayer of the good Bishop of Norwich

that his son, Arthur Stanley, "might be an instrument in God's providence of extending more enlarged and more Christian views among the clergy, and thus the means of disseminating a wider and more comprehensive spirit of Christianity throughout the land." The prayer has been more than answered. Among his contemporaries, no voice was so constantly raised in the Church of England for charity and peace as that of Arthur Penryhn Stanley. But his influence has neither been restricted to the clergy nor to members of his own church. Over laymen everywhere he has exerted a still more powerful influence, and has spoken with cheerful inspiration to those in every land who cherish the belief in a common Christianity, and the hope that in the future it may have some outward embodiment. To the general characteristics of the leaders of the Broad Church Stanley added the special gift of an historic imagination. It was this, united to the charm of a style of singular purity and poetic beauty, which gave such life and power to his published lectures on the Jewish Church. Where the dreary critic would make a desert, Stanley causes freshness and perennial beauty to spring up. We see the great patriarchs of the East as living heroes set in their true place in the world's history, and the immortal prophets as the perpetual heralds of those truths "that wake to perish never." I gratefully record my sense of obligation to Dean Stanley for thus freshening my interest in these precious narratives, and aiding me to trace through those remote ages the thread of "that increasing purpose" which has been ever in the mind of Infinite Providence.

It would hardly be just for me to close the catalogue of great thinkers who have been my special benefactors without the name of Emanuel Swedenborg. And yet I hardly know what attitude to take before him. I certainly do not sit at his feet with the humility of a disciple. His exegesis of Scripture is only rivaled in ludicrous fancifulness by the millenarians who attach numerical values to obscure sentences in the Book of Daniel, or by the vagaries of what is called "the Baconian cipher." I am often repelled by his gross and grotesque pictures. And yet Emerson justly says: "Swedenborg had a vast genius and announced many things true and admirable, which,

passing out of his system into general circulation, are now met with every day, qualifying the views and creeds of all churches, and of men of no church." But the "master light" of this Swedish seer has come to me mainly by reflection. In youth it came in the rainbow hues of dear Lydia Maria Child. In manhood it came in the golden visions of that rational mystic, Edmund H. Sears, in the ethical meditations and the "Garden Thoughts" of Mary Chandler Ware, and the graver essays of Theophilus Parsons. Through these I have learned much, and have received what has gone into the substance of my inmost life. A deeper feeling of the immanence of God in his creation, a sense of the oneness of all life here and hereafter, a perception of the correspondence between the natural and the spiritual world, a sight of the reconciliation between divine love and necessary retribution—these and many things more I will dare to say I greatly owe to the wonderful religious genius of this unique man.

If I were writing a list of books as helps for some young friend, I certainly should not close here. I should add other and later authors, especially Robert Browning. But it is the books we read before middle life that do most to mold our characters and influence our lives; and this not only because our natures are then plastic and our opinions flexible, but also because to produce lasting impression it is necessary to give a great author time and meditation. The books that are with us in the leisure of youth, that we love for a time not only with the enthusiasm but with something of the exclusiveness of a first love, are those that enter as factors forever in our mental life.

ROBERT C. PITMAN.

## THE MECHANISM OF THE SINGING VOICE.

It does not require more than a general idea of the anatomy of the vocal organs to enable one to comprehend the mechanism of the production of the voice. Teachers of singing should know how the singing voice is produced, and particularly how it passes from one register to another. To a clear understanding of this, a knowledge of the mechanism of the different vocal registers is indispensable. Many fine voices have been ruined by teachers endeavoring to train the vocal organs in accordance with crude and vicious theories or with no knowledge of the vocal mechanism. Pupils can work to more advantage if they have a definite idea of proper methods of vocal training. It adds immensely to the appreciation and enjoyment of vocal music to understand the processes by which musical effects are produced ; and, of course, legitimate art is encouraged by public appreciation of the results of honest and intelligent work. These considerations have induced me to write this article, in the hope of contributing something to the general knowledge of vocal mechanism.

The voice is produced by vibrations of little ligamentous bands situated at the top of the larynx. These bands have a direction from before backward, having their ends closely approximated in front and there fixed. They are attached behind to little movable cartilages, which may be brought together or somewhat separated at will, or which may be carried backward by muscular action, producing varied degrees of tension. These bands are the true vocal chords, and these alone are concerned in the production of the voice. Above these two chords are two bands (the so-called ventricular bands) a little more widely separated from each other, sometimes called the false vocal chords, as they take no part in vocal vibrations. The larynx, then, by virtue of the true vocal chords, is a musical instrument.

The actual muscular mechanism by which the vocal chords

are stretched to different degrees of tension is not of so much importance as are the results of this action, as observed in the position and relations of the vocal chords and the characters of the vocal sounds produced. The most important of these muscles are concealed within the larynx. They are not increased in size to any considerable extent by exercise, owing to the limited capacity of the cavity of the larynx. They may be strained or enfeebled by over-use or injudicious training, and then the vocal organ seems to suffer irremediable damage. A strained or a badly worn voice never regains its original power, freshness or sweetness; but a voice carefully and properly trained, if not abused, will retain its qualities for many years.

During the ordinary movements of respiration the larynx is nearly passive, but during forced inspiration the vocal chords are separated at their posterior attachments and the larynx is widely opened. When a vocal sound is to be produced, the vocal chords are put upon the stretch and the larynx is closed, to be partly opened by the expiratory effort. The vocal chords are thus prepared in advance for the note that is to be emitted, and are thrown into vibration by a current of air forced through the larynx by the muscles of expiration. The chords vibrate when the air is forced out of the windpipe, and proper regulation of the breath is of great importance in singing.

As in all musical instruments, the actual vibrations must be reinforced by resonating cavities. The air in the larynx itself, the windpipe, pharynx, mouth, and nasal cavities reinforces the vibrations of the vocal chords and modifies the power and quality of the human voice. The most important modifications of vocal sounds are produced by resonance of air in the pharynx, mouth, and nasal cavities; and this resonance is indispensable to the production of the natural human voice. A muscular curtain (veil of the palate) hangs between the cavity of the mouth and that of the nose. This may pass backward so as to close the openings into the nasal cavities, and the tongue may move backward so as to diminish the capacity of the cavity of the pharynx. As notes made by vibrations of the vocal chords become higher and higher in the musical scale, the tongue is drawn back, its point is curved downward, its base projects up-

ward and backward, and the cavity of the pharynx is diminished in size. At the same time the muscular curtain (veil of the palate) is constricted and moved backward, until, in the highest notes of the chest register in the male and the upper medium in the female, the openings into the nasal cavities are closed and the resonance is mainly in the bucco-pharyngeal cavity. When, however, a singer passes into what is sometimes called the head voice (falsetto), the veil of the palate is drawn forward instead of backward, and the resonance takes place chiefly in the nasopharyngeal cavity. In moderately low chest notes all the cavities resound. The larynx itself moves upward for high notes and downward for low notes, and there is a certain amount of resonance of air in the windpipe.

The movements of the tongue, mouth, veil of the palate, and larynx are very important in vocal efforts. These are properly taught by all good teachers of singing who have learned their mechanism by experience. The uvula, hanging from the middle of the veil of the palate, is important in the closure of the nasal openings. The little leaf-like cartilage which stands erect in front of the larynx may be moved backward, mainly by pressure from the base of the tongue, and is useful in modifying the form of the cavity just above the larynx. Faulty action of all of these parts may be easily remedied; it is not likely permanently to injure the voice like faulty management of the muscles which act upon the vocal chords.

The little movable cartilages to which the posterior ends of the vocal chords are attached are called the arytenoid cartilages. These will be mentioned frequently in connection with the mechanism of the different vocal registers.

The laryngoscope is an instrument by which the movements of the vocal chords may be observed and studied. It consists simply of an arrangement of mirrors under proper illumination, by which the vocal chords are brought into view. Manuel Garcia, the celebrated London teacher of singing, was the first to use this instrument in studying the mechanism of vocal movements in his own person. His observations were published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society," in 1856. Since then similar observations have been made by Mrs. Seiler and by many



scientific men. The observations, however, of Garcia and Mrs. Seiler, both professional singers and eminent teachers of singing, are peculiarly valuable.

In studying the action of the larynx in the different vocal movements, one difficulty at the very beginning is in fixing upon clear definitions of what are recognized as vocal registers. In the first place, it must be recognized that the singing voice is different from the speaking voice. Without appearing to be actually discordant so as to offend a musical ear, the ordinary voice in speaking never has what is strictly called a musical quality, while the perfect singing voice produces true musical notes. This is probably due to the fact that the inflections of the voice in speaking are not in the form of distinct musical intervals, that the vibrations follow each other and are superimposed in an irregular manner, and that no special effort is made to put the vocal chords upon any definite tension, unless to meet an effort when the voice is increased in force. A true musical note or tone is composed of mathematically regular vibrations in definite numbers for each note. A noise is composed of irregular vibrations. Two or more musical notes are in harmony when the vibrations blend and do not interfere with each other. They are discordant when they oppose each other; at certain times producing, by this opposition, short intervals of silence, technically known as "beats." A shout or a scream is quite different from a powerful singing note. No good singer shouts or screams, although such noises are sometimes heard in what is called singing. The difference between the speaking and singing voice is at once apparent in contrasting recitative with ordinary dialogue in operatic performances.

The divisions of the voice into registers, made by physiologists, are sometimes based upon theories with regard to the manner of their production, and if these theories be not correct, the division into registers must be equally faulty. Again, there are such marked differences between male and female voices, that it does not seem possible to apply the same divisions to both sexes. There is no difficulty, however, in recognizing the qualities of voice called bass, barytone, and tenor in the male, or contralto, mezzo, and soprano in the female. A natural and proper

division of the voice into registers should be one easily recognizable by singers and teachers of singing, and this must be different for male and female voices. If a division were made such as would be universally recognized by the ear, irrespective of theories, it would remain only to ascertain as nearly as possible the exact vocal mechanism of each register. It must be remembered that the voice of a perfect singer shows no recognizable break or line of division between the vocal registers, except when a difference is made in order to produce certain legitimate musical effects. One great end sought to be attained by vocal training in singing is to make the voice as nearly as possible uniform throughout the extent of its range; and this has been measurably accomplished in certain singers, although the number of such artists is not great.

Judging of different registers entirely by the effect produced upon the ear, both by cultivated and uncultivated singers, the following seem to be the natural divisions in the male voice:

1. The chest register. This is the register commonly used in speaking. Though usually called the chest voice, it has, of course, no connection with any special action of the chest, except, perhaps, with reverberation of air in the windpipe and the larger bronchial tubes. This register is sensibly the same in the male and in the female.

2. The head register. In cultivated male voices a quality is often produced—probably by diminished power of the voice, with some modification in the form and capacity of the resonating cavities—which is recognized as a “head voice” by those who do not regard the head voice as equivalent to the falsetto.

3. The falsetto register. By the use of this register the male may imitate the voice of the female. Its quality is quite different from that of the chest voice, and usually the transition from the chest to falsetto is abrupt and quite marked. It may be called an unnatural voice in the male; still, by very careful cultivation, the transition may be so skillfully made as to be almost imperceptible. The falsetto never has the power and vibrant quality of the full chest voice. It resembles the head voice, but every good singer can recognize the fact that he employs a different mechanism in its production.

Applying an analogous method to the female voice, the natural registers seem to be the following:

1. The chest register. This register is the same in the female as in the male.

2. The lower medium register, generally called the medium. This is the register commonly used by the female in speaking.

3. The upper medium register. This is sometimes called the head register, and is thought by some to be produced by precisely the same mechanism as the falsetto register in the male. It has, however, a vibrant quality, is full and powerful, and is not an unnatural voice like the male falsetto.

4. The true head register. This is the pure tone, without vibrant quality, which seems analogous to the male falsetto.

According to the division and definitions of the vocal registers just given, in the male voice there is but one register, extending from the lowest note of the bass to the falsetto, and this is the chest register. In the low notes the vocal chords vibrate, and the arytenoid cartilages, to which the vocal chords are attached posteriorly, participate in this vibration to a greater or less degree. In the low notes, also, the larynx is open; that is, the arytenoid cartilages do not touch each other. As the notes are raised in pitch, the arytenoid cartilages are approximated more and more closely, and they touch each other in the highest notes, the vocal chords vibrating alone. It is probable that the degree of approximation of the arytenoid cartilages is different in different singers, and that the part of the scale at which they actually touch is not invariable. This appears to be the case in laryngoscopic observations.

What has been called, in this classification, the head register of the male is not a full, round voice, but its notes are more or less *sotto voce*. This peculiar quality of voice does not seem to have been made the subject of laryngoscopic investigation. It has a vibrant character, which is undoubtedly modified by some peculiar action of the resonating cavities. It is not probable that its mechanism differs essentially, as regards the action of the vocal chords, from that of the full chest register.

The falsetto register in the male undoubtedly involves such a division of the length of the vocal chords that only a portion

is thrown into vibration. Concerning this there is no dispute. In the chest register either the vocal chords, with parts of the arytenoid cartilages, vibrate, as in the lower notes, or the vocal chords, without the cartilages, vibrate in their entire length, as in the higher notes. In the falsetto voice, however, it can be demonstrated, by means of the laryngoscope, that the vocal chords are shortened, sometimes by one-third or even more of their length. When the chords are observed with the laryngoscope during the production of a falsetto note, the edges of their posterior portion are seen closely applied to each other, and there is an elliptical opening in front bounded by the vibrating edges. Sometimes, in the production of high falsetto notes, a short portion of the edges in front is closed, and there is an elliptical space—the vibrating portion—occupying the central part of the chords. This is the difference between the falsetto register and all other vocal registers. It is probably because a very powerful blast of air from the lungs would separate the closed edges of the vocal chords, that falsetto notes are not so strong as chest notes and have no vibrant quality.

The mechanism by which the vocal chords are approximated in portions of their length has not been satisfactorily explained, but there is no doubt with regard to the fact of such action. The extent of such shortening of the chords must vary in different persons, and in the same person, probably, in the production of falsetto notes of different pitch. According to Mrs. Seiler, this shortening is due to the action of a muscular bundle upon little cartilages extending forward from the arytenoid cartilages in the substance of the vocal chords as far as the middle, but dissections by competent anatomists have failed to confirm this view.

Some singers, especially tenors, have been able to pass from the chest to the falsetto so skillfully that the transition is scarcely apparent, but the falsetto never has the vibrant quality of the chest voice.

The chest voice in the female does not differ from the chest voice of the male, either in its general quality or in the mechanism of its production. In the best methods of teaching singing, one important object is to smooth the transition from the chest to

the lower medium. The full chest notes, especially in contraltos, closely resemble the corresponding notes of the tenor.

Laryngoscopic observations show that the mechanism of the lower medium and upper medium in females does not radically differ from the mechanism of the chest voice. In these registers the arytenoid cartilages are brought nearer and nearer to each other, as the voice ascends in the scale, until, in the higher notes, they actually touch. It is probable that the vocal chords alone vibrate in the lower and upper medium, while parts of the arytenoid cartilages participate in the vibrations in the female chest voice. Still, in the lower and upper medium the vocal chords are not divided, but vibrate in their entire length.

The vocal chords are actually much shorter in the female than in the male, and the larynx is smaller. In the male, the length of the chords is about seven-eighths of an inch, and in the female, about six-eighths of an inch. If the chords alone vibrate, without any part of the arytenoid cartilages, the difference in length would account for the differences in the pitch of the voice in the sexes. A tenor cannot sing above the chest range of the female voice without passing into the falsetto, to produce which he must actually shorten his vocal chords so that they become as short or shorter than the vocal chords of the female. This is shown by the scale of range of the different voices compared with the length of the vocal chords; and this idea is sustained still farther by a comparison of the male larynx, during falsetto production, with the female larynx. In the male falsetto, produced by artificial shortening of the vocal chords, the more nearly the resonating cavities are made to resemble, in form and capacity, the corresponding cavities in the female, the more closely will the quality of the female voice be imitated. It is probable that the vocal chords in the female present a thinner and narrower vibrating edge than the chords in the male, although there are no exact anatomical observations on this point. This may account for the peculiarly clear quality of the upper registers of the female voice as compared with the male voice or with the female chest register. Analogous differences exist in reed instruments, such as the clarinet and the bassoon. This comparison of the female upper registers with the male

falsetto does not necessarily imply a similarity in the mechanism of their production, as is assumed by some writers. The vocal chords in the female lower and upper medium vibrate in their entire length; in the male falsetto, the chords are artificially shortened so that they are approximated in length to the length of the chords in the female.

To reduce to brief statements the views just expressed, based partly on laryngoscopic examinations—that are far from complete—by a number of competent observers, the following may be given as the mechanism of the vocal registers in the female, taking no account of the changes in form and capacity of the resonating cavities:

1. The chest voice is produced by "large and loose vibrations" (Garcia) of the entire length of the vocal chords, in which the ends of the arytenoid cartilages, to which the chords are attached posteriorly, participate to a greater or less extent, these cartilages not being in close contact with each other.

2. In passing to the lower medium, the arytenoid cartilages are probably not absolutely in contact with each other, but they do not vibrate, the vocal chords alone acting.

3. In passing to the upper medium, the arytenoid cartilages probably are firmly in contact with each other, and the vocal chords alone vibrate, but they vibrate in their entire length.

4. The head register, which may be called the female falsetto, bears the same relation to the lower registers in both sexes. The notes are clear, but deficient in vibrant quality. They are higher in the female than in the male, because the vocal chords are shorter. Laryngoscopic observations demonstrating this fact in the female are as accurate and definite as those showing it in the male.

The reasons why the range of the different vocal registers is limited are the following: Within the limits of each register the tension of the vocal chords has an exact relation to the pitch of the sound produced. This tension is, of course, limited by the limits of power of the muscles acting upon the vocal chords for high notes, and by the limit of possible regular vibration of chords of a certain length for low notes. The higher the tension and the greater the rigidity of the chords, the greater is the

force of air required to throw them into vibration ; and this, of course, also has certain limits. It is never desirable to push any of the lower registers in female voices to their highest limits. All competent teachers of singing recognize this fact. The female chest register may be made to meet the upper medium, particularly in contraltos ; but the singer then has practically two voices, a condition which is musically intolerable. In blending the different registers so as to make a perfectly uniform single voice, the vibrations of the arytenoid cartilages should be rendered progressively and evenly less and less prominent, until they imperceptibly cease when the lower medium is fully reached ; the arytenoid cartilages should then be progressively and evenly approximated to each other until they are firmly in contact and the upper medium is fully reached. The female vocal apparatus is then a perfect organ. While single notes of the chest, lower medium and upper medium, contrasted with each other, have different qualities, the voice is even throughout its entire range, and the proper shading called for in musical compositions can be made in any part of the scale. The blending of the male chest register into the falsetto, and of the upper medium into the female falsetto, or true head voice, is more difficult, but it is not impossible. Theoretically, this must be done by shortening the vocal chords gradually and progressively and not abruptly, unless an abrupt shortening be required in order to produce a legitimate effect of contrast.

Even in singing identical notes, there are distinctly recognizable differences in quality between the bass, barytone, and tenor, and between the contralto, mezzo, and soprano. As regards female voices, these may be compared to the differences in identical notes played on different strings of the violin. For male voices, they may be compared to the qualities of the different strings of the violoncello. Falsetto notes may be compared to harmonics produced on these instruments.

These ideas with regard to the mechanism of the different vocal registers have resulted, first, from a study of these registers from an æsthetic point of view ; then, from an endeavor to find explanations of different qualities of sound, appreciated by the ear, in laryngoscopic and other scientific observations, and not

by reasoning from scientific observations as to what effects upon the ear shou'd be produced by certain acts performed by the vocal organs. It is well to remember, in this connection, that the works of John Sebastian Bach, Beethoven, and other old masters, were composed exactly in accordance with purely physical laws, long before these laws were ascertained and defined, as has lately been done, particularly by Helmholtz.

AUSTIN FLINT.



## MY RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

I HAVE been asked to give a brief account of the workings of my mind in the several stages of its progress from Protestantism to the Catholic religion. I am to state my mental experience in the different phases of conviction which has led me to the joy of a divine faith. The only objection I find to this mode of controversy, if it may be so called, is its personality. I am forced to speak as if my experiences were of consequence to others, and to dwell, far beyond my natural disposition, upon myself. Yet insignificant as one is in the mass of humanity, and little as the creature is before God, it is true, in an important sense, that every one belongs to his race, and owes something to his fellow-men. "No one of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." It is possible that the simple story of one life may be more convincing to the seeker for truth than a labored argument. I trust that I shall utter no word of offense to any one when I speak plainly of systems of belief which have become known to me in my experience. I speak of them in all honesty as I have seen them, and while personalities are always to be avoided, the discussion of systems and theories is a necessity.

I was born in New England, of a pious family which had inherited all the prejudices of Protestants, and even of Puritans, against the Catholic Church. My father was a member of the Episcopal Church, but neither he nor any who influenced my childhood had any idea of the claims which some Episcopalians have since made. He was a thorough Protestant, preferring the Episcopal forms, but having no notion that any church was part of the divine plan of redemption. He believed that all Protestants were equally in the way of salvation; only he was attached to the services of the Episcopal Church. His one idea, as far as I could learn it from his instructions to me, seemed to be that to believe in Christ as the Saviour was the only necessary condition

of salvation. He believed in a change of heart by the operation of God's grace, but he never admitted that the sacraments were the channels of such grace. Baptismal regeneration, although explicitly taught by the prayer-book, he distinctly denied, as did most of the Episcopalians at that time. There were some points of Calvinism which were taught me in my early education, but unconditional election to life eternal was not one of them. To my young mind the Roman Catholic Church was hardly a Christian body, and I looked upon it as corrupt in doctrine and practice. I studied the catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church and read the prayer-book. All my devotional exercises were from Protestant services. I heard of two sacraments as being "the outward and visible signs of invisible grace," and was taught that by baptism "we were born again and made the children of God." But I did not attach much meaning to such teachings, as I was also taught that the sacraments were outward forms which signified a *state* only, and depended for their efficacy on the dispositions of the receiver. So, really to me in the days of childhood there was no church as a factor in the work of salvation or sanctification. No forms were necessary. It was only required that a man should believe on Christ as the Saviour, and be united to him by faith, while the fruits of such faith were the deeds of a holy life, though no works of ours could ever be meritorious or wholly acceptable to God. I was taught to believe in the existence of the Three Persons in the Godhead. Such a belief was firmly held by me at all times, and I always accepted the mystery of the Incarnation. I did not know the exact terms of theology, but I fully believed that Jesus Christ was the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and therefore perfect God, while by the assumption of humanity he became also perfect man.

As time went on, and the days of childhood passed, I began to inquire into the systems of Christian faith which I saw around me. I never denied the omnipotence of God nor asked for the intrinsic proof of revelation or the reasonableness of verities proposed. If God really taught any truth, it was the denial of him to deny the truth he revealed. But I also saw that the extrinsic proofs of a revelation were offered to the reason, and that we, as

intelligent agents, must examine them, and thus be sure that God was speaking to man. The question then came up in force: Had God really revealed the truths which I had so long received? Where was my authority? The religious body of which I was a member said to me that I must find the truth of God in the Holy Scriptures. These Scriptures were held up to me as the inspired word of God. I was not disposed to contradict this assertion, yet, when I began to reason upon this welcome proposition, I was beset with difficulties.

First, I saw in the Scriptures some truths which I believed, and some which I did not believe. Those which I did not believe were more plainly expressed than those which I did believe. For example, I saw in the Scriptures the clear declaration of the real presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. I had not received this, and if I were to continue in my previous state of belief I should be forced to explain away the plainest assertions in the whole Bible. Nothing could be clearer than the words of Jesus Christ: "Except you eat my flesh and drink my blood you have no life in you." "This is my body; this is my blood." Surely the God-Man knew enough of language not to use such expressions if he did not mean them. And I knew enough of the use of words to know that they could not be tortured into the signification of simple moral union with Christ by faith. No sane man would have used such language to preach the importance of faith alone.

I also found that the risen Lord gave to his apostles the power to remit sin; and I had never seen any trace of this power in the system of Christianity around me. The Scriptures likewise taught me that Jesus Christ had founded his church on Peter, and had commanded him to feed his whole flock. But if there were a church existing which was founded on Peter, surely it was not the one with which I had been connected.

These are only illustrations of the working of my mind, which, receiving the Scriptures as divine, was compelled to see that they were not altogether in accordance with Protestantism.

There was another difficulty, and one really to me insurmountable. How did I know that the Bible was the inspired word of God? Those whom I most revered told me so; but

whence did they learn this truth? They were not infallible. I asked them for the reason of their belief. They answered that the Scriptures bore evidence internally that they were from God. My mind, however, logically drew the conclusion that this internal evidence was satisfactory to those who accepted it, but that the great question must be relegated for solution to each individual mind. No one could make a general law for all men; and what could be said to those who saw no such internal evidence? Protestants were not all united in regard to the inspiration of the whole Bible in all its parts, historical as well as doctrinal. My reason soon forced me to the conviction that there must be some external infallible testimony upon so grave a matter which all should accept. It was also an infraction of logic to make the Scriptures prove themselves when their authority was in question.

There were some who told me that the Protestant churches all taught the inspiration of the Scriptures. On careful examination I was not sure of this fact, as there were different and conflicting views upon the subject. But even if it were so, these churches, one and all, disclaimed any authority to teach. I was quick-sighted enough to see that authority in this sense meant infallibility; for who else but God could give authority to teach truths above the order of reason? If the Protestant churches did teach the inspiration of the Bible, I was not much advanced in my inquiry, for I had not moved a step toward an infallible authority.

At this stage of my mental progress I saw the simple truth that a church must be either divine or human. If it was human, then it was only a matter of convenience or possible edification. It had no essential part to play in the work of redemption. If it was divine, then it was of every consequence, and therefore an essential factor in the application of the merits of Christ. Taking this train of argument, which seemed to me unavoidable, I could not see how there could be more than one divine church. One God could not well employ different churches, especially when they contradicted each other. This thought led me to examine carefully the creeds of different Protestant denominations, and I saw that they really neutralized each other;

so that, taking all their denials together, there was hardly anything of Christianity left me.

I was thus logically forced to the conviction that either there was one divine church or that there was none. I must then find such a church on earth, or accept the alternative and be bereft of any ground of true faith. My reason would not permit me to deny the existence of God, and so fall into drear infidelity, but at the same time it compelled me to accept the facts of revelation. There were great facts before me which I could not ignore. God had interfered for the recovery of man. There was the religion of the patriarchs and the prophets. There was the majestic Jewish theocracy. There had been miracles which no one but God could work. And these miracles were facts proved by competent testimony. I could not reject these facts and at the same time accept the well-established laws of evidence. I believed with my whole heart that Jesus Christ was God as well as man. His coming on earth was one of the best-established facts in the history of the race. If I had looked for proofs of his divinity, I had found them in his miracles. I felt that logic would drive me to universal skepticism if I did not receive the evidence of his divinity. So, following the natural conclusion of my argument, I went back to him, and was fully persuaded that Christianity was inseparable from him. He was its author, and must in some way live in it and perpetuate himself in it.

Such considerations brought the Christian church more clearly into my intellectual vision. It was a fact that he had founded a church with which he promised to be to the end of time. The Scriptures told me that he had founded it on Peter. I saw this church on the page of history as clearly as I saw the sun at noonday. Peter and his successors were its head, and I saw grouped around the Roman pontiff a living and widely spread priesthood, claiming the authority of Christ in the teaching of truth. If I accepted this church, I possessed at once all that my reason claimed. I could readily exercise faith and receive truth upon the word of God alone.

I asked myself if this was really the end of my struggles and prayers. Had I found at last the goal of my hopes? With

such a belief I could explain history. For centuries the Catholic Church under Peter had been the only representative of Christianity. I could not have any sympathy with the early heretics, who denied articles of a creed which I accepted as the Christian faith, and who soon fell into disintegration; whatever they were they could not have been the Christian church, to my mind, unless I was ready to deny the divine authority of any church, and go back to my first danger of skepticism. When I came to the period of the Protestant Reformation, whence sprung all the denominations with which I was personally acquainted, I was still compelled to admit that such bodies, founded by man and widely differing from each other, were not the representatives of the one Christianity. Thus I had approached the door of the Catholic Church, to which my reason and my conscientious convictions led me. Why did I not enter in at once and find the peace which I have since enjoyed? Let me tell the story as plainly as I can.

I was very young. Many whom I revered pointed in another direction. They could not change my convictions. If I gained a step one day, I did not waver and lose my ground on the next day. But they had the power to make me wait and watch at the door when the goal of my hope was in sight. They bade me beware of the impetuosity of youth, and charged me to weigh well the arguments of those who had studied long the points of controversy. I can here recount only the theories which then seemed to me to have weight. To have told me at this stage of my religious experience that there was really no church of Christ upon earth, would not have influenced me. This denial of Christianity in its concrete form would have been to me equivalent to an infidelity for which I had no temptations. Extreme Protestantism, which leaves every man to make his own creed, I could not accept. But they said to me, first, that the Catholic Church had lost the primitive faith, and had become corrupt to such a degree that she could not be the divine organ of truth; and secondly, that the true church was to be found in the reformed branches, which, though cut off from visible communion with the parent trunk, have still kept the essential faith. Moreover, "the church to which you

belong is one of those branches. It is not like other Protestant bodies. It has the apostolic orders, and is a true portion of the church which Jesus Christ founded. In it you have the primitive faith and all the guidance you need. If there are errors in it, abide manfully, and do your part to purify and strengthen your spiritual mother."

These arguments reduce themselves to two, the actual apostasy from faith of the Roman Catholic Church, and the branch theory of Christianity. I may say that I examined these arguments well. I remained in the Protestant Episcopal Church. I passed through the course of its principal seminary. I entered its ministry, and for three years waited in patience and prayer. I read many Catholic books, but I read many more Protestant works. I tried to open my intellect and heart to God's light; but, much as I wished to do so, I never entered a Catholic church, nor sought the counsel of a Catholic priest, until the happy day when upon my knees I begged admission to what I knew to be the one fold of Christ. All human influences around me would have kept me where were all my worldly ties, but I felt that the voice of my conscience was more to me than any earthly attraction. If there was one church, founded by my Lord, I must seek and find it.

Let me tell my experience in the examination of these two arguments.

First, I could not long entertain the theory that the Roman Catholic Church had corrupted or lost the faith. If there were unworthy Catholics, surely I was too honest to judge their religion by them. My reason told me that I must always judge any system by itself, by its logical fruits, and by those who were fully obedient to it. I asked myself, "If the Catholic Church has not the historical Christian creed, who has it?" If the only church that reached back by undoubted succession to Christ had lost its faith, or corrupted the original creed, which was equally disastrous, then the church had failed, and there was no such thing on earth. Then I said to myself, "Can I believe that history has brought me nothing of the Founder of my religion but complete discomfiture? Can I say that *he* is a failure, and that his words have been broken by the unruly wills

of men? If so, what would be the logical conclusion as to the character of Jesus Christ? Could he be a true prophet? Could he be God?" Surely, a church teaching error is worse than no church at all, a potent arm in the hands of the adversary of truth. In my frame of mind, to believe in the apostasy of the Catholic Church would have been the logical renunciation of Christianity. Besides, at what precise time did this apostasy take place? At what date did the Roman Church cease to be the teacher of truth? I found no reply to this question.

Those who pressed upon me this argument would persuade me that the teachings of the Roman Catholic Communion were widely different from the doctrines of the early Christian fathers, who were the lights of primitive Christianity. My own careful and, I believe, impartial examination did not sustain such an assertion. I read some of the leading fathers of the first centuries, partly in the original language and partly in Protestant translations. I could not see the alleged discrepancy. I found all these writers believing in the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Church. So it seemed to me that the apostasy, if there had been any, must have begun immediately after Christ, almost in the apostolic age. Private interpretation can make as much out of the fathers as out of the Scriptures. Still, there were plain statements of a belief in the identical doctrines of the Church of Rome, which could not well be explained by any form of Protestantism.

The second position was the only remaining obstacle to my full faith in the Catholic Church. I will state it as fairly as I can, with the impressions it made upon me, and the results of my examination. "The Catholic Church is indeed the body of Christ upon earth. But it is unhappily divided, and its various branches taken together make one whole. These branches are equally the church of God, but they must be taken together if you seek for authority. The teaching peculiar to any one branch is unreliable. Yet they all hold enough for any practical guidance, and have apostolic orders, and each one is sufficient for the salvation of its members. The Protestant Episcopal Communion is one of these branches, and to secede from it to the Roman Church is only to go from one branch to another,



and to gain nothing." A little time was necessary for me to see, in spite of early education, the falsity of this theory.

If our Lord had allowed the church thus to be broken into parts which had no communion with each other, which were teaching different doctrines, then plainly his work had gone to pieces. I could understand the idea of branches of the same thing. I could not comprehend that of branches which, widely different apart, would make the same thing when by any possibility they were put together. I could not believe that the Lord had left his church in that loose condition. At all events such a church would be practically useless as a teacher. If I desired to know the exact truth, I must go back to the time when these branches were all one. Such a historical investigation was to me practically impossible, and in my experience I never found any one who had made it a success. There was no unity among the ministers whom I met. Many of them were not sure of what they professed, and there was neither certainty nor agreement. In holding any views which pleased me, even though the articles of my church contradicted them, I was my own teacher. I could read the fathers, and study history, and gather from this large garden the flowers that pleased my taste. But in all I was my own guide, and only as well situated, so far as belief was concerned, as if there were no church at all. I could not accept this as the normal condition of Christianity.

Yet there was another point in the last argument. They told me that the branch of the church to which I belonged preserved apostolic orders. What more did I need? I learned, however, when an impartial examination had enlightened me, that the argument was only specious. Could it be true that any rightly ordained bishop could leave the Catholic Communion and take the church along with him? Did valid orders alone make the requisites of a true church? If so, branches must multiply wherever there be a bishop who separates himself from his former fold. Then schism would be impossible, and it would be difficult to define heresy. I could not admit these conclusions, and was therefore forced to deny the premises from which they flowed.

Again, the validity of Anglican ordinations was asserted as

if they were unquestioned. The most truthful investigation which I could make left them in very serious doubt. In the early days of the English church, during the reign of Elizabeth, no pretensions to apostolic succession were made. The Catholic Church rejected the Anglican orders from the beginning for essential defects in the rite of ordination, and for other reasons. This was surely an impartial judgment, as the idea of the church in branches wherever there was a valid priesthood had never entered the head of Roman theologians, and to their minds the use of orders in schism was a sacrilege. The Protestant Episcopal Church could be defended only on Protestant principles; and by these principles, as I had convinced myself, there was no divine church. I had long ago rejected such an opinion, and I could not accept it after years of study and prayer. There was then no logical course open to me but to believe that the Roman Catholic Church was the representative of Jesus Christ upon earth, and that it was the ark of safety, the visible fold in which I could receive the faith taught by the lips of the Incarnate God.

So I sought its haven of rest, and placed my feet upon the rock of Peter. There were some worldly sacrifices, but although they sobered my face a little, they did not drive the sunshine from my heart. At last I was in my Father's house, and never from that moment have I had one doubt of the truth of the Catholic religion.

I have now told my religious experience, principally in its objective history; for, after all, the proofs of divine revelation lie outside of our inner consciousness, and are addressed to all reasonable men. I may only add a few words as to my experience of the Catholic Church from my practical knowledge of her. She can be judged justly only from within. I had learned to appreciate and admire the church from her exterior and the objective proofs of her divine mission. Yet it was like the view of a temple from without, whose walls may charm the taste and captivate admiration. When I entered I found much more than I had ever hoped to find. I found a system so well adapted to my spiritual needs that this experience alone would have convinced me of its divinity. I found every aid to the highest

sympathies and needs of my spiritual nature. I found the supernatural without any loss of the natural. I had no sacrifice of liberty to complain of; for when once the divine voice speaks, it is not only the duty but the happiness of man to obey it. I could see no freedom in doubt as to things of faith, nor any constraint in the guidance of God. I found a supernatural religion which to those who followed it was yet a second nature. Great natural gifts, learning, and culture, such as I had not seen before, were all around me. I felt myself almost nothing beside the gifted souls who became my companions and guides. Yet in all such souls there was the absence of self-consciousness, and there appeared the attractive fruit of long mental and moral discipline.

I found holiness and faith in every class, and to a much higher degree than I had anticipated. I had lived among Protestants of piety and refinement, but the Catholic Church presented me with a much higher life. I have seen heroic virtue in every class, in the learned and the unlettered, and a unity of all in a faith which was as strong as if it were part of one's being. The great virtues which I had always admired the most, humility, purity, and charity, were around me like the fruits of the heavenly grace for which my soul thirsted. To say the least, life would have been worth living were it only to see and know that which has been my happy experience.

THOMAS S. PRESTON.

## THE TORRID ZONE OF OUR POLITICS.

THE political atmosphere of our southern States is not agitated by the phenomena that the Weather Service would designate in its department as hot waves. There is in that sunny region a perpetual heated term. It is the logic of the history of this torrid clime that we shall seek to find and follow.

The intensity and high temperature of the public sentiments which prevail in the States that constitute the South, have not been reduced, but increased, by the gigantic events of the war of the slave-power rebellion and the abolishment of slavery. This result was not expected save by the very few who have great gifts of wisdom. The evil of continued sectional political divisions may have come upon us from lack of timely statesmanship, through the selfish indulgence of a sense of triumph, when there should have been ceaseless toil and sacrifice and the vigilance of anxiety to clear ourselves of an exasperating and aggressive mischief. We have the old trouble with us in a form that is not wholly new, and an exaggeration rather than a mitigation of the besetting difficulty of other days. It seems to be especially pleasing for those who preach against sectional politics to practice it, and the louder the preaching, as a rule, the more violent the performance. The solid South is the cause and the example of political sectionalism. It is the section that makes it the part of patriotism to consolidate its forces at all hazards and every cost in behalf of the Democratic Party, which is the partisan organization that cannot, at least in this stage of affairs, state what guiding principles it would apply to constructive statesmanship—supposing the capacity for that quality of work to be discovered. The South, as a fixed political quantity, is inferior in all material resources to that part of the country east of the Rocky

Mountains and north of the Ohio River and Mason and Dixon's line, and yet it has become dominant as the one mass of forces in the conduct of our general affairs that is applied with a will that knows no wavering, and a certainty of purpose that does not vary from the mark. The original pretense of this imperialism of a section is the sovereignty of the States.

When the relentless force of this sectional sovereignty first appeared and largely gave direction to the drift of events, it was the slave power, and its policy that of possessing the United States Government and occupying it in the extension of slavery, the precise aim being the production of more slave States.

The form, at least, of slavery is past, and with its passing away the South gains, by the enumeration of the freed people as citizens instead of persons, sixteen representatives in the House and the Electoral Colleges, as well as two senators through the division of Virginia. This is the political reward that the authors of the rebellion get for their failure to conquer the country; that is, the South, by adopting the forms of free government, acquires greater power in the national councils. This is not for the definite object of the extension of slavery, but it must be for the development of some policy of vast scope. That policy we know has not been declared in congressional bills. There is no proclamation setting it forth, that it may be subjected to the analysis and criticism of public debate. Can it be something monstrous and sinister? Can it be that the true intent of the consolidation of the old southern Confederacy is so wicked that many engaged in it have not acknowledged it even to themselves so far as to realize its full purport? We must look into southern history and follow the current of its logic that we may find to what ocean this turbid river is running. The solid South, with the aid of small pluralities in four northern States, elected the President now in the White House, and the majority of the Representatives now sitting in the national Capitol. Five hundred and fifty votes cast and counted for Blaine instead of Cleveland in the State of New York alone, would have kept the line of Republican presidents unbroken. With the South concentrated and compact for the Democratic Party, a tremendous energy can be applied to the

contested fields in the North; and with the aid of the Prohibitionists, who are trying to force themselves to the front as a third national party, and are making a special effort to this end in the doubtful States of the North, the party that rests upon the solid section has dangerous advantages, and must be met by contesting every vote where voting is free and votes are counted.

In the December number of this review appeared an article under the title, "The Nullifiers of the Constitution," which presented statistics showing the nullification of the war amendments, in that the colored citizens were not allowed to express at the ballot-box their preferences in places where they endangered the political supremacy of the Democratic partisan despotism.

Complaint has been made that there was a lack of specifications in these statistics. Perhaps it would be better to say that there were too many facts specified in the figures. One objection offered to the theory of the article is that, in the congressional districts where there was an excess, or rather a majority, of colored voters, the Republicans ran no congressional candidates. But this is only a confirmation; it is not at all a contradiction. Where there are not enough colored men to carry an election they are allowed to amuse themselves by voting, but where they are in the majority they are totally suppressed—are not even allowed to bring out candidates. The facts to the contrary in Virginia only go to establish the rule.

President Cleveland was elected only by the suppression of the colored Republican vote in the States of the consolidated section that makes a merit of sectionalism; and are we so far advanced in the arrogance of ill-gotten authority as to denounce all opposition to the ascendancy of the sectionalism that prevails through the nullification of the Constitution, as high treason that should be punished by the application of the epithets once used against the abolitionists, and the ancient threat of the diversion of the southern trade? Here is a list of twenty-eight of the Democrats in the House of Representatives, with the majorities of colored people in their several districts:

	Colored Majority.
James T. James, First Alabama.....	2,858
H. A. Herbert, Second Alabama.....	249
Wm. C. Oates, Third Alabama.....	3,149
A. C. Davidson, Fourth Alabama.....	26,612
H. G. Turner, Second Georgia.....	3,763
Charles F. Crisp, Third Georgia... ..	2,431
Thos. M. Grimes, Fourth Georgia.....	2,947
Jos. H. Blount, Sixth Georgia.....	8,229
H. H. Carlton, Eighth Georgia.....	4,180
Geo. T. Barnes, Tenth Georgia.....	6,145
N. C. Blanchard, Fourth Louisiana.....	5,752
C. Newton, Fifth Louisiana.....	22,154
E. W. Robertson, Sixth Louisiana... ..	4,545
J. B. Morgan, Second Mississippi.....	2,468
T. C. Catchings, Third Mississippi.....	14,720
F. G. Barry, Fourth Mississippi.....	5,773
C. L. Anderson, Fifth Mississippi.....	1,570
T. R. Stockdale, Sixth Mississippi.....	1,327
C. E. Hooker, Seventh Mississippi.....	6,440
F. M. Simmons, Second North Carolina.....	9,538
Samuel Dibble, First South Carolina.....	2,236
G. D. Tillman, Second South Carolina.....	6,643
J. D. Cothran, Third South Carolina.....	1,200
W. H. Perry, Fourth South Carolina.....	1,590
J. J. Hemphill, Fifth South Carolina.....	2,610
G. W. Dargan, Sixth South Carolina.....	3,296
Wm. Elliott, Seventh South Carolina.....	24,899
James Phelan, Tenth Tennessee... ..	3,673

This is a startling presentation, if we are to regard the war amendments of the Constitution of the United States as a part of that document. Two facts about the colored citizens of the South cannot be candidly and intelligently disputed. The first is, that at least nine-tenths of them—and, indeed, ninety-nine-hundredths is not too large an estimate—are Republicans. They are so by instinct, if not by intelligence. The one thing they know in history above all other things is, that the Republicans have been their political friends, that they are indebted for citizenship to Republicanism. The other fact is, that there are no citizens of any part of this country, or of any country, so solicitous and certain to vote, where it can be done with personal safety, as the freedmen and other blacks in the southern States.

In twenty-two southern congressional districts the Republi-

cans. in the elections for the return of Representatives to the present House, did not present candidates, and in nineteen of them the colored voters were in the majority. In one district, where the Republicans were permitted to present a candidate, their vote was 17, in another 11, and in others 420, 405, and 233. In the district where the Republicans cast 17 votes, the colored voters numbered 14,148, and in the one where 11 Republican votes are recorded, the colored voters were 1,980. The meaning of this is so manifest that it is needless to do more than mention it. The districts referred to, and the number of Republican votes and colored voters, appear in the following table:

ALABAMA.		
District.	Republican vote.	Colored voters.
First.....	None.	14,889
Second.....	None.	2,382
Third.....	None.	1,477
ARKANSAS.		
First.....	None.	12,291
Fifth.....	None.	342
GEORGIA.		
First.....	17	14,148
Second.....	None.	17,881
Third.....	None.	13,297
Fourth.....	330	17,956
Fifth.....	None.	13,188
Sixth.....	None.	20,929
Eighth.....	None.	20,846
Tenth.....	None.	17,335
LOUISIANA.		
Fourth.....	None.	18,375
Fifth.....	495	23,089
Sixth.....	420	18,707
MISSISSIPPI.		
First.....	None.	13,668
Fourth.....	None.	20,597
Fifth.....	None.	19,897
Seventh.....	None.	19,166
SOUTH CAROLINA.		
First.....	None.	12,998
Second.....	None.	17,096
Third.....	None.	13,757
Fourth.....	None.	17,519
Fifth.....	None.	13,434
Sixth.....	None.	14,886



In the table annexed appear the majorities of the colored voters over the whites in the twenty-eight southern districts already mentioned as represented by Democrats, and the Democratic majorities as returned are also given:

ALABAMA.		
District.	Colored Maj. 1880.	Dem. Maj. 1886.
First.....	2,858	4,236
Second.....	249	5,659
Third.....	3,149	4,662
Fourth.....	20,612	7,868
GEORGIA.		
Second.....	3,763	2,411
Third.....	2,431	1,704
Fourth.....	2,947	1,579
Sixth.....	8,229	1,722
Eighth.....	4,180	2,277
Tenth.....	6,145	1,944
LOUISIANA.		
Fourth.....	5,753	5,747
Fifth.....	22,154	13,123
Sixth.....	4,545	9,250
MISSISSIPPI.		
Second.....	2,469	2,421
Third.....	14,720	2,136
Fourth.....	5,773	2,842
Fifth.....	1,570	4,262
Sixth.....	1,327	4,462
Seventh.....	6,440	4,502
NORTH CAROLINA.		
Second.....	9,538	2,078
SOUTH CAROLINA.		
First.....	2,236	3,313
Second.....	6,643	5,189
Third.....	1,200	4,395
Fourth.....	1,592	4,470
Fifth.....	2,610	4,691
Sixth.....	3,296	4,353
Seventh.....	24,899	532
TENNESSEE.		
Tenth.....	3,673	3,996

If these figures do not prove the systematic disfranchisement of the colored people, mathematical demonstration has no weight. Many other combinations may be made of the

figures that have been compiled from the census tables and election returns, to prove that southern sectionalism is based upon the nullification of the Constitution by the suppression of the rights of the colored citizens. The comparative fair play shown to the colored people in Virginia, Tennessee, and the border States, only proves the case the more strongly against the South Atlantic and Gulf States, where the suppression takes place without disguise, and where it is essential to Democratic partisan national victory.

There is one broad, plain state of facts visible all through this study of sectionalism, and it is, that where there are white Republicans enough to protect the colored ones, or not enough of the colored citizens to endanger Democratic domination, the processes of disfranchisement for Democratic benefit are not applied. Even in Virginia the colored people are embarrassed and cheated by registration regulations prepared to confuse them and keep them from the polls; and the Democrats manage to supervise the counting and returns so as to maintain, on important issues, the solidity of that corner of the South.

That it is the premeditated policy of Democratic sectionalism to perpetuate itself by adhering pertinaciously to all the conditions that have advanced it toward complete control of the government, is seen in the unwillingness to admit North and South Dakota into the Union. The objection to their admission is very simple. It is that they are Republican in a degree exceeding New England and Pennsylvania. The exclusion of the Dakotas is pursuant to the old-time southern policy that there should not be a northern State admitted without one from the South. There is the same familiar story in the treatment of Dakota that there was in the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of Mexican territory, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The President's tariff message does not bring new issues before the country, but repeats well-worn propositions and is a display of Bourbonism. There is no symptom of progressive liberality and enlargement of views in it. We are all agreed that the surplus revenue should be reduced. The President does not declare or propose novelties. He avoids business points, with an exception or two, proving that he is not well read

in that direction. He ignores the "New South," with its fair promise of manufacturing enterprise, while he brings comfort to the cotton planters, who look to England as the center of the earth and the ruling influence among the nations.

In the discussion of the tariff question by members of the President's political party, we fail to observe that abatement of sectional prejudice and obliteration of sectional lines which are said to be manifest everywhere. On the contrary, in the very first stages of the reopened protective-tariff debate we see a disposition on the part of the Democrats to belittle the "New South," and to denounce any departure from the ancient ways.

Recent demonstrations in the South have shown a passionate sentiment in favor of all the sectional prejudices that have withstood national unity and the unqualified recognition of the rights of all men to equal opportunities. Whether we read of Senator Eustis at Monroe, Louisiana, affirming the necessity of maintaining white supremacy by revolution, or General H. R. Jackson at Macon, assisting in the deification of Jefferson Davis and vindicating with his choicest rhetoric the *status* of slavery as the most beneficent relation that ever existed between labor and capital, or whether we follow Colonel Marshall at the Richmond apotheosis of General R. E. Lee, asserting that Lincoln's way of keeping the Union was not satisfactory, and never would be tried again, we find the same current of opinion and the same manifest fixed resolution to make the South supreme. The Louisiana senator most emphatically declares that the public sentiment of the North as to the methods of election in Louisiana is to be disregarded, as the North has nothing to do with them. The white-supremacy party of Louisiana draws the race line defiantly; and not in ignorance, but with full knowledge that this is the nullification of the Constitution of the United States. In the adoration of the ex-President of the southern Confederacy, at his last public appearance, the assumption of his superiority to Abraham Lincoln as a rightful president and patriot was proclaimed in burning phrases; and the Confederate cause has been lauded as righteous and holy and worthy of everlasting remembrance. Colonel Marshall, of General Lee's staff, not only held the policy of Lincoln in defending the Union to have

been such a failure that it should be an example for avoidance, but he set Lee by the side of Washington, with suggestion of the obvious superiority of the unsuccessful over the successful rebel; and in southern opinion, according to General Bradley T. Johnston, the writer of "My Maryland" ranks far above the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," as it was "My Maryland" that "breathed immortality into the statehood" of the sovereign on the Chesapeake, while, of course, "The Star-Spangled Banner" was only a national song.

There is something more than sentimentalism in all this. We often hear that the Democratic Party has no clearly defined vital principles, that it avoids the rugged issues of the affairs that concern business relations. We are told that it has gone on very quietly, even modestly, and has not ruined the country, in fulfillment of many prophecies. The first thing to say is, that there never has been a party in existence that could ruin this country in three or four years. The country is too big and rich and strong. In the second place, as the Republicans have held the Senate, the Democrats have not had entire freedom of action. The true Democratic programme is reserved until full effect can be given it by the simultaneous occupation by the Democrats of all the departments of the general government. Then, and not until then, shall we know what the Democratic principles of these days are.

In 1888, Congress and the Supreme Court will, in all probability, go with the presidency. The whole government is therefore at stake. If the Democrats get it, resting and dependent upon the South made solid by the nullification of the war amendments of the Constitution, what will they do with it? That is the question to which public attention must be directed. We may be sure that those who have been the self-constituted interpreters of the Constitution, and have been proud of their relations to that instrument, which they have regarded as their own platform and political gospel, will find a way to remove from it the portions that were pinned to it with bayonets and that they have made a dead letter. They are experts in precisely that line, and they have opened a vast field for the display of their talent. With a Supreme Court of their own they

would speedily rid themselves, under cover of decisions as to formal regularity, of the reproach of nullification. The amendments as they stand might be declared to be the fruit of unconstitutional as well as unholy violence. The cry would be raised that the "old Constitution" was the one stay and support of the country. This would prepare the way for putting the Gray upon an equality with the Blue in the pension lists. Why not, if the Confederate cause was originally constitutional and always good?

Then come the war claims. Are our fellow-citizens from the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, with the law-making power in their hands, to submit forever to outlawry? Compensation from the national treasury for "property in man" destroyed by the sword, would be a great measure of conciliation and good will, and would restore those affectionate relations between the sections of which Democratic orators discourse so eloquently. Were the Democratic Party to hold power unchallenged for years, it could not, where any doctrine was concerned to which it had ever subscribed, resist these generousities of final settlement. After this we should see coming to the front the characteristic Democratic policy of finance, which was never so brilliantly illustrated as in the last days of the southern Confederacy, when a pair of boots, such as General Lee wore at Appomattox, cost fifteen hundred dollars in the legal-tender currency issued from Richmond.

"We, the people of the United States," who formed a more perfect Union under the Constitution than could be enjoyed in the shape of a confederacy, and who vindicated by force of arms the right of the nation to protect itself and save its own life, may well study, in this crisis of our public affairs, the results of Democratic policy in the South. It behooves us to take counsel of the common prudence of patriotism, and not to enter on the way that leads to disasters disgraceful and irretrievable.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

## BRIBERY AND ITS NEAR RELATIVES.

LEGISLATIVE bills of two successive years, passed by large majorities in the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, having been for the time killed by the vetoes of their respective governors, not on their merits, which most of the legislators stoutly affirmed, but because of the corrupting means used to secure their passage, it becomes a grave inquiry what is the nature and extent, and what the proper corrective, of an evil which, superficially treated in such gubernatorial protests, is a very old and gray-headed, obstinate iniquity. "Money answereth all things," writes the sad preacher Ecclesiastes. When a grateful publisher offered to Ralph Waldo Emerson a gratuity, Emerson replied, "It is not mine, but I was a thief from the foundation of the world;" and the sin of bribery goes back equally far. It is not only virtually included among the vetoes of Moses in that great negative code of the Decalogue, but throughout the Pentateuch and other parts of the Old Testament the Jewish people are warned that the taking of gifts perverts judgment, and is a capital offense. The Roman annals abound with tales of venality, among prefects of provinces, too frequent and vast for any central authority to check, implicating, as they commonly did, the chief rulers themselves; and in that sale of indulgences which Luther withstood in the Roman Church, the Pope winked at a system of bribes he would scarce have dealt out from his own hand; as, with us, a President may tolerate what he would not practice, in violators of our loudly professed and faintly observed principle of civil-service reform, which seems more like a child's rocking-horse without feet than that vehicle described by Ezekiel, where "the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels." There is nothing new under the sun. Our civil market-place resembles that of the Hebrew merchants, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, who "traded the persons of men and vessels of brass." We have not abolished the worst guilt of slavery;

only, instead of our putting human creatures up at auction, they are purchased privately or sell themselves.

But, in order wisely to meet, we must first account for this chronic complaint, breaking out in the body politic an ever-fresh epidemic, more dreadful in any community than yellow fever, cholera, or the plague. Some crimes or vices are or may be solitary, such as stealing, drunkenness, and gluttony. Bribery involves two or more individuals together. It is a monster that, like the alligator or the crocodile, has, in the mud of some river of long and ancient sweep, like the Nile or the St. John's, its generation and habitat. Out of what foulness of selfish bargains and of pledges presumed and unfulfilled started Guiteau to slay Garfield? The assassin was no accident, or specimen of self-will pure and simple, but a creation or evolution of the political bog. We shall not comprehend, or know how to cure, this disease of bribery until we search into its origin; for the physician's diagnosis must precede his treatment of the patient's case. The rubbing doctor, who would heal an inflammation, begins to manipulate at a distance from the sore spot. He thinks restoring health to the general circulation to be a condition of the particular relief. "How shall I get rid of this humor?" an eminent practitioner was asked by his patient. "By not having anything to do with it save to raise the tone of your system; then the annoying itch will disappear," was the doctor's reply.

It is the purpose of this paper to scan the approaches or provocatives which start or issue in bribes, so as to hint an application to them of the Latin proverb, *obsta principiis*, oppose the beginnings; as, after much devastation and destruction in and about Boston from an unruly stream called Stony Brook, our civilians at last considered if it were not worth their while to bridle and guide this courser before its final and fatal plunge.

I propose then some suggestions as to the causes or sources, and possibly preventible commencements, of this mischief, rushing with greater than any torrent's fury, and with more deplorable ruin, through our land. Bribery has, indeed, many tributaries. In its gross form it is a sort of confluent small-pox. The farmer extirpates poison-ivy by following up the baleful plant to its smallest radicles and filaments, with gauntlets on his hands. It

is dangerous even to handle this other malignant growth without gloves, lest it infect ourselves. Surgeons sometimes get into their veins venom and death from the diseased flesh they cut.

Is there not a germ of bribery even in the administration of our laws which should punish, if they cannot, as a rod held up *in terrorem*, prevent the crime? Juridical advocacy among us, with its array of opposed counselors and clients, is in practice not only an exposition of the statute-book, but a duel of wits, a strife for victory, exhausting every resource of literal technicality; and, as in many instances the judicial decisions involve immense property values, acute lawyers are tempted by fabulous fees, or stimulated by the reputation and peculiar glory of winning a desperate if not wicked case; as when Rufus Choate, that courtly gentleman and matchless pleader, delivered the murderer Tyrrell by the unexpected and astounding plea that the deed was done in a state of sleep-walking, the verdict of acquittal arousing the wrath of that strict moralist, Francis Wayland, President of Brown University. The custom of paying eminent barristers large retainers to hold their tongues and not appear on the other side, has the features of own cousin to a bribe, especially if any jurist so committed stifles his convictions and looks on quietly to see injustice done. I was informed by the treasurer of a Massachusetts railroad, fifty years ago, that, to get ahead of parties wishing to tap it with a rival road, he ran with all haste to Daniel Webster's office across the way. Webster, who had been already approached but not retained in the adverse interest, and who perhaps preferred the new-comer's cause, answered, in guttural tones that made the treasurer start: "There are no bones broken, there is no blood spilt;" and put the retainer of five hundred easily earned dollars into his vest-pocket. That minister of the law, part of whose office is to check bribery, is himself bribed, who for pay undertakes a case he thinks he can carry, but which he knows or believes to be bad, and who urges it on purely technical grounds, the letter against the spirit, with arguments that have no weight to his own mind. He is a pettifogger, perhaps a bully too. Yet, such strong hold on court and bar has the theory of forensic fight, in which, as on the actual battle-field, whatever weapon comes to hand is lawful, that I



signally failed in trying to convince that excellent man and eminent judge whom I well knew, Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, that the practice of the bar was in any way based on a wrong principle. He still held that contending counselors should do their best to represent or misrepresent, they having naught to do with absolute equity or truth. It was for the court and jury to decide after all the fair or unfair crossing of logical swords.

But, in business and the state, are illustrations of sharper edge. When a wholesale robbery has been committed, vaults have been blown open and pillaged, under our code it seems to be allowable to offer a large percentage of the booty to any one by whom the rest of it may be returned. This is not denominated or prosecuted as bribery; but what an embryo this of such malfeasance as, when full-grown, may be indicted and dealt with under the actual name! The policeman is instructed, as appurtenant to his function, to discover illegal sale of liquor by calling for and tasting a glass, so that he may afford clear and undeniable proof. We set a thief to catch a thief, and so have two thieves instead of one. We bid Satan cast out Satan, though Christ tells us that is an impossible feat. "Who shall guard the guards?" was a question in Roman law. Who shall watch our watchmen if we train them to greed and deceit? We are guilty of compounding felony from love of lucre, when we inform the burglar that, if he will surrender the plunder, no questions will be asked, but, on the contrary, a reward bestowed.

Take a case of immediate urgency now. There is among us a legal agency, appointed with a large salary, supported and empowered for the praiseworthy purpose of hindering or visiting with condign penalty the circulation of obscene pictures and books. One of the methods, perhaps the chief one, employed to this end, and which court and Congress connive at or shut their eyes to, is the agent's hypocritical ordering, under an assumed name, of a print or volume which he pretends to want, with no object but the obtaining of evidence against the publisher and shop. The officer plays the part of a decoy-duck to bring the shy and secretive offenders within reach of his law-loaded gun. But for what recompense could one consent to be an informant in ambush, on terms recognized in no Hebrew,

Christian, or accepted pagan code? Something of his manhood is always sold by the spy. Part of his remuneration, if it be not blood-money, is a bribe for his sly adventure and a sop to his shame. "Will ye speak deceitfully for God?" says Job. The devil, whipped round a stump, leaps on our back from behind. As in the Cossack tale Lord Byron finds his poem on, the reformer who sacrifices to his zeal the honor which is the soul of reform, is borne, like Mazeppa, to his overthrow on the unmanageable steed he mounts. We cannot educate in others the nobleness we violate in ourselves. Indecency in all its forms, for the sake of ourselves and our children, let us discourage and suppress in every honest way, and drive it out of stores and galleries, and from our manners and our mails; yet not in ways underhand, but with courage and strengths unstained by public opinion, above-board. Let us free our minds from the hurtful cant that detectives must be sinners who, by breaking the eighth and ninth and tenth commandments, can please God or serve the commonwealth. Such incentives in hunting down iniquity blind us as to the nature and track of what we pursue. Culture of falsehood yields a baleful crop. Besides, it puts the hunter on a wrong scent. Not the lines in a picture nor language in a book, but the intent of the canvas or composition must determine whether it be impure. Nude art is not live nudity. The marbles of Greece and Italy, like Adam and Eve in the Garden, are naked and not ashamed. We speak of the Holy Bible; but how unholy in many a passage, were it not redeemed by its aim.

What is a bribe? According to the French Littré as well as English lexicons, it is a crumb or morsel of a loaf shared with others, although it be sometimes a big lump, as we use the word. We employ it in a bad sense to denote transactions wherein the profit is of an evil or questionable sort. Charges of bribery may be made without foundation. Lord Hartington accused Mr. Gladstone of "offering disestablishment as a naked bribe for support of his Home-Rule proposals." But when a Montreal senator, arraigned for bribery, declared frankly that he had sold his services to a pipe-laying company for fifteen hundred dollars, and would have got, if he could, ten or twenty thousand dollars for the same, there was an end to all debate.

General Jackson inflamed the crowd of his devotees with the taunt that Henry Clay, as candid a politician as ever lived, made a bargain with John Quincy Adams, of all statesmen the stiffest and most upright, in which the secretaryship of state and the chief magistracy were the pawns exchanged. The lines that distinguish blameless from improper services and gifts, are not always easy to draw. Integrity and dishonor have their somewhat wavering border-lines. Harrison Gray Otis, looking at two pictures on the wall, a Magdalen and a St. Cecilia, affirmed that his eyes were too poor to tell the sinner from the saint. We are in a like quandary about our presidents and presidential candidates. If they put party above country or confound country with their party, then, in their fulsome appeals to their constituency, in the prolixity of their speeches, in their official documents or manifestoes, uncalled-for and volunteered, and in their progresses through the land, we see the smoke of ambition and smell the savor of bribes. If their public talk and published papers are prompted by a desire to serve the people, regardless of personal success, no suspicion of aught selfish in their procedure will be apt to arise. Yet loquacity in an executive officer is not a winsome sign; and Coriolanus, scorning to court the people for their "most sweet voices," seems not extant in any modern magistrate or nominee or seeker of a renomination.

The seduction of bribery is aggravated by the veil which covers the bribe. It is hard to see where the lure begins and the honest wages end. In a canvass expenses may be incurred legitimately, on account of speakers, of printing, of detective work in unearthing treachery and in ascertaining the situation, and of carriage-hire for aged and infirm voters. But, beside these things, votes are bought, either outright or by making the voter's subsistence depend on his suffrage. By many ways of "indirection" the briber "finds direction out." Drinking-bills are settled if the drinker will do the pay-master's will; and this is one of the potent ways of the saloon in politics. The poll-tax of those pleading poverty is paid, with an understanding as to what ballot shall be cast. These little planks may be found in all the platforms of rival contestants. The policy of either party is decided in a sort of executive session, or in a close corporation

consisting of a few persons. The caucus is an institution to adopt and effect what they have "cut and dried." Woe to whoso would reject their seasoned timber and use green wood! The ward meeting called for the purpose of naming candidates finds its work done for it beforehand by the party managers. The individuals selected for representatives or aldermen are perhaps apprised that a certain amount of cash for the current costs must come from them or they cannot be chosen; and that, in case of recusancy, their names will not appear. This may not be the uniform procedure, but those inside the ring know that sometimes it actually thus occurs. It is well known in some, if not all, the States of our Union, that a man cannot afford to be governor, or candidate for governor, unless he is rich, and can disburse many thousands of dollars in the canvass. If he be not rich in person, he is made so by proxy of his wealthy partners in politics, with the advantage over his competitor of parading himself as poor. Orators, like lawyers, are "retained" to plead every aspirant's cause. This is not regarded as bribery. The standard-bearer of a party may not know how the material and manufacture of the standard were procured, yet the crooked path by which he reaches his position may conduct him to a point where he will have to resist with his conscientious veto the very bribery that has helped to put the reins of power into his hands.

And as in the state, so in the church. Besides immortal truths of God, duty, and heaven, there are in every religious denomination unsound articles which could not live, but would at once expire, in the light, were science suffered to turn it on them. The preacher who should openly discard these would give offense to the superstitious crowd. He would at once forfeit his position and support. His motive is not selfish, so much as benevolent; he thinks that dogmas exploded in all thoughtful minds are doing the multitude good. The bribe he takes looks like a recompense of faithful service. There is a charm in the old traditions which, as Othello said, "almost persuade Justice to break her sword;" and Macaulay, using Shakespeare's figure to express how the mind of Milton was divided betwixt delight and indignation in the English church, writes, "he kisses the

beautiful deceiver before he destroys her." Orthodoxy, Unitarianism, and Episcopacy in diverse degrees are in this strait.

The most dangerous bribe is that against reason and conscience in a dotting, idolatrous heart. Many clergymen are like ships with a top-hammer impeding them, but of which they see not how to be freed. "It is time to unload," said General Grant, of certain political abuses; and a crisis is at hand in which ecclesiastical absurdities can no longer be borne. Things, say some, before they are better, must be worse! That man has reached a height of virtue and moral heroism attained by few, who permits no inducement of profit, of seeming usefulness, or of personal repute, to affect his honest action or discourse. It is the attitude of the faithful angel Abdiel, which Horatio Greenough has expressed in marble:

"Nor number nor example with him wrought  
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,  
Though single."

America has bestowed on the world the inestimable boon and the immense indulgence of freedom of speech and of the press. But, unless liberty be under righteous law, it becomes a bribe for the lawless immigrant. Men will expatriate themselves in order to do as they please. The wild beasts lately, by a railway collision, let out from their traveling-dens, are not so dangerous as the unloosed human tigers and panthers, with their open mouths. If anarchy be suffered to suborn the tongue and pen for organs of its destructiveness, government must not be surprised when they are transformed into bomb and dynamite and into offered bounties on robbery and murder. We must have cages not only for the showman's animals, but stronger ones for bestial men. But the anarchist plotters are not altogether unlike the horde of office-seekers, in that both alike aim to live at others' expense. The scramble at the public crib is imaged in the rush and huddle for their food of the bristled creatures in the pen, and in the flutter of the feathered ones for crumbs in the coop. The unseemly sight will continue until the offices become rewards of merit and of competence, and cease to be partisan bribes. Bribery led to monarchy in the Hebrew realm.

C. A. BARTOL.

## THE CAUSE OF IRISH DISCONTENT.

TAKE from Ireland that part of Ulster which is essentially Protestant Ulster, and a real Ireland remains. The men of Protestant Ulster look and speak like Scotchmen, and they have the Scotch talent for getting on in the world. Belfast is like a thriving Scotch, English, or American city, with an Irish quarter which is distinctly less thriving. There are Catholic Irish in Protestant Ulster, as there are Catholic Irish in Liverpool and New York: but they are foreigners in the same degree in the one place as in the other. Take from Ireland, then, that part of Ulster which is essentially Protestant Ulster, and let us look at the Ireland which remains.

What is this Ireland? To orators it seems to be a sort of female in distress, asking for equity, or for liberty, or for self-government, or for Grattan's Parliament, or for a rise in prices, or for a change of weather. But of course this Ireland is not a female, to whose prayers it would be quite easy to grant this or that, and a great deal pleasanter than to bring out a brand-new set of metaphorical fetters for her shapely if scantily protected limbs. This Ireland is no more than a goodly number of Irishmen with their dependent wives and children; and any one who wishes to understand anything of the real Irish question must shut his ears against the orators, and his eyes to pictures of bare-foot, suppliant Erin, and must consider what manner of men these Irish are, what are their real wishes, and what their real needs. The Irishmen whom we consider are an agricultural community. Of the 1,571,896 men who, according to the census of 1881, were men of definite occupation in Ireland, 902,010 lived by agriculture. So in the whole of Ireland a large majority of the men who work, work on the land; and if we leave out Protestant Ulster, the majority is even greater. The first solid fact, then, of our Ireland is, that the great majority of its men

work on the land and live by the land. The landlords are few in number. The official returns published in 1875 and 1876 gave the number of owners of above an acre of land in Ireland as 32,614. The agricultural laborers who are not tenants too are comparatively few, and so far almost inaudible. They do not form a distinct class. It is the tenant-farmers, then, that have to be considered; they are the people that must be reckoned with, and our Ireland may be called for our purposes a land of tenant-farmers.

Of course there are towns in this land, but they are no more than the markets of the country folk. They awake on market day to receive the tenant-farmers or their womankind, and to supply them with the groceries and clothing which they can afford or care to buy; and their chief feature is the bank, where these same farmers deposit money when they have any money to deposit. For the rest they are of small importance. In 1881 there were but three of them which had more than 50,000 inhabitants; and of these, Belfast, which is by far the most prosperous, is in Protestant Ulster. Do not linger in the towns, then, but come out to the country side. Climb a convenient hill and consider the valley below. You look down on an irregular patchwork—funny little fields of divers shapes, divided each from each by grass banks or loose stone walls. You look down, too, on many whitewashed cottages, squatting close to the ground under their roofs of heavy thatch. These modest dwellings are the homes of the tenant-farmers, and some two or three of these funny little patches, or in many cases but a single patch, are a tenant's farm. From this it may be gathered that the tenant-farmers of Ireland are a peculiar species of tenant-farmers.

What manner of men are these tenant-farmers? If you descend from your hill, you will notice that the patches of land differ very much in tidiness; but if you are accustomed to the sight of tidy farming, you will get a general impression of untidiness. If the patches are divided by loose stone walls, you will notice that the boundary walls have a distinct tendency to spread themselves over the inclosures. The minute working of all corners, of which many admirers of the *petite culture* have written with enthusiasm, is not to be found on the most tidy of

these miniature farms. Certainly the Irish tenant-farmer is not a tidy man. His whitewashed house and his bare-foot children are alike dirty to the knee; and, if you look into his low doorway and can see in the half-darkness, you are not likely to exclaim at its order and cleanliness. Perhaps you cannot peep in for the clever, inquiring faces of the children who throng the doorway. They are unkempt, half-naked, with mud instead of boots, but there is not a heavy, brutal face among them. There are a great many of these little people in the doorway. And here we come to a little group of facts about the tenant-farmer which are of the first importance. He is an excellent husband and father, full of kindness and affection. He is by nature amiable to all the world. He is so amiable that he is careless of the truth in order to spare your feelings, or to gratify your wishes, or to promote his own little purposes. He does not hate even his landlord. If the landlord belong to the "ould stock" and spend a fair part of the year upon his property, and if, moreover, he will be, and can afford to be, reasonable about the rent, the tenant likes him, and would rather any day pay rent to "his honor" than to the state, be its local habitation in London or in Dublin. He loves the land and clings to it, though he has no desire to make it yield its utmost. To labor stolidly and steadily through the same hours of every day is distasteful to him. He needs change, and hails with joy the excuse of a funeral or a political meeting or a horse-fair. He is clever and quick-witted and a hater of monotony. If there is no particular excuse for a holiday he will just knock off work for a bit. Indeed he is not a hard-working man. Instead of troubling himself with the making of manure, he is apt to sell his straw and buy guano; sometimes he will borrow money at a high rate of interest to buy this guano; and the unhappy results are that he is in debt to the money-lender (the curse of all the peasantries of the world), and that presently his ground becomes incapable of producing a crop.

This, then, is the tenant-farmer of our study. A pleasant fellow, shrewd and quick-witted, and not strictly veracious: an excellent husband and father; loving his land, but treating it neither too wisely nor too well; fond of occasional excitement,



and intolerant of regular toil; yielding to authority, especially to the authority of his priest. Here stands our tenant-farmer, smiling quaintly on his potato-patch; and, if one must embody the people for purposes of perorations, this figure is at least as lifelike, and a thousand times nearer to the truth, than the Ireland of the orators, the female in distress, praying for the opening of yet another talking-house on St. Stephen's Green, and varying her prayers with plaintive melodies upon a broken harp.

However, it is well to keep clear of this dangerous rhetorical trick of embodiment. Let us rather say that the great mass of the tenant-farmers of the Ireland which we are considering approach this type. Naturally enough, of these more quiet average people you read least in the papers. The explosive spots make the noise in the world; and Tipperary, which is probably the most explosive spot in Ireland, is, with the exception of Protestant Ulster, the least Irish bit of Ireland. Time brings about strange revenges indeed; and the sturdiest of the Tipperary boys have in their veins the blood of Cromwell's soldier-settlers, who, more than any men in history, were heavy on the Irish of their day. These men are more pugnacious and far less yielding than the tenant-farmers who have been described; but Tipperary is but a single county out of thirty-two, and if you throw in Clare and Kerry, they are but three. As these men differ to this extent in character from our prevailing type, so there are other tenant-farmers who differ so widely in circumstances that they are almost a different class. These are the larger tenants, who farm on a large scale and make far more money in good years. But these, who are much more like English than Irish farmers, are only to be noted as an exception. The fact remains that the tenant-farmers of Ireland are, as a class, such men and in such circumstances as have been described. They are men with little land and with large families.

What are the wishes of these tenant-farmers? It is not easy to learn their wishes from themselves, for they are shrewd fellows, and in a land wherein so much is left bare there are few persons so completely and elaborately covered as the naked truth. But if it seems hard to know the exact shape of the

visions in which this peasantry are indulging at the moment, it is far less hard to discover what they do not desire. They do not desire separation from England. If they give a thought to separation, it is accompanied by no wish to be severed from a country which buys butter, and would buy a great deal more if it were decently made, and whither the poorer of them go yearly to cut corn or pick hops, and so enlarge the scanty profits of their labor. They do not pine for liberty. This word, so pregnant of good and ill, is meaningless to them. Their whole education is in obedience—obedience to a priesthood with whom the idea of liberty is not popular. Is it self-government, then, for which they languish? Liberty and self-government are very much alike in their cars; if the one is a sounding brass, the other is a tinkling cymbal. If they knew anything about self-government, they would know that they suffer, as Englishmen and Scotchmen suffer, from the want of good county government, and suffer rather more on account of the manifest discomforts of the Irish Channel. But how many of the Irish peasantry trouble themselves with the fact that when a small local public improvement is needed, men have to go over to London and, after pains and lawyers' fees, gain the consent of Parliament to that which might have been settled with far less trouble and expense by a county government at home? This is an ill from which all parts of the United Kingdom suffer, and the Irish suffer most by reason of two voyages on the sea. On the other hand, if our tenant-farmers were studying the question of self-government, they would know that Irishmen have, in proportion to their numbers, more members to represent them in the imperial Parliament than either Englishmen or Scotchmen. They have the same right of voting and they return more members. To this extent are they better off than Englishmen and Scotchmen in this matter of self-government; but the fact is that they don't care a jot about the subject.

But home rule! It is true that they desire home rule, but they desire it as a means only. Orators have conjured up before them a vision of a glorious talking-house of their own in Dublin city, and have found them cold. They will not come together to listen to such speeches; they would almost as soon

be digging potatoes. They can stand a motion in favor of a national parliament; but the speaker must come quickly to the land. They have been taught to believe that a parliament in Dublin is more likely to settle the land question to their satisfaction than a parliament in London. So they go in for home rule as a means to that very practical end; and if their wishes, their real wishes, could be fulfilled to-morrow by the poor old Parliament at Westminster, the agitation for home rule would go the way of the repeal movement and the Fenian rebellion, and of all political agitations which are not based upon the potato-patch.

The end which the tenant-farmers of Ireland desire is the settlement of the land question. But what is the settlement which they desire? They wish to become the owners of their farms. They do not wish to buy them; the time of such modest desires has gone by; they wish and they expect to get their farms for nothing, or for next to nothing. They do not wish the government to buy out the landlords. This buying out of landlords would involve a loan; and this loan would involve payment of interest by the tenant-farmers, who would rather pay rent. Indeed, unless the process of developing into land-owners were to go on forever, they would have gradually to pay the principal also. They do not wish that the state should buy out the landlords and assume their place, becoming forever the one landlord of them all. They would rather pay rent to their landlords than to an official collector.

Would it be more pleasant to pay rent to the government collector, who has no house and no place in the county, and no odd jobs to give, than to his honor, who has grown up among his tenants, and who knows how years vary and how each affects the soil? Would the government collector buy a hen or a basket of mushrooms? Is compassion more common in government officials than in average landlords? And if the official were overflowing with the inexpensive milk of human kindness, would he have the power to let off half the rent in a bad year, or to postpone its payment to a more convenient day?

That which the tenant-farmers desire is to pay no more rent in any shape or to any people. They wish to become owners of

their farms; to pay nothing, or next to nothing, for the acquisition of this ownership; and to cease paying rent from that time forth forever. This they desire, and this they expect. Two lessons are preached daily to them. One lesson is, that it is unfair to remove them from their farms, whether they pay rent or not. The other lesson is, that land in Ireland has ceased to produce rent, *i. e.*, that an Irish farm can produce nothing more than the fair profit of the farmer. Take these two lessons together, and there follows inevitably the practical advice, Pay no rent and stick to your farms.

This then, this taking of their property from the landlords without compensation, or with compensation extravagantly inadequate and unfair, is what the tenant-farmers expect from a Dublin parliament. The present government of Great Britain and Ireland have promised to produce a scheme for buying out the Irish landlords, but no such scheme will now content the Irish tenants. The Parliament of the United Kingdom will go no further, not having yet accepted the doctrine that it is fair to deprive people of their property, even of their property in land, without a fair, or at least a decent, compensation. But a Dublin parliament would be forced to go so far, and to act in accordance with this doctrine. For this very purpose is its existence desired by the Irish peasantry; and it is the Irish peasantry which will return the great majority of its members, if it ever come into being. Let these members flinch from this wholesale measure, and out they will go, making room for more obedient representatives.

A home-rule parliament, whatever the views of its most clear-sighted and honest members might be, could not settle the land question with any approach to fairness. Mr. John Morley saw this clearly; and hence appeared two bills; and one of the liveliest squabbles of the moment is as to whether they are alive or dead. But, at any rate, nothing is now heard from English home-rulers of the necessity, so ably advocated by Mr. John Morley, of a settlement of the land question before or accompanying the granting of home rule. Nor is any reference to the land question to be detected in your sympathetic resolutions in America. You seem to be eager for the establish-

ment of a parliament in Dublin, and quite ready to leave to that body the settlement of this question of the land. And yet there is nothing more certain than that, in passing your dignified resolutions, and nailing them to platforms, you are expressing, not your belief in the beauty of self-government, which is not in question, but rather your hope that certain property will be taken from Tom, against his will and without payment, and given to Dick and Harry.

This Ireland of ours, from which Belfast and the rest of Protestant Ireland has been subtracted, is a poor country. Poverty is the malady from which she suffers; and this malady would be as little affected by the mere creation of a brilliant parliament in Dublin, as deafness would be mitigated by the hanging of a diamond ear-ring in the ear. If this newly created parliament began its labors, as it would be forced to begin, by taking their property from the landlords and giving it to the tenants, the tenants would be by so much the richer. This is evident—evident as the fact that if you plunder the bakers' shops and give the loaves to the poor, the poor will be the richer by the stolen bread. Such effect upon the poverty of Ireland a Dublin parliament could produce. It could ruin a small part of the people and divide its property among the rest. But by what other means could it make the poor country less poor?

What are the real needs of Irishmen? They are small farmers with large families. As the children grow up, efforts are made to keep them at home. More people remain on the farm than can find full work on it or full subsistence. There are no industries other than agricultural which will provide them with work. A few become soldiers of the queen, a few go into the Irish constabulary, but to the mass there remains the simple, natural remedy of emigration. As things are now, this is the great remedy for the poverty of Ireland. They go forth, not without lamentations at the railway stations, to replenish the earth, and they go forth to better chances and to sure reward of even moderate industry. They have done well in Australia; to-day it is said that they are doing well with sheep (and indeed they seem to get on better with beasts than with crops) in the Argentine Republic; even with you, though they prosper less than your

Scandinavians, Scotchmen, Englishmen, or Germans, they are more prosperous than they would be at home.

But there are many well-wishers of Ireland who regard emigration, not as the most happy remedy for the native poverty, but as a cruel wrong the more. It is hard in their eyes that Irishmen cannot live and flourish at home. Let it be granted that the remedy has its element of hardship, and let us ask what remedy an Irish parliament could put in its place. We have seen that by pure plunder it could keep some tenants' sons at home. Irish landlords would leave the country, and their tenants, freed from rent, could afford, for a time at least, to keep their families about them. But what other and fairer remedy could an Irish parliament find as a substitute for emigration? Could it make a law against large families, or enlarge the borders of the island on which they are born? Could it make the land more fertile? Nothing can make the land more fertile but better methods of agriculture, and nothing can change the methods of agriculture but a change in the character of the people. Could an assembly on St. Stephen's Green make the peasantry careful in trifles and industrious without break from year's end to year's end? Causes which modify a people's character are at work in Ireland—the national schools, the books and newspapers, the ideas which come back from the lands whither the emigrants go. Could an Irish parliament increase the strength of these transforming forces? The great majority of its members would be returned by Roman Catholic votes, and any change in the existing educational system of the country would be a change from the present equality of all denominations in the work of education to the endowment by an Irish government of Roman Catholic teaching. Whatever good such teaching may do, it will hardly be said that its chief effect is to make men labor unceasingly that they may lay up treasure in this world. What could an Irish parliament do for the promotion of industries in which the sons of the farmers growing to manhood could find work? There is no tendency to invest capital in Irish industries; and it can hardly be supposed that the spectacle of a parliament in Dublin would attract capital, when the mere chance that the late home-rule bill would pass set money flowing from the coun-

try. Some may think that an Irish government, freed from the free-trade doctrines of England, might nurse a brood of infant industries by taxing English imports. Many of you in America have great faith in this nursing policy; but is it not held by the most ardent protectionists in America that no industries are worth protecting which have not a strong vitality, the promise of a powerful manhood? Now, Irish industries have two great difficulties which hamper growth. There is no coal; and the people, though they are quick to learn a new work, are also quick to tire of it. Some time ago there was an official inquiry into Irish industries; it was found that again and again the cause of failure had been that those who had learned how to do the work threw it up without warning, and that no skilled hands could be found to replace them. Three years ago there was a small pottery factory in the west of Ireland. It was only half alive. The people had been quick to learn the art; but when they had been taught, the best workers departed for America and better wages, while of the rest many were bored with the factory and went back to the familiar land.

The experiment of starting industries, carefully selected to suit the country and the character of the people of Ireland, is an experiment well worth making. Can it be made better by private enterprise, or by the rich Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or by the slender resources of Ireland alone?

An Irish parliament, even if it were composed of the wisest of men, of men long versed in public affairs, of men whose private fortunes enabled them to devote all their time and care to the study of the wants of the country, would yet find itself almost powerless to deal with the real malady of their country. They could not make a poor people rich. Little by little the change in the character and the growth of the knowledge of the people may increase the general prosperity; an honest change in land-tenure may help in time toward the same good end; the development of suitable industries may prove another wholesome influence; but with all and above all, in spite of all the efforts of all the legislators, the simple and obvious remedy, concurrent with the disease of Ireland, will still be emigration. A race rapidly increasing in a narrow island of moderate fertility will

continue to go outward across the seas to labor under happier skies, and to find a more generous reward for the labor; and surely those are not the truest friends of young and able Irishmen who would have them cling with all the strength and energy of their youth to the rock-strewn hillside which can scarcely feed their parents, when a world of happy chances is all before them where to choose.

JULIAN STURGIS.



## IMPEDIMENTS TO OUR DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

AT the close of the fiscal year 1886 the tonnage of the domestic shipping of the United States amounted to 2,939,252 tons. This was the tonnage of vessels exclusively employed in the home trade between our own ports. It is not possible to ascertain the exclusively domestic tonnage of other nations; but it is probable that our tonnage of that character exceeds that of any other nation; whereas the gross tonnage, foreign and domestic, of the United States, though far below that of Great Britain, is next in order thereto. The extent of marine and other waters upon which our home tonnage is employed, if not the first as compared with that of other nations, is certainly second. But among civilized nations our own holds a bad pre-eminence as regards the obstacles its statutes oppose to the free movement of the home mercantile marine.

It is proposed in the following article to set forth briefly certain of the complexities and inconsistencies of our laws, in so far as they are impediments to commercial intercourse and the free movement of vessels. For this purpose these laws are here considered in relation to the coasting or domestic trade. Some preliminary explanations are needed in regard to the legal classification of vessels and the limits of their employment. The term "vessel" is used in the signification given to it in Section 3 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

It is well known that in order that a vessel be nationalized, she must, in the language of the custom-houses, be "documented;" that is, she must be provided with a paper designating her ownership, denomination, place of build, tonnage burden, and home port. The object of such document is chiefly to make known, in whatever port she may enter, to what nation she belongs, and thus to secure the protection and consideration to which she may be entitled under international law; its presence

guaranteeing her right to sail the seas in honorable trade under the flag of her country, and its absence subjecting her to the suspicion of being engaged in unlawful traffic, or even piracy.

The navigation laws of this country were largely framed with reference to the character of the document or certificate of nationality a vessel may carry; and without an understanding of the scope of these documents many of the statutes are unintelligible. The first important step in our legislation regulating navigation was the Act of July 31, 1789, which divided the coasts of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico and a portion of the northern frontier into collection districts. In every district a port of entry was designated, and a collector of customs stationed there was to execute his functions within the limits of the district as prescribed by that statute.

The next step was the act of Congress authorizing the registration of vessels, approved September 1, 1789. This act recognized three classes of documents as nationalizing American vessels, namely, certificates of registry (commonly called registers), enrollments, and licenses; the distinction being by implication based upon the employment of the vessels either in the foreign trade, in the fisheries, or in the domestic trade, coasting or otherwise. It prescribed the form of a register, but none for enrollments and licenses. The minimum limit of enrollment was a tonnage burden of twenty tons; the tonnage burden entitling a vessel to a license without enrollment was fixed at a maximum limit of twenty tons and a minimum of five. The enrolled vessels were also required to have a license, under penalty, if engaged in the fisheries or trade without license, of paying such tonnage and entrance fees as were at that time imposed on foreign vessels.

A vessel enrolled and licensed could engage in trade between district and district or in the Bank or whale fisheries, but was explicitly excluded from foreign trade. Such a vessel, according to the character of her cargo, could trade between all the districts in one State and any State adjoining the State of departure without a permit; but for trading between a district in one State and a district in a State not adjoining the State of departure, a permit was required. A vessel under a license only could trade be-

tween all customs districts wherever located, without a permit. The license was valid for one year. Her privileges were greater under this act than those of an enrolled vessel. The failure to be provided with a permit entailed penalties on the masters of enrolled vessels both at the port of departure and at that of arrival. Thus a master, in deciding whether he could leave a port without being entrapped by the law, had to consider well the character of his document (enrollment or license), the State to which he was destined, and the quality or quantity of his cargo. And these questions recurred on every trip.

The third stage in this legislation was the statute of December 31, 1792, which re-enacted many of the provisions of the law of 1789, and amplified them, bringing together in one system all the requirements for the registration and recording of vessels, freed from complication with those relating to enrollment and license. This statute, with many additions from more recent statutes, re-appears in Title 48 of the Revised Statutes.

The fourth stage was the Act of February 28, 1793, which embodied in one system the regulations for the coasting trade and fisheries, and prescribed forms for enrollments and licenses. It deprived vessels licensed but not enrolled of their liberty of trading without a permit, and put them under the same restrictions that attached to enrolled vessels. It subjected to forfeiture all enrolled or licensed vessels engaging in foreign trade without a permit. It allowed registered vessels to trade between district and district, but required them to obtain permits for clearance and entry at every port of departure and arrival, also to pay fees three times the amount of those imposed on enrolled vessels of fifty tons burden.

The perplexities of the master of an American coasting vessel as to clearance and entry down to 1793, as they were created for him by law, are evident from the foregoing presentation. But the complexity of the statutes was enhanced by the legal establishment of great coasting districts. As the statutes stood in 1793, a coasting vessel, whether laden or in ballast, could not legally sail beyond the limits of one State and one contiguous State without obtaining a permit and paying a fee therefor; and she could not sail even over the marine breadth of two con-

iguous States without a permit, if her cargo embraced distilled spirits of home manufacture, or contained any one of sundry commodities in excess of a certain measure; for example, if her cargo contained more than 500 gallons of distilled spirits in casks, or more than 250 gallons of wine in casks, or more than 100 dozen of wine in bottles, or more than 3,000 pounds of sugar in casks or boxes, or more than 1,000 pounds of coffee in casks or bags, or more than \$400 worth of foreign goods in "packages as imported;" or of any or all of those commodities an aggregate value of over \$800. An excess of any one of them made it necessary for the master to obtain a clearance permit before leaving port, and the want of such permit subjected him to a fine of \$100 both at the port of departure and at that of arrival.

The creation of the great coasting districts seems to have had no other purpose than to allow a vessel enrolled, and carrying no excess of specified commodities or distilled spirits of home manufacture, to proceed somewhat farther without a permit than the marine breadth of two States lying contiguous on the Atlantic or Gulf of Mexico. How did Congress achieve this magnificent extension of the privileges of a coasting vessel? By the Act of March 2, 1819, it divided the Atlantic and Gulf coasts into two great districts, the first extending from the eastern limits of the United States to the southern boundary of Georgia, the second, from the River Perdido to the western limits of the United States, which at that time were defined by the western boundary of Louisiana—the Sabine River. Florida was included in neither district. The great districts included all the collection districts lying on the Atlantic and Gulf and on navigable rivers emptying into marine waters, except within Florida. The law allowed a vessel of twenty tons and upward, enrolled and licensed, to sail the whole length of a great district and into a State adjoining a great district without a permit, if she carried no excess of the goods above enumerated. But licensed vessels, that is, vessels of a burden not less than five nor more than twenty tons, if bound out of one collection district to any other not in the same or an adjoining State, were required to clear under permit and make formal entry whether laden or

in ballast. So that a licensed vessel, even if in ballast, could not enter Alabama from Georgia, or conversely, without a permit; but she could sail without a permit from Georgia to Florida, or from Alabama to Florida. This legislation went upon the assumption that the smaller the craft the greater was the probability of her employment in smuggling, and therefore the less should be the distance allowed her for sailing without being watched. We have an instance of the same legislative trifling in the clause of the Collection Act of March 2, 1799, which declared a vessel liable to forfeiture if she imported beer in a cask of less than forty gallons capacity, or if, being of a burden less than one hundred and twenty tons, she should venture to import refined lump or loaf sugar.

The treaty for the cession of the Floridas by Spain was pending at the date of the approval of the Act of March 2, 1819, and was not ratified by that country till October 24, 1820. The territory came under the control of the United States in 1821. But Florida did not become a State till March 3, 1845. The privilege of sailing into Florida as a State adjoining a great district was not legally available even to enrolled vessels for nearly a quarter of a century after the creation of the great districts. After the acquisition of the territory of Florida by the United States, Congress, by the Act of May 7, 1822, constituted it a third great district, "subject to all the regulations and provisions" of the Act of March 2, 1819, either overlooking the fact that this last-mentioned act could not be operative within her bounds while she was a territory, or anticipating her speedy admission to the Union. The third great district thus came to be located between the first and second. By the present operation of this act Georgia, Florida, and Alabama are the only States that can be regarded by the master of a coasting vessel as States adjoining a great district. In virtue of the Act of 1819, the annexation of Texas extended the second great district to the Rio Grande, so that Texas never was a State adjoining a great district. A singular practical absurdity grew out of this legislation. It permitted a vessel of twenty tons burden or upward, bearing no excess of cargo in any of the commodities enumerated, to proceed without a permit from any port on the Atlantic or Gulf

coast to a port in Florida, or conversely; but it obliged her, under liability to a fine, to make formal entry, with payment of a fee, on arrival in a port of Florida from any port in a State west of Alabama or north of Georgia. In the case of the schooner "Nantasket," of Boston, which in May, 1884, entered Pensacola, Fla., from Galveston, the collector of customs at the former port compelled the master to make formal entry. On appeal to the Treasury Department the collector's action was approved, on the ground that though the "Nantasket" might sail without formal clearance from Pensacola to Galveston, she could not legally arrive at Pensacola without formal entry, as Texas, which embraced the port of Galveston, was not a State adjoining the great district of Florida. To illustrate the absurd requirements of the law as it now stands, let us suppose the case of a vessel trading between Florida, the third great district, and either the first or the second.

If she be a licensed vessel and carry no excess of specified commodities or distilled spirits of home manufacture, she can sail from any port in Florida to any port in Georgia or Alabama, or conversely, without a permit; that is, without a formal clearance from the port of departure, or formal entry at the port of arrival. If she carry distilled spirits as described, or any excess of those commodities, she must clear from every port of departure and enter every port of arrival, whatever her destination, whether within or without a great district. If she be an enrolled vessel, and carry no distilled spirits of home manufacture, nor any excess of the specified commodities, she can depart from any port in Florida to any port in Georgia or Alabama without a permit; but without such permit she cannot sail beyond those States west or north. Georgia and Alabama, being States adjoining a great district, fix the limits of her movements while so laden. Conversely, with the same conditions as to cargo, she can depart from any port on the Atlantic to any port in Florida, or from any port on the Gulf of Mexico to any port in Florida without a permit to clear; but she could not arrive at any port in Florida from a port in a State further northward than Georgia or further westward than Alabama without being required to make formal entry. The same enrolled vessel, what-

ever her cargo, cannot sail from a port in Florida, as already hinted, further westward on the Gulf than Alabama, or further northward than Georgia, without a permit. It will be seen from this illustration that the question of a clearance permit in trade between the great districts is in some cases determined by tonnage burden, or license, in others by the vessel's destination, and again in others by the description and quantity of her cargo.

While the legislation of the country subjects coasting vessels on the eastern and southern marine coasts of the United States to these minute, complex, and embarrassing regulations, no explicit law has yet been passed governing their movements between the nine collection districts lying on the Pacific and the Columbia River, between the Straits of Fuca and Mexico. From the terms of Section 4,371 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, it may fairly be presumed that the provisions of Title 50 of those statutes, regulating the movements of coasting vessels, govern the movements of the same class of vessels between those districts. If so, any excess of commodities enumerated in Sections 4,359 and 4,351 of that title would require, even of an enrolled vessel transporting such excess, entry and clearance at every port. A special section, 4,358, of that title applies the system of great districts to the trade between the same districts and Alaska. But a vessel licensed and not enrolled is not entitled to its privileges. The operation of Section 4,371 of Title 50, accordingly, is to place the movements of coasting vessels of less than twenty tons burden sailing between the collection districts of the Pacific, south of the Straits of Fuca, on the same footing with vessels exceeding that tonnage. The privileges of the two classes of vessels, as has been shown, are, however, very different on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

While coasting vessels are subject to unlike systems of legal navigation on the Pacific on the one hand, and the Atlantic and Gulf coasts on the other, they are subject to a third system on the northern frontier from the River St. Lawrence to the western extremity of Lake Superior. Through all the lake region no discrimination is made between vessels in the privileges of navigation on the ground of the documents carried, the character or quantity of cargo, tonnage burden, or the distance sailed. Why

is not this simple system applied to all vessels in the domestic trade of the United States, whether plying on fresh or on marine waters? Simply because the laws regulating the movements of vessels have been a gradual growth during ninety-eight years. New regulations were enacted as they were locally needed, with no idea in the legislators of creating one homogeneous national system. The result is a piece of legislative patch-work. The legislation of the world may be challenged to produce a parallel in complexity, obscurity, and incongruity to the laws of the United States governing the coasting trade. This state of things is largely due to the adoption of three descriptions of documents for the nationalization of vessels; to the legal recognition of three kinds of trade, the foreign, the domestic, and the fisheries; to the creation of great coasting districts, and to the requirement of clearance permits and entries. Let us consider a few possible remedies for the existing confusion. And first as to the documents.

Certificates of registry are restricted to vessels employed mainly in the foreign trade, except on the northern frontier east of the collection district of Montana. On that frontier enrollments and licenses are valid for the foreign trade, but are not valid if vessels sail from waters on that frontier by sea into a port in the first, second, or third great districts on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Registers and enrollments are valid as long as a vessel's ownership is not changed by sale or other legal transfer, or she is not captured in war, or not forfeited by violation of law. Licenses are valid for a year, unless for special causes they have a briefer period.

There is no real need for three different kinds of nationalization documents. Licenses can be dispensed with by allowing small vessels exceeding a fixed burden the same privileges as to distance sailed as are given to enrolled vessels. No enrolled vessel should be required to take a license, and a license subserves no purpose that cannot be effected by an enrollment. The register and enrollment should be retained, to discriminate between the employment of vessels in the foreign or domestic trade; and the enrollments of the northern frontier should be valid on the marine coasts of the country and on all rivers en-



tering into the ocean, whether a vessel reaches the ocean by inland or by marine navigation. All coasting vessels should be put on the same general footing with respect to clearance and entry and their manifests of cargo, as is now the case on the northern frontier. The discrimination of the kinds of employment of vessels may be preserved, as the forms of certificates of registry and enrollment can easily be adapted to them after licenses are abolished.

The collection districts were constituted primarily to define the limits within which a customs officer shall collect duties on goods; and next, to supervise the movements of vessels in domestic trade. The great districts are an addition to the ordinary collection districts for the purpose of discriminating in the distance to be allowed for sailing without a permit when vessels are differently documented. The requirement of clearance permits, entries, and manifests, except for securing statistical data and the prevention of smuggling, is not needed for a vessel confined to the domestic trade. The distance she sails in this trade, whether one mile or a thousand, is for those objects of no consequence. The great districts are simply an embarrassment to commerce. They should disappear. Clearance permits and entries are needed chiefly as means for the supervision of the movements of vessels and of the disposition made of their cargoes, and as an inseparable incident to such supervision comes the requirement of manifests. The object of a manifest is to show the description and quantity of the commodities of a vessel's cargo, with the names and location of the shippers and consignees. If not delivered to a customs officer at a port of entry or delivery it is of no value as furnishing data for statistics. And yet on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts the law requires no delivery of manifests unless a cargo embrace distilled spirits of home manufacture, or a certain excess quantity of wine, sugar, and imported goods; or unless the cargo be destined to a port not within the limits of a given great district, or of a State contiguous thereto. Of the commodities carried from port to port on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, not a quarter, even if entered on manifests of coasting vessels, ever comes under the inspection of a collector. When a clearance permit is required a manifest

of cargo must be presented, and a manifest must be delivered where an entry is to be made. In cases where clearance and entry are waived the collector rarely sees a manifest. Even for statistical purposes our system of coastwise manifests is a failure, not exhibiting even the measurable quantity of commodities transported. The statistics of the French coasting trade exhibit the quantity, description, and approximate value of the goods transported annually in the home trade between home ports.

The system of clearance permits, entries, and manifests cannot, however, be dispensed with, if government is to retain any oversight of the domestic commerce carried on upon our lakes, rivers, and marine waters. But that supervision should be so conducted as to obstruct as little as possible the free and rapid interchange of commodities by water transit. Especially is this true when so large a portion of our commerce has passed from the slow-moving sail vessels of ninety years ago to the swift steamers of to-day. The value of the commodities transported in the domestic trade by steam vessels is nearly three times that transported by other vessels. In 1886 the tonnage of steam coasting vessels was about eighty-one per cent. of that of all other coasting vessels.

Thus, then, the need for amendment of the navigation laws affecting the coasting trade is apparent. More than once Congress has empowered commissioners to codify and simplify these statutes. The last commission was appointed in 1866, but when the result of its labors was embodied in a bill, the Congress then sitting was too near its expiration to give adequate consideration to its provisions. For twenty-one years since that date the mercantile marine has borne with the absurdities of the existing statutes without a murmur; its grievances ought to be redressed without further delay.

DARIUS LYMAN.

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