

being. This idea is not confined to Socialists or radical labor leaders. It is held, more or less vaguely, by a large part of the community; and this fact gives strength and countenance to a great many schemes of reform which fail to meet expectation when brought to the test of practice.

Of all such schemes, the most promising has been that which is known under the somewhat indefinite name of coöperation. It is a plan which has undeniable merits. It tends to reduce the antagonism of classes, to educate the workman in habits of forethought, and to give him self-respect and independence. Men like John Stuart Mill have looked forward to its application with the highest hopes. It is of great interest to compare these expectations with the actual result. This we are now able to do. The Johns Hopkins University, as our readers are aware, has recently published a series of studies on coöperation in different parts of the United States, by men like E. W. Bemis, Albert Shaw, and C. H. Shinn, which are now collected into a single volume. As a contribution to industrial history, this book is of the very highest value. It gives us a sufficiently broad basis of fact to judge of the conditions under which coöperation will succeed or fail.

What is coöperation? Holyoake has defined it as "an industrial scheme for delivering the public from the conspiracy of capitalists, traders, or manufacturers, who would make the laborer work for the least and the consumer pay the most for whatever he needs of money, machines, or merchandise." This definition, it will be observed, assumes that the capitalists have "conspired" to accumulate unjust profits, and is intended to cover almost any scheme for redistributing them. Practically, the name is applied to three distinct things:

(1.) An arrangement by which the consumers manage the business and divide the profits—distributive coöperation.

(2.) An arrangement by which the employees choose those who are to manage the business—productive coöperation.

(3.) An arrangement by which the employees participate in the profits of the business—profit-sharing.

The conditions which decide the success or failure of an experiment in distributive coöperation are comparatively simple. Such an enterprise has the advantage of being fairly sure of its custom; it can therefore dispense with wasteful advertising and still more wasteful credit. If managed with the same ability as an old-fashioned store, these things should give it an advantage. In England the conditions were such as to give that advantage. Old trade methods were so bad that coöperative stores were able to sell cheaper. In America such instances of success were exceptions. The 500 councils of the Sovereigns of Industry, established a dozen years ago, have left but few survivals. The Patrons of Husbandry have fared better; but even here the percentage of failure was very great. It is the same story everywhere: the men to whom the funds were intrusted were found wanting in the necessary ability or character.

The cases of productive coöperation and of profit-sharing are more complicated. It may readily happen that the feeling of independence in the one case, or of personal interest in the other, is an actual source of added efficiency. This is the testimony of some who have tried it. Anything which thus increases the efficiency of the work, especially if it tends to prevent strikes, is a powerful source of advantage to all parties concerned. Unfortunately, the experience of the Brewsters in 1872 showed that the system of profit-sharing did not prevent strikes. There are few instances of good results to offset this signal failure. Only one case—that of the Pillsbury Mills at Minneapolis—can be described as a distinct and continuous success. Most manufacturers have found that loyalty and efficiency on the part of their hands can better be secured by personal consideration, steadiness of employment, or promotion, than by a half-understood system of supplementary dividends. The more complicated an industry is, the more fully does the truth of this statement appear.

But what of productive coöperation on the part of the hands themselves, where they choose their own managers, with or without a system of profit-sharing? This has been more frequently tried, with some marked instances of success, particularly among the shoemakers of Massachusetts and the coopers of Minneapolis. It is subject to two dangers. It is a question whether the operatives will choose as good a manager as the stockholders of a corporation; and it is also a question whether he can enforce as good discipline among those on whom he depends for his place. The first point is the more serious of the two. It is often hard for workmen to realize the value of the services of a responsible and efficient manager. They are not willing to pay for them; and this false economy too often wastes many times the money which it saves. The industries which lend themselves to productive coöperation are those of comparatively simple character, where the connection between the efficiency of the labor and its results is most obvious, and where the necessities for organizing power and speculative foresight are reduced to a minimum. But the importance of such industries is growing every day relatively less.

We have thus far considered coöperation solely from the standpoint of efficiency and economy as a matter of business. There are certain other things to be taken into account, especially its work as an educator. As far as it teaches workmen about the responsibilities and use of property, it has a most powerful influence for good upon them and upon the community. As far as it leads them to become possessors of property, the result is still more noticeable. The success of the building associations and coöperative banks has been largely due to this fact. But this very success is fatal to the pretensions of those who advocate the coöperative principle for its own sake. It is not by altering the machinery of distribution that it succeeds, so much as by educating men to take advantage of the existing machinery.

There are three forms of coöperation in which the percentage of success has been large—building associations, creameries, and mutual-insurance companies. The first leads its members to become property-owners; the second and third are directed by men who already own property. The success in these cases, so far from proving that the direction of industry should be taken out of the hands of capital, proves that the owners of capital are competent to direct it. Success here, contrasted with the percentage of failure elsewhere, shows the large importance of having responsible men in control, and the relatively small importance of any particular form of machinery of distribution. It is not new methods of distribution that we want, but education in the best and most efficient use of our powers. It is not as a machine, but as an educational force, that coöperation seems to promise success—not because it will enable leaders of labor to become leaders of industry, but because, as soon as those leaders are tried in the latter capacity, they are subjected to a test which only the fittest can survive.

SCHOLARSHIPS OPEN TO WOMEN AND GIRLS IN ENGLAND.

THE growth of the modern English system of scholarships in aid of the higher education of girls dates from 1853, in which year Queen's College, London, was incorporated by royal charter, and the body of professors, out of their private means, founded eight "perpetual" scholarships. About the same date senior scholarships for girls were provided out of the Reid Trust, created by Mrs. Reid, founder of Bedford College, London. As years went on, further pecuniary assistance was given to the higher education of girls; but it is only during the last eighteen years, *i. e.*, since women have obtained a participation in the advantages of university education, that the great development of the system of scholarships has taken place. There are now not only a large number of scholarships designed for women, but also many for which women may compete on equal terms with men. With respect to each kind our readers will want to know something as to annual value, period of tenure, the colleges at which and the conditions under which they may be held; and, in the case of scholarships derived from endowments, what means have been adopted by the founders to secure the ends desired. Estimating a scholarship of £50 per annum tenable for three years as being worth £150 in the year in which it is awarded—and excluding from our consideration the numerous scholarships for the encouragement of music and the fine arts—we find that in different ways a total of £6,500 is given annually in England in scholarships and exhibitions for women and senior girls. Of this about a third is interest derived from endowments; actually a fourth of the whole is drawn from the surplus revenues of Girton and Newnham Colleges, in scholarships tenable at these colleges; a fifth is given annually by the London City Companies, and the rest is due to the liberality of individuals able to subscribe towards scholarships to run a certain number of years.

Girton College, Cambridge, though it has only three perpetual scholarships, is by far the richest college as regards the value of scholarships, as much as £2,000 being given annually

on the results of its entrance examinations alone, and about £450 more in connection with local university examinations. All scholarships to Girton College are tenable for three years, the length of the college course. Newnham College ranks next, and accounts for £1,500 a year. Mrs. Sidgwick writes: "Our scholarships are rather variable in total amount, and in the way they are awarded, and in the length of time they are held; sometimes scholarships being gained by students in the middle of their course, sometimes small ones superseded by larger ones, etc." It is a notable difference that while at Newnham a great deal of pecuniary help is given in the way of small exhibitions to students who are already in residence, and whom it is thought specially important to assist, with the Girton authorities it is a principle that whatever is to be done in aid of a student shall be fixed at the time she enters on residence, in order that her mind may not be disturbed during her course by uncertainty on this head.

Most of the scholarships in the gift of the Newnham Council, whether derived from foundations or given by the London City Companies or by Newnham College itself, are awarded on the results of the Cambridge Higher Local Examination; the performance, if any, in the preceding year being taken into account. The halls at Oxford give their scholarships in connection with their respective entrance examinations—Somerville Hall about £400 annually, and Lady Margaret's Hall £200; these halls have as yet no foundation scholarships. The old non-residential institutions, Queen's College and Bedford College, London, award in scholarships £330 and £460 per annum respectively. The average value of the scholarships being less than in the case of residential colleges, a proportionally greater number of scholarships can be given with the same annual expenditure. These two colleges are the richest of all in "perpetual" scholarships, Queen's College heading the list with eleven. Scholarships to the value of £270 are attainable by pupils of the North London Collegiate School for Girls, this sum including the "leaving" scholarship given by the Clothworkers' Company, and the Platt scholarships, tenable either in the school or at any college approved by the Governors.

Then there are the Gilchrist scholarships, those with which we are here concerned having a total annual value of £415: one of these may be held either at Girton or Newnham; the others are tenable at any "collegiate institution approved by the Gilchrist trustees." There are also the Harkniss scholarship for the encouragement of geology, and scholarships at South Kensington to promote the pursuit of natural science. The Catherine Winkworth scholarships at University College, Bristol, are noteworthy as the only examples of scholarships for women only which are in the gift of the council of a mixed college. The newly founded St. Dunstan's Exhibitions of £100 a year for three years are derived from an ancient trust; three are to be given annually to girls under nineteen, and resident within the metropolitan area. These exhibitions are, for the purpose of enabling the holders to fit themselves for any profession, and are tenable at any place of higher education approved by the Governors.

As to the scholarships for which women may compete on equal terms with men, they are tenable at the following colleges:

At University College, London... £700 per annum
At the Colleges of the City and
Guilds of London Institute... 620 per annum
At Yorkshire College, Leeds... 450 per annum
At Owens College, Manchester... 270 per annum

At University College, Liver-
pool... £270 per annum
At University College, Bristol... 240 per annum
At Mason College, Birmingham... 170 per annum
At University College, Notting-
ham... 14 per annum

—in all, over £2,700 per annum in scholarships for one and two years. The above-mentioned provincial colleges mostly give young men and women equal chances.

With respect to the conditions imposed on the holders of scholarships, great variety prevails, but the points most commonly taken into consideration are: (1) Need of assistance, (2) proficiency, and (3) course of study intended.

(1.) In many cases exhibitions are only awarded to those who are unable to defray the cost of higher education. The Girton Council, however, prefers the plan (which experience proves to be judicious) of advertising as the value of a scholarship a less sum than is really available, together with a notice that the scholarship will be augmented in the case of a successful candidate who could not otherwise afford to accept it.

(2.) A common stipulation is, that a scholarship will not be awarded unless due proficiency is shown; in the advertisement of the St. Dunstan scholarships it is stated that the award may be determined either by aggregate merit or by special proficiency in given subjects. In the case of some scholarships there is a provision that if there are candidates of almost equal merit, the scholarship may be divided between them.

(3.) A common condition is, that the holder of a scholarship shall read for honors (subject sometimes specified), and in addition to this the Gilchrist trustees require, before the payment of each instalment of the scholarship, a certificate of the diligence and satisfactory conduct of the scholar. The St. Dunstan Governors require of a candidate recommended for an exhibition a definite statement of the course of study she desires to pursue in preparation for the profession which she selects. The Council of Newnham College stands alone in requiring to be satisfied, before awarding a scholarship, that the candidate's state of health is not such as to prevent her from profiting by a systematic course of study.

Founders of "perpetual" scholarships have adopted some one of the three following methods to secure their ends: (a) To establish a trust fund for scholarships to be administered by a body of trustees independent of any college; such trusts are the Gilchrist Trust, the Reid Trust. (b) To establish a trust for scholarships tenable at a certain college to be administered by the authorities of that college as trustees. (c) To pay the principal into the general fund of some selected college, in order that the college authorities may establish in perpetuity a scholarship under given conditions. The last of these plans is generally chosen when it is desired to help a young institution which perhaps wants money for building; also, in making small foundations, it saves the creation of special machinery. This latter advantage can be claimed for the second plan, whereas the first is that best calculated to promote education in general, since the trustees can at their discretion make any scholarship tenable at a particular college, or leave the scholar free to choose any genuine place of higher education, and can, when required, vary the conditions under which any scholarship is held.

With respect to the class of women and girls availing themselves of scholarships, it is mostly those who would without scholarships be unable to afford the cost of higher educa-

tion; most come from the professional class, some from that of upper tradesmen; almost all who take scholarships look forward to earning their own living. To the best of our knowledge, no case has occurred in the women's colleges in which a wealthy student has won and accepted a scholarship. Certainly wealthy students are comparatively rare among women, but it is also noticeable that there is, up to the present time, a better tone among women than among men undergraduates in the older universities with respect to scholarships: the women do not look upon a scholarship in the light of a prize won, or a reward for something already accomplished, but regard it as a means to help them to still higher work—trust money that they are bound in honor to turn to good account.

An account of the scholarship system in England would not be complete without mention of the strong opinion entertained by one of the leaders in the cause of women's education, Miss Beale of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, as to the danger incurred in founding scholarships tenable at particular colleges. Miss Beale accuses schools and colleges, in many cases, of "seeking to establish a reputation by securing exceptional talent," or by appropriating the honor of the training given by the labors of others. Miss Beale speaks of such scholarships as "neither more nor less than bribes to parents to consider not what is intrinsically the best place of education, but to send their boys or girls to special places," and has herself consistently refused offers of foundation scholarships in connection with her college. The attachment of scholarships for boys to particular colleges has notoriously produced the evils Miss Beale deplors, and when we read in the report of an educational institution for women a plea for the gift of scholarships on the ground that "these are needed to bring students of ability, as well as those who cannot come without assistance," we are impressed with the importance of Miss Beale's warning. That scholarships are urgently required in aid of those who without such help could not afford the cost of higher education is a fact that calls for recognition; and it might be Quixotic to expect of colleges giving scholarships out of their surplus revenues that they should make these tenable at any college for higher education of acknowledged merit. Surely, however, individual founders of scholarships might, in general, adopt the third mode of foundation described, and thus realize to the best of their ability the earnest hope expressed by Miss Beale, that those who want to do real good with their money will give it to enable the recipients to obtain the best education *wherever* it is to be found.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENT BY PARLIAMENT.—I.

LONDON, May 25.

"We are no longer quarrelling about the character or about the conduct of men, or the tenor of measures; but we are grown out of humor with the English Constitution itself." These words formed part of a speech on Parliamentary reform long before the French Revolution; they were adopted just sixty years ago by Macaulay as a text on which to deliver a homily about the changed feeling with which the generation who carried the great Reform Bill regarded the unreformed Parliament. The words of the Whig statesman and the comment of the Whig reviewer possessed in 1828 a real significance; they signified that the optimistic belief in the perfection of English institutions which is permanently recorded in the pages of Blackstone, had passed away; that the Consti-