

ble change in the proportion of negroes to whites in this section, although in the last ten years there seems to have been a very large negro emigration from other States into Illinois and Indiana. In the North Atlantic group, the negroes constituted numerically a more important part of the population in 1790 than they have ever done since. For nearly three-quarters of a century the proportion they bore to the entire population steadily declined, and in 1860 it was not half as great as it had been seventy years before. In this part of the country no such sudden increase of negro population followed emancipation as took place in the Northern Central section. From 1860 to 1890 there was no substantial change in the proportion of negroes to whites. In the last ten years the number of the former in New York and Pennsylvania, and in some of the other States of the North Atlantic section, has greatly increased, and the negroes are now relatively more numerous in this section than they have been at any preceding period for more than half a century. They do not even now, however, constitute so large a proportion of the inhabitants as they did in 1840 before the great rush of European immigration set in. The figures for the three Northern groups show that so long as slavery lasted, the proportion of negroes to the total population of the free States grew less and less, and that since emancipation the tendency has been in the opposite direction.

When we pass to the Border-State groups, we find that in each of them the relative numerical importance of the negro population increased for the first four decades; that is, from 1790 to 1830. During this period the increase of the white population of the Eastern Border States was but small. There was then a large white emigration from those States to the South, to the West, and to the Northwest. It was at that time that southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were settled, principally by natives of Virginia and Kentucky. The business of shipping Virginia and Kentucky slaves southward had not then attained the magnitude it afterwards reached. Since 1830 there has been a steady decline in the proportion of negroes to the total population of the Border States. The slight increase shown in the table in that proportion in the eastern Border States between 1870 and 1880 was doubtless due entirely to the defective enumeration in 1870. From 1830 to 1860 the negro population of the border was depleted by the sale of slaves South. Between 1845 and 1860 an appreciable portion of the foreign immigrants to this country, then so numerous, found their way to the more northern of these States. It was at this time that there grew up a so-called "Limerick" in Baltimore and a great German city in St. Louis.

Since the war the foreign-born population of these States has received constant accessions, while the Border-State negroes have moved in considerable numbers to the Northern States and in a less degree to the States further South.

In 1860 slavery still existed in six of the original thirteen States. Four of the six are in the group of Eastern Border States. In 1790 these four States contained more than two-thirds of the entire negro population of the country. The steady decline for nearly three-quarters of a century in the relative numbers of the negro population of these States proves how unnecessary in their climate negro slavery ever was. How different the history of the country would have been had no negro slaves ever been brought into them! How unfortunate it was that the Ordinance of 1787 could not have been extended to the territory southwest of the Ohio and subsequently to Missouri. There can be no question that to-day the Border States would have been more wealthy and prosperous, and doubtless would have contained a larger population, if slavery had never been established in them. If they never had been slave States, their negro population at this time would probably be relatively little more numerous than is that of the North Atlantic States. As it is, the negro problem in all the Border States is steadily becoming, in fact, less important, no matter how much agitation the politicians of those States may for their own purposes now or hereafter stir up. Substantially the same thing may be said as to the Southwestern group. Although the negro population of Arkansas has for many years increased faster than the white, it still numbers less than three-tenths of the whole.

Since 1870 the proportion of negroes in the Southwestern group as a whole has steadily declined. The negroes now number little more than one-fifth of its entire population. It is only in the Southern group of States that the negroes are so numerous that they can be regarded by even the most prejudiced of sensible men as in any aspect a source of possible danger. For eighty years, from 1800 to 1880, they steadily gained in numbers upon the whites. In the last-named year, out of every one thousand inhabitants of these States, five hundred and nineteen had African blood in their veins. So long as slavery continued, or the economic and industrial conditions resulting from slavery remained substantially unchanged, the whites became relatively less and the negroes relatively more numerous in both the Southern and Southwestern groups of States. This was not due to any greater rate of natural increase among the negroes of these States than among their white inhabitants, for probably the reverse was the case. In the country as a whole, the negro rate

of natural increase is as great as that of the whites, but it is as great because, while it is less than that of the Southern, it is greater than that of the Northern whites. While slavery lasted, the failure of the superior race in the South and Southwestern groups to maintain its relative proportion of the population was due to the constant emigration from those States of the more active and enterprising of the non-slave-holding whites. Had slavery not been abolished, it is probable that the negroes would have continued to gain. The tide turned when manufacturing and mining industries began to spring up in the South on a large scale. Home employment for the surplus white population was thus created. The negroes now constitute a smaller proportion of the population of the Southern group than they did twenty years ago. This is true not only of the group as a whole, but of five of the six States which compose it. It is significant that Mississippi, the single exception, is the very one of those States in which there has been least of that industrial development which we have in mind when we speak of the "New South."

A CENTURY OF THE EVENING POST.

As merely to have lived through the Reign of Terror was achievement enough for Sieyès, so a newspaper, when asked what it has done in the course of a hundred years of continuous existence, might simply reply with the French abbé, "I have lived." But a century of life for an institution means something different from what it does for a man. Dean Swift once broke out violently, as Sir Walter Scott relates, when some one spoke in his presence of a certain "fine old man." "If the man you speak of," cried he, "had either a mind or a body worth a farthing, they would have worn him out long ago." But a centenarian newspaper is not open to that reproach. The processes of decay which go on in the human organism as age increases are, in an institution, continually made good by the processes of repair. Just as the individual withers but the world is more and more, so the successive editors of a daily journal pass away only to leave it flourishing in perpetual youth.

Yet it is perhaps more strikingly in a newspaper than in any other form of collective activity persisting from generation to generation, that the power and impress of strong personality abide. Editors live in their successors, as ancestors do in their descendants, whether the latter will or no. The unconscious formation of a newspaper's style is seized upon by Walter Bagehot, in his 'Physics and Politics,' as an excellent illustration of the way in which a type is created. "A certain trade-mark," he writes, "a curious and indefinable unity,

settles on every newspaper." How the thing is done he explains by a story of the founder of the *London Times*, who replied to the query why all the articles read as if written by one man, "Oh, there is always some one best contributor, and all the rest copy."

It is an honorable line of "best contributors" to which the *Evening Post* can point in the persons of its editors from 1801 down. There may have been more vivid personalities connected with the American press; other names may suggest more of sound and fury; but what other newspaper numbers, among those who have shaped its policy and wielded its leading pen, men whose names stand for so much of culture and power and fire and integrity as do those of William Coleman, William Leggett, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, John Bigelow, Carl Schurz, and Edwin L. Godkin? Of marked diversity of gifts, these editors of the *Evening Post* were one in devotion to the highest standards in journalism and in public life. All of them helped to give to their newspaper a certain tone which was recognized by Charles Sumner when he wrote to John Bigelow in 1850, "I cannot forbear expressing the sincere delight with which I read your paper. Its politics have such a temper from literature that they fascinate as well as convince."

Bryant, of course, was the editor who most closely fixed, in the public mind, the association of the *Evening Post* with literature. It was as "The Man of Letters," not the editor, that he was commemorated in its columns, after his death, by Edmund Clarence Stedman. But there were other brave writers, both before and after that Agamemnon. Of the anti-slavery writing in the *Evening Post* in 1835-37, done by William Leggett, an historian of the time says that it was a "really noble series of editorials"; and Bryant himself paid tribute to the memory of his brother-editor, by writing of him after his untimely death:

"The words of fire that from his pen
Were flung upon the fervid page,
Still move, still shake the hearts of men,
Amid a cold and coward age."

As for the pen of Mr. Godkin, which so lately ceased to adorn the pages of the *Evening Post*, what newspaper ever matched it for satire that read like a page of Swift's, for Olympian humor, for fearlessness and fervor, for clarity of moral perception, and for a broad acquaintance with the best that has been thought and done in the world's history, brought to bear upon the endless and apparently petty problems of the day which confront a writer for the day?

A man has mingled feelings, remarked Phillips Brooks, when he walks through a gallery of his ancestors. Their fame is his, yet not his, unless he reproduces and continues it. To its editorial ancestors the *Evening Post* paid on Saturday its just acknowledgments, joining

reverence to those who are dead with greetings to those who are still among the living, and ending with the devout hope, *Sicut patribus, sit Deus nobis.*

ousting AN ITALIAN TAMMANY.

If ever the appeal to the ballot looked hopeless, it was in the case of Naples, and news that the political Camorra was defeated last week by a narrow majority will surprise not only general students of municipal problems, but the Italians themselves. Conditions had seemed too bad to be immediately remedied. More than a year ago the Italian Government was forced, by the accumulating proofs of corruption in Naples, to suspend the municipal government and to place the city in the charge of a Royal Commission of Inquiry. The bulky report of this Commission, which was recently published, gives what should for the future remain a veritable encyclopædia of municipal pathology.

The situation was not one to encourage reformers. Unscrupulous political leaders had been allowed to grow into great power, because they were necessary, or made themselves appear so, to the success of the national parties. The infamous Casale and Summonte may have seemed as necessary to Giolitti's leadership as Croker seemed indispensable to Mr. Bryan's canvass. The Commission of Inquiry followed the matter further, and found that the voting-lists were scandalously stuffed, and that, short of a popular uprising, the candidates of the Camorra could always be counted in. The business of the city was found to be in frightful disorder. In many departments no pretence of adequate bookkeeping had been made, and the heads were only able to say that the money had been spent in some unexplained fashion for the good of the city. Wherever the Commission followed the city's transactions with holders of franchises, or its conduct of public utilities, it found evidences of wastefulness and of corruption. Light, water, and traction companies paid tribute to the machine; the Department of Sanitation showed the same taint. There was no doubt about the disease; the question was as to the cure.

To many it was discouraging that the Commission made no positive recommendations. Conservative editors deplored the fact that the prosecutions which must follow the exposure could be undertaken only after considerable delays. Many feared that the decision to hold a city election in November, and to restore the control to a demoralized people, was at least premature, and might turn out to be disastrous. There were, in fact, many reasons for fearing that the political health of the city had been so completely sapped that the power of reaction was lost. If the political abuses of Naples are of the kind which

we know in most of our American cities, the relation of the machine to the average citizen is of a sort not only to despoil, but to humiliate. Imagine a condition of things where one may not discharge a Camorrist servant without incurring threats and personal peril; where the agents of the "High" Camorra may demand to inspect your books, so that you may be mulcted intelligently on the basis of your profits. A terrorism which in the worst days of Tammany was chiefly directed against the vicious, the miserable, and the poor, has been in Naples systematically employed against the well-to-do; so that to arouse civic courage to revolt against extortion was vastly more difficult in Naples than it was in New York.

Believing that the whole community was honeycombed by the system or blackmailing, many of the North Italian journals feared that a great mistake had been made in appealing to the voters. It would have been safer, they felt, to keep the city under the Commission until the voting-lists had been thoroughly revised, the bosses tried and punished, and a better public spirit aroused. From this prudent, if rather timid, opinion the Committee dissented utterly, and, whether moved by questions of ministerial expediency or by a sole regard for the matter in hand, held to the decision that the city must settle its own political future—and promptly.

The result will show to doubters that it is unwise to think too meanly of the people. The victory over the Camorra, it should be noted, was won in the normal way, by a non-partisan coalition which had frankly no other aim than to "destroy an historic organization." To this end, parties as different as Socialists and Monarchists, as Catholics who had long abstained from political activity and the members of the influential Merchants' Association, who had long suffered from the blackmail system, all united. Against this improvised movement the most desperate efforts of the bosses failed. That it was an heroic cleaning up, those who have fought longest against our Tammany will be freest to admit. Such a victory gives hope to all who are working for decent civic housekeeping. Even Philadelphia need not despair of shaking off her present unenviable distinction of being the worst governed of civilized cities.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY AT PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, November 15, 1901.

The National Academy of Sciences has just closed here one of the most successful of its autumn meetings, and one of the most agreeable and interesting as to its reception. It met on Tuesday forenoon, November 12, in Houston Hall, which is the general students' club of the University of Pennsylvania. The first paper was a biographical notice of the late Dr. Gent,