

rather than that of a teacher of sociology or of ethics; and it is as a work of fiction that "Marcella" will make its mark. Unless we are mistaken, it will go far towards putting its writer beside George Eliot.



## Woman Suffrage

If the women of the State of New York do not wish to assume the responsibilities of the suffrage, it is high time they bestirred themselves to say so. For the women who do want the ballot are naturally enthusiastic; the women who do not want it are naturally apathetic; and a little enthusiasm is more than a match for a great deal of apathy. The women suffragists are, quite properly, pushing very vigorously to get signatures to their petition for the extension of the suffrage; the women who do not want to vote are, naturally enough, staying at home and paying little or no attention to the matter. Under these circumstances thousands of signatures are attached to the petition by persons who do not consider seriously the effect of the political revolution which would be involved if the petition should be granted. The unwisdom of conservative opposition to this movement has, moreover, greatly strengthened it. It has been gravely argued that women are incompetent to vote; this has been asserted in an age and country which confers the ballot on thousands of foreigners and millions of negroes who cannot read the ballot put into their hand. The ballot is treated as a kind of symbol of citizenship; the deprivation of it as a denial of equality. Women are told that by that deprivation they are classed with idiots, the insane, criminals, and children. All this stirs their resentment, as it ought to do. Educated women demand the ballot, not because they really want to vote, but because they want this symbolic and official recognition of their competence and character. Meanwhile the men, who have to decide this question, are waiting to see what the women want. Convince the voters of this State that the women want the ballot, and it will instantly be given to them. Few husbands would deny it to the wife if she wanted it; fewer sons to the mother. The question is really one for the wives and the mothers to determine.

The danger is that it will be determined by the enthusiasm of the few and by the apathy of the many. If all the women who want to vote sign the petition, and all the women who think they want to vote because they want a recognition that they are competent to vote, add their signatures, and, finally, all the women who are influenced by the other two classes to sign it without serious consideration of the duties which granting this petition would entail upon them, add their names, it is not at all improbable that the array will be so formidable that, in the absence of any petition upon the other side, the Convention will be inclined to grant the request, and the unconcerned wives and mothers will wake up some morning to find themselves required to add the problems of the State to their other problems, and the duty of independent and intelligent participation in voting to their other duties. If the women whose instincts lead them to anticipate with regret such an issue do not wish it forced upon them, it is time they were organizing in an anti-suffrage association and presenting a counter-petition. Otherwise they cannot complain if the Convention takes their silence to mean consent, and imposes on the sex a duty from which it has hitherto been exempt.

In our judgment, then, the women of this country can no longer treat the woman suffrage question with indifference. They can no longer regard it as the pet notion of a

few impracticables, who afford a harmless entertainment to the public by a purely doctrinaire agitation. The question of woman suffrage is fast becoming, if it has not already become, a practical question. The anti-slavery crusade and the Civil War created in women an interest unfelt before in questions of state, and educated them to think thereon. The temperance agitation has continued this interest and awakened in many women a desire to vote; for they imagine—we think erroneously—that if they could vote to close the saloons the saloons would be closed. They forget that it would also be necessary for them to elect District Attorneys and Judges, and determine the complexion of juries, both grand and petit. The degradation of the schools, which have been made a means of political preferment, has added another element of fuel to this agitation by furnishing another motive to women to desire the suffrage. The desire is eager, earnest, enthusiastic, high-minded. And the women who do not believe that the advantages of woman suffrage would counter-balance the disadvantages, who treasure their present exemption and desire to be exempt in the future, or who have never really given the subject any serious consideration, are brought by the present condition of the problem to a point where they can continue their indifference no longer, but must seriously consider the issue for themselves and their daughters, and determine whether their influence shall be cast for or against the extension of the ballot. The time is already at hand when no influence is practically an influence in support of the movement.



## Professor Robertson Smith

The death of Professor William Robertson Smith, last week, which came as a surprise to the many students of his books on this side of the Atlantic, was not an equal surprise to those upon the other side, for he had been for a considerable time in failing health. He was at the time of his death Professor of Arabic in Cambridge University; to this post he was elected after the severance of his connection with the Free Church College at Aberdeen for his advanced views on Biblical criticism. The history of his heresy anticipated and resembled, in the essential principles involved, the famous case of Dr. Briggs. Like Dr. Briggs, he was professor in a Presbyterian theological school; his theological opponents could not await the slow process of trial for heresy, and endeavored, as did the opponents of Dr. Briggs, to remove him by more summary process. The conditions were different in the two schools, and in the end the endeavor succeeded in Scotland and failed in America. The contrast is curious. Dr. Robertson Smith was in 1880 acquitted by the Scottish General Assembly, on the charges of heresy, by a vote of 299 to 292, though the acquittal was accompanied by an admonition to caution, but in 1881 he was removed from his chair by the Assembly without a trial; *per contra*, Dr. Briggs remains in his chair, thanks to the ecclesiastical and financial independence of Union Theological Seminary, although he has been convicted of heresy by the American General Assembly.

The views of the Old Testament held by both these eminent scholars are essentially the same. They deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and hold that substantially the entire Old Testament history is composed by an editing of previous documents, and contains much unhistorical matter. It is a curious and interesting illustration of the rapid progress of thought in even so conservative a body as the Free Church of Scotland that the views which

fifteen years ago threatened to divide that Church, and are stamped as heretical by the American General Assembly, are now held by eminent clergymen in the Free Church of Scotland without hazard of reputation. They underlie the popular commentary on Genesis by Marcus Dods, who was tried for heresy but acquitted; and are incorporated by Dr. Bruce in his "Apologetics" in a form quite as radical as was suggested by either Dr. Robertson Smith or Dr. Briggs. The thorough scholarship of Dr. Robertson Smith, his devotion to the truth, his consecrated earnestness, and his constructive temper have never, we think, been called in question; on his trial the purely theological question, Is it legitimate for a Presbyterian minister to hold the modern view of the Old Testament as literature? was not mixed up with any personal or factional prejudices, as was the case, unfortunately, in the later American trial. There are no books in the English language better fitted to give the Bible student a clear and comprehensive idea of the Old Testament, as viewed by modern scholarship, in distinction from the traditional scholarship, than Dr. Robertson Smith's two admirable monographs, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" and "The Prophets of Israel."

That such a man should have been put on trial by his Church, which ought to have honored his spirit and welcomed his investigations whether they accepted or rejected his conclusions, will always be a blot on the history of Scottish Presbyterianism, if not on that of English Protestantism.



## Utilizing Our Failures

Every man or woman who feels the responsibility of making the best use of opportunities, and who has high standards of work, feels at times a great depression from a sense of falling below the level of occasions and of doing the worst when the occasion called for the best. It happens very often to such persons that, after the most thorough preparation, the performance falls lamentably below the aim and leaves behind it a sense of utter disappointment. This humiliation of spirit, which is the lot at times of all sensitive people who care more for their work than for themselves, may either become a source of weakness or a source of strength. It is the evidence of the divine possibilities of life that the defeats of to-day may be made the forerunners of the victories of to-morrow, and that the consciousness of failure may become in itself a new element of success. It was said of Peter the Great that he learned the art of war at the hand of his enemies, and that he was taught how to win victories by suffering a long and discouraging series of defeats. To say this of a man is to pay him the very highest tribute. As a student in the great school of life, it is to credit him with that openness of mind, that forgetfulness of self, and that absence of personal vanity which characterize the true learner in any field. For failure, if it comes through no fault of our own, drives us back upon our hold on ultimate aims. It makes us aware how variable and uncertain is our own strength, and it teaches us to rely, not upon ourselves, but upon the greatness of the things with which we identify ourselves. A great object persistently pursued has power to unfold a noble out of a very commonplace man or woman, and to develop an almost unsuspected strength out of a mass of weakness. The shocks to our pride drive us out of ourselves into the greatness of the causes which we espouse; and the defeats which we suffer, if we take them aright, confirm us in our loyalty to the things for which we fight.

It is painful to fail when we have made every preparation to succeed; it is humiliating to produce an impression of weakness when we wish to make an impression of strength; but the supreme thing in life is to get our work done and to make the truth which we love prevail; and if the discipline of failure can be made to work for this end, it is a discipline neither to be dreaded nor to be avoided.



## Editorial Notes

—New York City spends \$4,000,000 on policemen, as against \$3,400,000 on school-teachers. It is now proposed to increase the salaries of policemen.

—The International Medical Congress just begun in Rome has thousands of delegates in attendance. Who will question the health of Rome this winter?

—The three present-day euphemisms for the "world," the "flesh," and the "devil" are, said the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker lately, "society," "environment," and "tendency."

—Our friend "The Evangelist" notes the receipt of a letter from Rome, dated February 13, written by a "young man who that day entered his ninetieth year." Mr. David Dudley Field is this man of young heart and youthful imagination, and one envies him not more his opportunities at Rome than the vivid and vigorous power of enjoyment which he has retained.

—The "Morning Star" of Rockford, Ill., offered to the Ladies' Union Aid Society, a local philanthropic organization, the entire profits of one issue of the "Star," provided the work were wholly done on that issue by women without editorial experience. As a result the Society netted over \$400, and the people of Rockford got an excellent paper.

—The Massachusetts House of Representatives has passed a bill giving municipal suffrage to women, but at the same time providing that the suffrage question must be submitted to the new electorate. If this curious bill becomes law, it will furnish the nearest approach to a referendum of the suffrage question to the sex most concerned; but as only the women who do vote will be polled as to whether they want to vote, the test is hardly a scientific one.

—It seems singular, but the popular demand for the tariff speeches delivered in Congress seems to be as great this year as heretofore, one hundred thousand copies of several speeches having been circulated. The present demand, however, does not, as heretofore, come chiefly from the country districts. It is perhaps worthy of note that upon this question, as upon the temperance question and the slavery question, the popular awakening was first in the "backwoods."

—It is a matter of sincere regret that Mr. Chanler, the last and youngest of African explorers, should have been compelled to turn back from Galla and Somali Lands, that vast region of ninety thousand square miles, bounded on the north by Cape Guardafui and the Abyssinian highlands, and on the south by the River Tana. Though for centuries trading ships have touched along the Somali coast, yet we have next to no knowledge about the interior uplands.

—The census bulletin on the National wealth states that the present average exceeds \$1,000 a head, or \$5,000 a family. As this is four times as great as at the beginning of this century, ex-Mayor Hewitt is reported to have urged that it is just that much easier for a poor man now to become rich than it was formerly. If men could become rich only by getting property which belongs to other people, the deduction would be correct; but we hardly think that ex-Mayor Hewitt would urge that people become rich in that way.

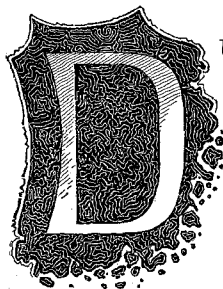
—The considerate way in which charity is often administered has been illustrated many times during the past winter, but we recall no more extraordinary illustration than that afforded by one charitable society which has been distributing free provisions. The wagons of this philanthropy (bearing its name conspicuously) drive up in front of a tenement-house and the driver roars out: "Flynn! Flynn! Come down and get your groceries." Very likely Flynn does not know that he is receiving charity until the neighborhood is thus apprised of it. If Flynn is pleased, it must be because he is proud of the rôle of pauper.

—While in many ways retrenchment is necessary at Washington, both in new legislation and in routine appropriations, we hope that the estimates for Indian education will not be disproportionately reduced. During the past seven years the increase in the number of pupils in Government and contract schools has been nearly fifty per cent.; and a still more remarkable fact is that this augmentation has been effected in the boarding-schools, which are, of course, far more expensive than day-schools; in addition, there are now twenty training institutions. For not only must the Indian child be taught to read and write and to speak English, but also how to work and live.



## Social Experiments in New Zealand

By A. G. Fradenburg



**D**URING its brief history as an English colony, New Zealand has, perhaps, seen more interesting experiments in State activity than any other country in the world. Some of these experiments are in the direction of State Socialism; more of them cannot be said to be Socialistic in the strict sense of the term, as they have been undertaken in order to aid and increase private enterprise. This growth in State activity has been due principally to the superior credit of the Government over individuals or companies. British capitalists were slow to advance funds to distant companies, but the credit of the Colonial Government has been excellent. The idea has also been prominent that the Government should undertake certain enterprises which could not promise to be remunerative at the start, but which were essential to the growth and development of the Colony. It has unquestionably been the prevalent opinion in New Zealand that the State is more than an organization for the purpose of government, and that it can properly undertake many enterprises which are commonly carried on by individuals. As a result, most of those industries which are included under the term "natural monopolies" are operated in New Zealand by the Colonial Government or by the municipalities. The State has also successfully been invoked to change social conditions by various means, especially by taxation. This extension of State activity is called by its opponents, in England and New Zealand, Socialism; its friends call it "Liberalism," or "New Liberalism." There has been no thought in New Zealand that they were really moving toward Socialism; much less has there been any conscious effort in that direction. Mr. Arthur Clyden, in a recent lecture before the National Liberal Club in London, said of this movement: "I should describe it as a supreme attempt by old-world victims of bad government to prevent a recurrence of the evils in their new homes by boldly radical legislation. . . . No taunt of 'grandmotherly legislation' for one moment deters them from the resolute exploitation of the strong arm of the law for their protection against every oppressive force, whether of capital or class interest." Sir Robert Stout, a leader in New Zealand politics, is of the opinion that "the strong individualistic wave" has spent itself, and that "the grand institution of the State could be, and ought to be, utilized for the uplifting of the race;" and he adds, "No one could stop the great wave of what they called 'Socialism' if they liked." Even Lord Onslow, who opposes this extension of State activity and calls it State Socialism, says: "The example of New Zealand shows us that the mere performance by the State of undertakings hitherto performed only by individuals, or associations of individuals, need cause neither private wrong nor public loss, so long as sound commercial principles are observed and full compensation given for injury."

In the early days of the Colony public works merely kept pace with spread of settlement, but in 1870 came the "public works and immigration policy," which provided for public works in advance of settlement. Under it about ten million pounds were borrowed from English capitalists and expended in the construction of roads and railroads in all parts of the Colony, the extension of telegraphic lines, the encouragement of immigration, the purchase of native lands, and the supply of water to the gold fields. The demand for railroads and public works caused the original proposals to be departed from, and a far greater sum was expended. Up to March 31, 1893, a total of £26,736,974 had been expended under this act. The expenditure on directly reproductive works has been £16,813,839. These works were not undertaken so much for the sake of gaining revenue as for social purposes.

The construction of railroads by the Government is interesting in this connection. Up to 1872, when operations under the public works policy were commenced, there were but sixty-five miles of railways in operation. In 1893 the Government had in operation 1,886 miles of railway, constructed at a cost of about £7,812 per mile. This includes both the expenditure on lines built by the Government and the price paid for purchased lines. Many lines have been constructed by the Government for the purpose of opening up new territory, when it was certain that they must be operated at a loss for many years. Mr. Pilcher, Secretary of the Railway Commissioners, says: "The advancement of settlement, the opening up of new country and increase of its productiveness, the provision for the employment of large numbers, the cheapening of transit both for goods and passengers, and many other items, must all be reckoned as value obtained for the expenditure, in addition to the mere monetary returns; and if this is done, the net gain to the Colony, due to the public works policy, must be generally admitted."

The railroads, too, have yielded considerable revenue. The gross earnings for the year 1892-93 were £1,180,522; the net earnings were £449,830. At the present time there are but 150 miles of private railways in New Zealand. The expenditure for telegraphs and water-works in the gold fields has been made for similar reasons, and these works have yielded a fair profit to the Government, but they will be passed over in order to give space to some more novel, if not more interesting, experiments.

About two years and a half ago the Government established the Bureau of Industries, its object being to assist laborers in finding employment and to aid local industries. The central office is in the Government Building at Wellington, and in each of the large towns is a branch office. Police sergeants and constables act as agents in the rural districts, and are required to send regular reports to the central office regarding the requirements of workmen and employers. Any person can gain information as to wages, market, etc., in any part of New Zealand by paying a visit to any office of the Bureau. New arrivals in New Zealand can at once find where their services will be in most demand, and workmen out of employment can easily learn whether they can get work in another part of the Colony. This great Government employment bureau has done good service, and is looked upon as absolutely safe and reliable. Its services are offered free of charge. During the year from April 1, 1892, to March 31, 1893, the number of men put in the way of getting employment by the department was 3,874. During the first twenty-two months of its existence 6,467 men were assisted in finding work. When it is considered that the total population of New Zealand is less than seven hundred thousand, the great service done by this Bureau is manifest.

In 1869 the Legislature of the Colony provided for the establishment of the New Zealand Government Life Insurance Department. Prior to this time there had been numerous failures of foreign insurance companies, and residents of New Zealand had suffered heavily. The chief object of this Department was to provide absolute security for every policy. This security rests on the solid foundation of State credit, the Government guaranteeing full payment of all policies. The Department has from the first enjoyed remarkable prosperity. In August, 1893, the accumulated fund amounted to over two million pounds. All securities held by this Department are in New Zealand property, and the Department does no business outside of New Zealand. At the end of the year 1892 the Government Insurance Office had 30,316 existing policies, insuring a gross amount of £16,036,220.

Another public institution peculiar to New Zealand is the Public Trust Office. This was established in 1872, in order to secure a convenient recourse for persons in New