

made known that it was largely owing to Mr. Chambers's broad-mindedness and tact that this arrangement had been accepted by both parties. They all hoped it might prove successful. It was a great experiment—some of their friends thought it a very hazardous one, but at any rate he for one hoped it would be successful. The vote was carried.

"Mr. Hewlett [mine-owner] said he should like to move a vote of thanks to their Vice-President, Mr. Pickard. He was sure Mr. Pickard had had hard work, and had conducted it with as great skill and ability as he always did his work. He also wished to thank the gentlemen on the other side of the table for the cordial way in which they had met the coal-owners, especially on the last two occasions. He thought and he hoped that they had got a new era before them, and that they would get along a great deal better than they had done.

"Mr. Dennis [mine-owner] seconded the vote, which was carried."

When representatives of employers and of trades-unions meet each other in this spirit, treaties for a prolonged peace can take the place of incessant hostilities.



Question and Answer

What should be the attitude of the Church toward the agitation and organization which we see at present among workingmen? Your reply is to be read to a body of day-laborers.

J. M. R.

We cannot give a categorical reply to your question. Strictly speaking, the Church should have no special attitude toward workingmen's organizations, any more than toward any other organizations. What should be its attitude toward life insurance companies? boards of trade? bar associations? The organizations of workingmen differ in radical principle in no whit from these and other organizations of an industrial and commercial character. The Church has to do with them only as in their activity they represent or embody some moral principle. The same may be said respecting workingmen's agitation. Some phases of that agitation deserve approval; others reprobation. The Church cannot deal with workingmen as such; it can deal only with men and with great moral principles equally applicable to all classes. But there are some truths which the Church should teach, and which have a direct application to the labor problem.

Workingmen have a right to organize for the promotion of their interests. This right is now generally conceded, but if it is ever assailed or denied, it should be defended by all righteous and fair-minded men, whether within or without the churches.

These organizations should be formed, not for purposes of war, but for purposes of peace. It may be necessary for such labor organizations sometimes to engage in a conflict with an organization of capitalists, in order to protect the rights of the workingmen. But an organization formed for the purpose of carrying on such a conflict is essentially vicious in principle. One function of the Church is to teach men how to settle their difficulties without conflict, and it should be one object of the Church to teach both workingmen and capitalists, both employers and employed, to settle their controversies by some other and better method than the barbaric one of strikes and lockouts. The influence of the Church, therefore, should be in favor of conciliation, compromise, and arbitration.

There are two causes which operate to prevent men from getting a comfortable and adequate livelihood: one, defects in their own character or in the personal character of their employers; the other, defects in the character of the social organism, such as unjust taxation, favoritism in legislation, and the like. The prime object of the Church should be to promote those virtues in character which tend to produce an equalization of temporal conditions

and to give men an adequate livelihood. It should endeavor to develop industry, sobriety, the spirit of justice and kindness, a greater eagerness on the part of both employers and employed to know and do their duty than to know and win their rights. This is its first work. Subsidiary to this is its duty of bearing witness against forms of social and organized injustice, which, entangling alike employer and employed, make justice impossible.

These are very general statements; but the answer to your question must be a very general one. There is no specific panacea which the Church can adopt and insist that the community shall adopt. Its work is more radical. Its aim must be to develop such a spirit in both employers and employed that they shall desire to do justly by one another. When this is the predominant desire, and not before, labor difficulties will be solved. It is an old saying, "Where there's a will there's a way." It is the first function of the Church to create this will. That done, the Church may largely leave those who are engaged in industrial organizations to find the way.



Mr. Crooker's Second Error

Following our comment in *The Outlook* for the 26th of May, we desire to call the attention of Mr. James F. Crooker, Superintendent of Public Instruction for New York, to another of his errors. In a circular recently issued by him to further prejudice taxpayers against higher education, as costing too much, the salary list of the Department of Public (or Elementary) Instruction (exclusive of Superintendent and deputy) is given as \$15,900. The salary-list of the Regents' department (called the University of New York, in charge of higher education) is printed as amounting to \$43,251.19. The facts are that in 1893 the salaries paid the officers on the official register of Mr. Crooker's department amounted to more than \$50,000, and the average salary paid by that department was more than \$2,400, or three times as great as the average salary paid in the Regents' office. Furthermore, under the appropriations for 1894 the salary-list of the Department of Public Instruction will be more than \$60,000.

If in our educational systems there is one principle more than another to be insisted upon, it is that schools should be totally dissociated from politics. The present issue in New York State has its lessons for the educational system in every other State in the Union. Here, as wherever there are inadequate appropriations towards higher instruction, the jealousy is greatest on the part of the common-school workers. On the ground of economy Superintendent Crooker pleads for a relinquishing of the present dual system, and that the power over what is left of higher education be given him as the head of common schools.

First, as to economy. Mr. Crooker is emphatically right in saying that the proper support of the elementary schools is the primal duty of the State. It may be easily shown, however, that the comparatively insignificant amount appropriated by the State for secondary education is of more practical benefit to the elementary schools themselves than double that amount appropriated in any other way. The following table of educational appropriations by the State for primary and higher education will show how comparatively insignificant are the amounts appropriated for the high schools and academies, in which most of the teachers are prepared for elementary schools. The total appropriation for higher education, including the State Library Museum and the free libraries throughout New York State, amounts to only \$230,600, or less than the

appropriation of \$235,800 to the normal schools, which do not furnish more than one-tenth of the teachers for elementary schools.

EDUCATIONAL APPROPRIATIONS BY THE STATE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Regents' office.....	\$21,000
Examination department.....	21,500
For apportionment to academies.....	106,000
Total.....	\$148,500
State Library and Museum appropriations.....	82,100
Grand total.....	\$230,600

Contrariwise, the State appropriations for elementary instruction, including the cost of reform schools and institutions for the deaf, dumb, and blind, as inseparably connected with any scheme of public education, were in 1893:

Support of common schools.....	\$3,500,000
Normal schools.....	235,800
Registration and trustees' reports.....	5,200
Teachers' institutes.....	30,000
Salaries of School Commissioners.....	115,500
Teachers' classes.....	60,000
FROM COMMON-SCHOOL FUND	
Dividends to common schools.....	170,000
Indian schools.....	6,000
FROM UNITED STATES DEPOSIT FUND	
Dividends to common schools.....	75,000
Department of Public Instruction.....	36,000
Deaf and dumb.....	221,250
Blind.....	85,000
Thomas Asylum.....	11,000
Juvenile delinquents.....	100,000
Rochester State Industrial School.....	100,000
Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-minded....	81,000
American Museum of Natural History.....	18,000

\$4,909,750

Moreover, the money distributed through the Regents to academies and high schools is repeatedly spoken of in Mr. Crooker's report as "diverted" from its proper channel, *i. e.*, elementary instruction. As a matter of fact, however, every dollar of it is expended as rightfully prescribed by law. Any other disposition of it would be diversion. But the Superintendent objects on *a priori* grounds to the deprivation of the primary schools of any of the public funds "for the purpose of enabling a favored few to study Latin and Greek and other advanced subjects." In his own recent reports he himself shows that it cost the State \$309,000 for the 7,842 pupils in normal schools, while for the 44,875 pupils of high schools and academies, as has been said, only \$106,000 is annually granted. Which of these two grants is in the interest of "a favored few"?

Now as to the dual system. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, elected by a joint ballot of the Legislature, generally owes his election to political influence. The Regents controlling higher education are twenty-three in number; they are elected in the same manner as are United States Senators, and they serve without salary. The present Board is composed of the most eminent citizens of the State, and instead of enlarging the political power of the Superintendent of Public Instruction we need rather to enlarge the economical, essential, and non-partisan work of the Board of Regents. We need to provide, either by a State university or by a system of scholarships available in universities already existing, an apex to our educational system such as is provided by the Universities of Michigan and Minnesota in those States. It seems strange that in these matters the East should be learning from the West.

The fortunes of politics affect our school officers from the Superintendent down. Instead of reforming higher education, we need rather to look at the incompetency of elementary instruction. How can it be otherwise since the licensing of five-sixths of the teaching force is acknowl-

edged by Mr. Crooker himself to be virtually in the hands of School Commissioners, men often untutored and unfit, for they are elected without any qualification of education or character, and solely from political motives? As shown above, these persons receive from the State \$115,500 in annual salaries. Inspectors of elementary schools are, indeed, necessary; but until some minimum of education is required in return for its outlay, the State may expect to secure such Commissioners as those instanced in a recent number of The Outlook—men who have not mastered the pronunciation or even the understanding of the simplest words.

Instead of abolishing the Board of Regents, we would give them power to elect the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and would make him amenable to them. A body over which George Clinton, John Jay, George William Curtis, and Anson Judd Upson have presided would surely prove at least as desirable electors of a Superintendent as would any partisan Legislature. The Regents would choose a man without the slightest regard to political affiliations, and with some regard to fitness for his work. This plan was unanimously approved at the recent meeting of the University Convocation, the most largely attended ever held, which voted to memorialize the Constitutional Convention to provide for the recognition in the Constitution of the Board of Regents as a constituent part of the organic structure of the Commonwealth, and to confer upon it the power to elect the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State.



Editorial Notes

—An honor is rarely more fitly conferred than will be the case when Professor S. P. Langley, the famous American astronomer and mathematician, receives the degree of D.C.L. from the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

—The "Western Recorder" says: "A man out West was fined \$5 for going to sleep in a court-room during a trial. What, then, ought to be done with one who goes to sleep in church during meeting?" Double the fine—and make the preacher pay it!

—The new President of France said not long ago in an address: "Those who enjoy a superfluity must form a larger idea of their social obligations, and resign themselves to assuming a somewhat heavier portion of the public charges, in order to relieve those who buy bread for their families with a daily wage." One feels the force of this when he reads of guardians asking a court to make an allowance of \$30,000 a year for the maintenance of two school children, as happened last week in New York.

—One of the millennial signs of the times may be found in the interchange of dispatches between the Chautauqua Assembly and the Plattsburg Summer School. In the name of the former institution, Bishop Vincent sent greeting and good wishes to the Plattsburg venture, and the Rev. Dr. Conaty immediately telegraphed in return, expressing great gratitude for the courtesy and many earnest wishes for the continued success of Chautauqua. How does the A. P. A. like this?

—The New York "Tribune," in Monday morning's issue, announces that four Populist orators were arrested for speaking at a political meeting Sunday night in Indiana, and in the same issue reports that a metropolitan clergyman preached that same Sunday night a sermon on the tariff, which it reports at some length. The Indiana Populists should have called their gathering a prayer and conference meeting. For apparently a political address delivered at a church service does not desecrate the Sabbath.

—Dr. Shaw's article upon Toronto in the August "Review of Reviews" shows that that city has protected the public in the matter of telephone rates quite as well as in the matter of street-car rates. According to the terms of the five-year contract made with the Bell Telephone Company in 1891, the maximum charge is fixed at \$45 a year for business houses and \$25 a year for private residences. Besides this, the Company pays into the city treasury five per cent. of its gross receipts. That these terms should be secured by the same city government that has reduced street-car fares to three cents to working people and two and a half cents to school-children shows at least that the climate of America is not fatal to healthful municipal life.