

Andrews excuses his conduct by saying that when it is necessary to get hundreds of men at a few hours' notice, the men to be already provided with tools, the only practical way is to resort to contractors. In reply to this, Father Bandini, of the San Raphael Benevolent Society, has offered to furnish hundreds of good laborers at short notice without charge. The whole "padrone" system is extremely vicious and undemocratic; its evils have been exposed again and again in the course of immigration investigations. Bad as it is in itself, it becomes doubly bad when joined with corrupt municipal politics. But the remedy for it is not by discontinuing or diminishing necessary public works, but by concentrating public attention on the political corruption and abolishing it.

The New York Legislature, after spending the usual amount of time over contested election cases, has begun to do some of the work for which it was elected. The Senate has passed a bill repealing the law enacted by the last Legislature taking away from the then newly elected Republican Mayor of Buffalo the control over the police and vesting it in Democratic officials. This repeal bill has passed the Senate by a vote of 20 to 11—one Independent and one Democrat supporting it. Another measure agreed upon by the Republicans is a ballot-reform bill, requiring that the names of all candidates shall be printed by parties on the same blanket ballot, and that no "pasters" shall be received. Both of these measures—that restoring the right of self-government to the people of Buffalo and that putting an end to the printing and distributing of tickets by the political machines—have the unanimous indorsement of the independent voters of the State, and Governor Flower imperils the future of his party if his veto shall defeat them. It is a great gain to the State that the independent Democrats have shown that they can vote independently.

GENERAL NEWS.—The letter from President Dole, of Hawaii, in reply to Mr. Willis's request for specifications of the charges made in Mr. Dole's former letters in regard to our Minister's conduct in Hawaii, has been published in this country; it is a long and very able presentation of President Dole's causes of complaint against Mr. Willis; Mr. Willis has replied with equal detail, taking up Mr. Dole's points one by one.—Yellow fever is reported to have broken out among the American merchant ships lying in the harbor of Rio Janeiro; a launch belonging to one of our vessels was fired upon by the insurgents, but the offending vessel promptly apologized and claimed that the action was a mistake; the insurgents are reported to have gained some victories in the Southern provinces.—A police raid was made in London last Friday on the Autonomie Club, and some seventy-five supposed Anarchists were arrested; the raid was occasioned by the death of a member of the club which is supposed to have been caused by the accidental explosion of dangerous chemicals which he was carrying on his person.—The American Peace Society has appointed a committee for the purpose of drawing up plans for an International Tribunal of Arbitration.—A Polish conspiracy is said to have been discovered in Warsaw.—A Paris court has ordered Dr. Herz to pay 600,000 francs to the creditors of the Panama Canal Company.—Reports from Austria state that the suffering among the poor there is very great, and that over 100,000 men are out of employment in the city of Vienna; similar reports come from Italy and Germany.—The steamship Paris, of the

American Line, was disabled by an accident to her rudder on her voyage from Southampton last week, and returned to Queenstown for repairs.—Police-Captain Price, of New York City, is being tried on charges preferred by Superintendent Byrnes.—If the people so elect next autumn, New York will be the second city of the world in population, London alone exceeding it with 4,231,431. Paris, now second, with 2,447,957, will be third. Canton, Berlin, Chicago, Tokio, Vienna, and Philadelphia are the only other cities requiring seven figures to express their population. They follow in the order named.



The Crime Against the Ballot-Box

The conviction in New York City of three election inspectors for conniving at fraudulent voting, and the conviction in Brooklyn of John Y. McKane, the Gravesend "boss," for aiding and abetting election frauds, and his sentence to six years in the State Prison, are encouraging to those who believe in popular government. These convictions have given very efficacious notice that the ballot-box cannot safely be tampered with; that corrupt politicians can never be so intrenched as to be sure that they can defy public sentiment; that the punishment may come when it is least expected. For in New York it is a Tammany District Attorney who has prosecuted Tammany inspectors; and in Brooklyn the Gravesend "boss" has been convicted in spite of the fact that the District Attorney's office was occupied by a patron of the Gravesend ring, who publicly approved the Gravesend races and prize-fights.

Gravesend—within whose boundaries are famous Coney Island and the infamous race-tracks—is a town given over to pleasure, some of it innocent, some of it vicious. It has for years been governed by a ring; at the head of this ring is John Y. McKane. "An army led by a council," says Professor Bryce, "seldom conquers; it must have a commander-in-chief, who settles disputes, decides in emergencies, inspires fear or attachment. He dispenses places, rewards the loyal, punishes the mutinous, concocts schemes, negotiates treaties. He generally avoids publicity, preferring the substance to the pomp of power, and is all the more dangerous because he sits, like a spider, hidden in the midst of his web. He is a Boss." This character-sketch may serve as a portrait of the Boss of Gravesend. He protected the race-track and the prize-ring. He secured immunity for the saloons. He helped to make Gravesend a resort of gamblers and prize-fighters and men of that ilk, and after a fashion promoted its material prosperity. He was loyal to his followers, and they were and still are loyal to him, despite his conviction. At the same time he was Superintendent of a Gravesend Sunday-school, and probably saw no incongruity in the double function of "boss" during the week and superintendent on Sunday. He had come to regard an election as a campaign; to think that "all is fair in war," and to act without scruple upon that devil's maxim. He cast the vote of Gravesend as he pleased. He made it in amount what he pleased. Men high in party negotiated with him for this vote. It was generally Democratic; once it was Republican; whichever it was, John Y. McKane determined both what and how much it should be. The inspectors of election were his loyal servants; the watchers for both parties were practically his appointees. All the safeguards of an election were abolished; they remained in form, but not in reality.

In the last election Mr. William J. Gaynor was nomi-

nated for Justice of the Supreme Court by the reform element in Kings County. There were personal as well as political reasons why Mr. McKane desired to defeat him. The election in the State promised to be a close one; the vote at Gravesend might determine it. The town of Gravesend had, by a census of eighteen months previous, a total population of 8,400 men, women, and children; the registry list of voters prepared for last fall's election contained 6,300 names. The entire population of the Second, or Coney Island, District was 1,603; the registry list of voters in that district was made to aggregate 2,465. Similar discrepancies, though not so great, had been passed by in silence in past elections. Past successes had emboldened the ring to more palpable frauds. But the reform sentiment at this election was aroused, earnest, aggressive; and Mr. Gaynor was familiar with election frauds and not a man to submit to them. The law requires the registry lists to be open to public inspection. He demanded the lists; they were refused to him. He sent copyists to the polling-places to make copies; previous copyists were on hand who monopolized the lists. He obtained a mandamus requiring the inspectors to furnish facilities for copying the lists. The mandamus was set aside because a previous demand had not been made on the inspectors. He sent men to Gravesend to make the required demand; they were set upon, arrested, and committed as vagrants. He obtained an injunction to prevent interference, and on Tuesday morning (election day) sent men to watch the polls. The injunction was disregarded and the men were hustled out of the town. Tuesday night came; substantially the total vote of Gravesend was cast as Mr. McKane willed; in Gravesend John Y. McKane was apparently victorious, William J. Gaynor apparently defeated.

Nor is it difficult to see how every step in this political crime necessitated the second step. If the registry lists had been made accessible, their fraudulent character would at once have been exposed and the inspectors of election would have been liable to arrest. If the mandamus had been granted, the registry lists would have been accessible. If the citizens who went to Gravesend to demand of the inspectors an opportunity to copy the lists, or to prove the simultaneous absence of the inspectors, had succeeded, the mandamus would have been granted as a matter of course. If the injunction order had been regarded, and the watchers been permitted to keep tally of the voters, the fact that there were no voters to correspond to the registry lists would have been proved beyond peradventure. The original frauds of years ago, insignificant in proportion, led on to larger and yet larger frauds, and the danger of detection and conviction to open violence.

But the publication in the daily press of the facts aroused public indignation. It made the Boss of Gravesend famous, not only from New York to Buffalo, but from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate. The whole country looked on to see what would be the result of this defiance of popular suffrage. The reform ticket was carried by overwhelming majorities. The Gravesend frauds, designed to insure the election of Judge Maynard to the Court of Appeals, contributed powerfully to his defeat. The District Attorney of Kings County was without power to help his political friend, even if he had had the will so to do. The Governor of the State appointed special counsel to conduct the prosecution. The bench was occupied by a Judge who, if he was, on the one hand, judicially oblivious of popular sentiment, was, on the other hand, free from all suspicion of political bias. Circumstantial evidence connected, by a concurrence of events, the Gravesend

Boss with the acts of his henchmen. He went upon the stand to testify in his own behalf, but, under the skillful cross-examination of Mr. B. F. Tracy, did his cause more injury than was done by any one witness for the prosecution. The jury, after an all-night session, found a verdict of guilty, overcoming the sentiments of pity of one jurymen by uniting in a strong recommendation to mercy, on account of Mr. McKane's previous good character.

We have no doubt that there is ground for this recommendation. "It must not be supposed," says Professor Bryce, "that the members of Rings or the great Boss himself are wicked men. They are the offspring of a system." For the system the American people should have no mercy. For the leaders in that system there should be condign punishment. But, in administering that punishment, the community may well remember that few men are guiltless; that some by direct participation in the frauds, others by indirect participation in them, still others by profiting by them without even a protest, and still others by apathy and indifference to them until they have assumed gigantic and threatening proportions, have aided in promoting if not in producing the system which has in turn produced the "boss." The conviction of the election inspectors in New York and of John Y. McKane in Brooklyn should be followed by a real and efficacious penalty. There is now every reason to hope that the sentence of the courts in these cases will be carried out. There is little apparent ground for appeal, and, we should suppose, little reason to expect a pardon in either of the cases. But these convictions should also be followed by a concurrent determination of honest men of all parties that in no election, no matter how vital the issues, how important the interests, or how great the provocation, shall political methods be allowed which involve any tampering with the ballot-boxes; and, whatever mercy is shown in the sentences in the case of these first convictions, none whatever should be shown to any man who, despite the warning, ventures to repeat the crime. For the crime against the ballot-box is a crime against free institutions, and treason to liberty, throughout the whole world.



A Lenten Meditation

We need to be continually carried back to the simplicity of religion as it is presented by the prophets of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Their simple ceremonies have been developed into an elaborate ritual; their simple laws into an elaborate code; their simple teachings into an elaborate theology. There would be no harm in this if these elaborate human structures had not been substituted for the earlier and simpler teachings, and acceptance of them treated as essential to a moral and religious life, to acceptance with the heavenly Father here, and to life with Him hereafter.

The religion of the Bible is very simple.

What does it require? "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" This is the divine code: justice, the law of conduct; mercy, the law of feeling; humility and reverence—for the two are one—the law of the inmost spirit.

But if one has not obeyed this law, what hope is there for him; what plan of salvation? "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."