The Outlook

A Family Paper

NEW SERIES OF THE CHRISTIAN UNION

Volume 49

For Week ending 9 June, 1894

Number 23



The Week

HERE are several new storm-centers in Europe, the most threatening being located in Servia and Bulgaria. We reported last week the second coup d'état of the young King of Servia. We have now to report something very like a coup d'état on the part of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who has dismissed his Premier, M. Stambuloff, and has summoned the leaders of the Opposition to assist him in organizing another Ministry. For the past eight years Stambuloff has been the real ruler of Bulgaria, and, on the whole, has ruled with great ability. He is the product of the new political era in the history of that country. He is independent, aggressive, patriotic, tyrannical in his methods, and, his enemies say, unscrupulous. Doubtless he has the virtues and the vices of a strong man developed under the political conditions which have obtained in Bulgaria during the last decade. He stands, however, for Bulgarian nationality, and for the steady and strong development of the Bulgarian people in harmony with the genius of the race. Under his Government there have been many arbitrary acts, but, on the whole, Bulgaria has made notable progress, and has maintained her independence in the face of very great perils. The policy of Stambuloff was distinctly anti-Russian. He has recently secured several concessions from the Sultan, and has been making a strong effort to obtain from that ruler the recognition of Prince Ferdinand as the rightful ruler of Bulgaria. Under the terms of the Berlin decree, which created the Bulgarian principality, the Prince must be confirmed by the Great Powers. Prince Battenberg, the predecessor of Prince Ferdinand, had this confirmation. Ferdinand has ruled without it, and in defiance of the provisions of the Berlin agreement. He is a ruler de facto, but not de jure. It has been a part of the anti-Russian policy of Stambuloff to secure the recognition of the other Great Powers. The exact cause of the difference which has led to the removal of Stambuloff cannot be known at this distance, but it is probable that Prince Ferdinand desires to rule on his own account, and that he has grown tired of the great ability, the superior force, and the autocratic manner of Stambuloff. The removal of the Prime Minister, who, in spite of his arbitrary measures, is popular with a multitude of Bulgarians, has been followed by serious rioting in Sofia and other places, and the situation is dangerous, not only because of the possibility of a general insurrection, but also because of the possibility of foreign intervention. A sudden blaze in Bulgaria might set the whole Balkan region aflame, and open what is known as the Eastern question in its most complicated phases. The chief assurance of peace lies in the wellknown pacific disposition of the Czar of Russia.

We have reported from time to time the progress of the Civil Marriage Bill in Hungary, and the importance and

significance of the measure. The bill, having passed the lower body of the Hungarian Parliament, was some time ago presented to the Upper House, or Table of Magnates, and rejected. The same bill was presented again to the Lower House recently and passed by a majority of 166. It was then presented again to the Table of Magnates, and that body rejected it by a majority of twenty-one. The House or Table of Magnates is composed of about 340 members, a considerable number of whom do not, as a rule, take any part in the discussions, and are rarely present at the sessions, 280 being about the maximum number even on important occasions. The routine work of the House is usually carried on by about seventy members. From the first the clergy have strenuously opposed the new measure, which, as we have already explained, deprives them of a great deal of power; among the majority in the Chamber of Magnates against the bill were twentyseven prelates of the Catholic and Greek Churches, and these ecclesiastics are held responsible by the people for the defeat of the bill. The Emperor was strongly urged by the Hungarian Ministry to create a sufficient number of Magnates to overcome the opposition to the bill, and upon his refusal the Hungarian Premier, Dr. Wekerle, resigned. The Emperor summoned Count Hedervary, the Ban of Croatia, to form a Hungarian Ministry, but it is said that the Count insisted, as a preliminary condition of entering upon his difficult task, on the acceptance of Dr. Wekerle's entire programme of ecclesiastical reforms. As we go to press no ministry has been formed. The Emperor, it is reported, was willing to authorize the nomination of three life members of the House of Magnates, and also willing that the Ministry should make a public announcement of the Imperial judgment that the Civil Marriage Bill is a political necessity; but he refused positively to overturn the majority in the Upper House by creating a large number, of hereditary legislators. The fight over the Civil Marriage Bill is in reality a conflict between the progressive and the conservative elements in Hungary, the feudal aristocracy being, as a whole, arrayed against the popular will.

The late French Premier, M. Casimir-Périer, resigned the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to become the head of the Ministry, and now in turn M. Dupuy has resigned the same position to accept the same responsibility. Very few French statesmen have had a larger experience than M. Dupuy. It was from the Premiership that M. Dupuy passed to the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, and a long public life and many positions of responsibility and trust have fitted him for the exacting duties which fall to the lot of the French Premier. Without being a very original man or a constructive statesman of great power, M. Dupuy is a man of courage, decision, and long political experience. His courage was demonstrated beyond doubt on the day when the Anarchist bomb was exploded in the Chamber of Deputies, and the Presi-

dent, with the utmost calmness and serenity, instantly controlled the natural excitement which pervaded the Chamber, and continued the conduct of the business without flinching and with no appearance of nervous apprehension. That moment gave M. Dupuy a new hold upon the imagination of France; it is said that when the news of the incident reached the French troops in Africa, one of the regiments made him an honorary corporal as a tribute to his courage. Like his predecessor, M. Dupuy is a candidate for the Presidency, and will be hampered, as was M. Casimir-Périer, by the complications in which that aspiration involves its possessor. Aside from the Premier, the new Ministry—the thirty-third in the history of the present Republic-contains no men of prominence, and nothing is anticipated from it except the conduct of the business of the Government from day to day. Nothing else may be looked for until the election takes place in November.

æ

One significant fact in connection with the new Ministry is the pronounced antagonism to England of its five leading members. The late Premier made himself as disagreeable as possible to England, and the new Premier is believed to be quite as unfriendly. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Hanotaux, is a pronounced antagonist of English occupation of Egypt, a strong advocate of French rights in Newfoundland, a supporter of the French protectorate over Siam, and an ardent representative of the idea of French expansion in Africa. Under ordinary circumstances the anti-English sentiment in the French Cabinet might not mean very much, but the new Cabinet is organized at the very moment when the agreement between England and Belgium with regard to Central Africa gives the French a new grievance. The publication of the terms of the agreement has been followed by an outbreak of anger and disgust in France. England's occupation of Wadelai is significantly followed by the treaty with the King of the Belgians, and the two steps are indications of a distinct intention on the part of Great Britain to take what it can of the fertile lands of the Upper Nile region. The new treaty with the King of the Belgians (who, as an individual, is the real owner of the Congo Free State) gives to him the west side of the Nile from Albert Nyanza to Khartoum, while England acquires a strip of Congo land from Uganda to Tanganyika, connecting her East and South African possessions. Against this treaty France has already entered her protest, and it is rumored that even Germany disapproves; but Lord Rosebery has plainly intimated an intention of firmly holding his ground. France has been extremely aggressive of late in Africa, and in some points has fallen into a position of unfriendliness to the Congo Free State. A French military expedition has been sent to the Bahr-el-Ghazel part of the Egyptian Soudan, and seems to be looking covetously toward Emin Pasha's old province, while the Congo Free State has already a garrison in Lado in that province. Thus France, England, and the King of Belgium are all three trying to gain a footing in the long-abandoned Soudan, and the union of the latter two looks as if complications with France might ensue.

*

The Senate made comparatively rapid progress with the Tariff Bill last week, and has reached the sugar schedules. The only important change made in the compromise measure under consideration was the placing of lumber on the free list. This important amendment was demanded by Senator Allen, of Nebraska, and was accepted by the Democrats as the *sine qua non* of Populist support. One

of the Populist Senators further demanded that all taxes on furniture be removed, but this proposition was supported by only the three Populists and by Senator Irby, of South Carolina, and Senator Martin, of Kansas, both of whom owe their position to Populist or Farmers' Alliance support. The sugar schedules now reached furnish the critical point in the Senate's disposition of the Tariff Bill. The most noteworthy speech yet made upon the sugar schedules was that of Senator Sherman denouncing the concessions made to the Sugar Trust. Public interest, however, centered in the proceedings of the Investigating Committee rather than in those of the Senate. The disclosures made last week were more important than heretofore. Senator McPherson, a member of the Finance Committee, frankly admitted that not only had he speculated in Sugar Trust certificates before their value became the subject of legislation, but also that when he disposed of his holdings he transferred them to his son. Secretary Carlisle admitted that he had drafted sugar schedules at the request of the Committee, but stated that they were not adopted by the Committee. It appears, however, that the changes made in them were nominal rather than real. There was no evidence, however, that the recommendations so advantageous to the Sugar Trust were in payment for campaign contributions, and Secretary Carlisle stated that he was informed that in point of fact the Sugar Trust made no such contribution.

₩

In the House of Representatives the chief question under consideration during the past fortnight has been the repeal of the Federal tax upon the issue of State bank notes. The Republicans and the Populists, of course, are a unit against the proposed repeal. The Republicans would restrict the issue of money to the National Government and the National banks, while the Populists would restrict it to the National Government alone. The Democrats are divided. Chairman Springer, of the House Committee on Coinage, represents a large section of Western as well as Eastern Democrats in opposing repeal. In his speech at the opening of the debate he brought out sharply the fact that the power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof" was given by the Constitution exclusively to the National Government. The States were not only forbidden to coin money, but also were forbidden to issue bills of credit. To permit organizations created by the State to exercise powers denied to the State itself is in spirit, if not in letter, a violation of the Constitution. So much of our business is inter-State that we need money of the same value in all the States. Repeal the Federal tax upon State bank issues and there will soon be forty-four different kinds of currency. Southern Democrats alone seem to be strongly in favor of repeal. Mr. Lawson, of Georgia, who made the first speech in its favor, set forth the principal arguments used. He declared that the State banking system would provide a National currency possessing the confidence of the people of the entire Union, and quoted Daniel Webster in its favor. He did not, of course, quote the leading Democrats of Webster's time, nearly all of whom favored hard money issued by the General Government more strongly than the Whigs favored paper money issued by banking corporations. Mr. Lawson attacked with great violence the National banking system, and demanded that the National Government should break loose from its disastrous partnership with banking corporations. Just why National banks of issue should be so iniquitous, and State banks of issue so praiseworthy, Mr. Lawson did not explain. As to the Constitutional question, he declared that the National tax upon State bank notes was itself a violation of the Constitution. So

far as we know, the only authority for this statement is the Democratic platform adopted at Chicago, and we had thought that that authority was no longer recognized by any faction of any party.

The coal-miners' and gold-miners' strikes seem no nearer settlement than a week ago. The proposition that the coal strike should be arbitrated by the Governors of the States most concerned fell through, and the Illinois Conference at Springfield was so poorly attended that no action was possible except adjournment. The Conference at Springfield was merely to determine proportionate rates for the northern and southern districts in Illinois. Its failure was chiefly due to the fact that the President of the Consolidated Coal Company—the largest combination of coal corporations in the State—absolutely refused to recognize or treat with organized labor. In Indiana the lawlessness on the part of many of the strikers continues, and the unwillingness of citizens to serve as peace officers has made it necessary for Governor Matthews to call out the militia. The foreignborn miners, though the slowest to join trades-unions or to strike, are everywhere the first to resort to violence. In Indiana the lawbreaking was chiefly confined to the picketing of one of the railroads to prevent the passage of coal trains. In Colorado the gold-miners at Cripple Creek have gone further. Men have been killed, property has been destroyed, and the whole district about the mines has been placed under a kind of martial law. President Slocum, of Colorado College, went to the mines to effect, if possible, an amicable settlement. On his way he was stopped by several sentries before he reached the leaders of the strike. He was well received, and the miners professed themselves ready for arbitration. When, however, a telephone conference was secured between the leaders of the strikers and the leading representative of the mine-owners, it was found that neither side would submit to arbitration some of the most essential questions involved. The mining companies have recruited a large body of deputy sheriffs from all over the State, but Governor Waite insists that these bodies must be disbanded, as well as the armed bodies of strikers. The Colorado law, however, seems clearly to permit any citizen of the State to be enlisted as deputy sheriff. Whatever the justification of Governor Waite's sympathy with the miners, it is clearly his duty to disperse every armed force not under the civil authorities. The recognition of the right of any body of citizens to resort to violence for the enforcement of their claims would be the beginning of anarchy.

*

Pool-selling at races is no sooner prohibited in New Jersey than it is legalized in Rhode Island. In New Jersey the prohibition was secured only after a prolonged agitation among the people. In Rhode Island the legalizing was secured after a very little quiet work in the Legislature. In the appeal to the people of New Jersey to vote for a moral principle, it was difficult to eliminate the element of partisanship. In the appeal to the Rhode Island Legislature to vote for an immoral principle, partisanship disappeared of itself. While upon most matters the Republican branch of the Rhode Island Legislature has either rejected or greatly modified the measures proposed by the Democratic branch, upon this gambling bill the two branches came immediately to an exact agreement. The measure enacted has a very long section prohibiting pool-selling, and a very short one declaring that the prohibition shall not apply to races in Rhode Island between May and November. That such a measure as this should be passed by the Legislature of a State whose traditions

are all on the side of morality, makes more evident than before the truth that legislatures cannot be trusted to deal with the gambling evil. In Louisiana, it will be remembered, the Lottery Company was able to carry the Legislature by a majority of two to one, but was defeated at the polls. In New Jersey the gamblers absolutely controlled the Legislature, but the measures they secured roused such popular indignation as to give 25,000 majority against the party responsible for the race-track legislation. The votes in Rhode Island upon the prohibition of the liquor traffic prove that the people of that State would be two to one, or even four to one, against the legalizing of gambling. Yet the minority, with money to spend, is able in the Legislature to defeat the will of the overwhelming majority. Here in New York State, half a century ago, the people incorporated in their fundamental law a prohibition of lottery gambling. Had this prohibition been but a trifle broader in its scope, it would have prevented such legislation as the Ives pool law. Indeed, one Court has recently decided that the constitutional provision did overthrow the Ives law; and while this decision has been overruled, nevertheless the people of the State are plainly shown both the manner and the time for preventing such immoral legislation. The manner is the reference of the question to the whole people, and the most favorable time for such reference is when the State Constitution is being revised. In Rhode Island there should be a campaign for the submission to the voters of a constitutional amendment prohibiting every form of gambling, while in New York the moral interests of the State should be organized to press upon the State Constitutional Convention the principles in relation both to gambling and to liquor-sell ing upon which the moral elements of the community are agreed.

₩

At last the Lexow Senate Committee investigation of the New York Police Department has brought out definite and positive evidence of corruption. Several witnesses have testified to paying sums of money to ward detectives to be given to police captains for the "protection" of disorderly houses. There is a striking agreement as to amounts paid and the methods of corruption employedagreement not merely among the witnesses, but between their testimony as a whole and what has long been suspected and half known by the public. The charges are so serious and so direct that it is impossible for the police officials to ignore them. The captains and detectives accused are just now inclined to pretend to ridicule the charges, but their real alarm is evident. Superintendent Byrnes, on the other hand, has made public his opinion that, if the charges are capable of being sustained, the officers accused should be sent to Sing Sing, and has promised to formulate the charges and put the accused on trial. In the nature of the cases, the witnesses are, and must be, men of a disreputable past, some of whom have finally been ruined by extortion. If their testimony is true, they are really criminals who have turned State's evidence. But the confirmation required for this kind of evidence is largely found in the general public knowledge and belief in the existence of these nefarious transactions. Practically, no business man in the city has any real doubts as to the facts. It remains to be seen whether the higher police officials and the District Attorney will treat these witnesses as, for instance, they treated the chief witness in the Meyers murder case just tried—that is, will try to confirm and strengthen their evidence, and work earnestly for conviction of the accused—or whether they will allow them to be intimidated, bribed, or spirited away. Indifference to acts

leading in the latter direction, or complicity in such acts, would be nothing less than a confession of guilt.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction, which held its twenty-first session in Nashville, Tenn., week before last, has broadened still further the scope of its work. Organized originally as a Section of the Social Science Association, it soon attained an independent existence, which has been growing in strength and importance from year to year. Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, Mass., was chosen President of the twenty-second Conference, which will be held in May, 1895, in the city of New Haven, Conn. In a paper read in Nashville by Daniel Fulcomer, lecturer on social science in the University of Chicago, it was shown that the progress in sociological studies in the colleges and universities of the land is remarkable. Professor Fulcomer did not hesitate to say that America is leading the world in this direction. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the Conference should wish to ally itself with students of this subject; while, on the other hand, the gain to theorists and book students of associating themselves with the eminently practical men and women who make up the Conference of Charities and Correction will be of equal value. President Seth Low, of New York, and Professor Henderson, of Chicago, have therefore been added to the names of those in charge of the next session, and the committee with which they are to work will be expected to bring in valuable aid in sociological matters. Taken as a whole, the Nashville meeting was excellent. The sectional gatherings were extremely important. One afternoon, five different sections were at work in as many rooms, each with a fair attendance. An interesting feature in connection with the Committee on the Care and Treatment of the Feeble-minded was an exhibit of handiwork by the imbecile and feeble-minded. An attempt was made to secure contributions from the nineteen existing State institutions. Only seven responded, but there was great variety in the work, from lace-making to the manufacture of boots and shoes. It has been proposed that this exhibit should be enlarged, classified, and conveniently packed, and sent from State to State as an object-lesson to those unwise commonwealths which are allowing this unhappy and dangerous class to grow up without State care or training.

The thirteenth International Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association is now in session in London. In due course The Outlook will give an account of this interesting gathering from a special correspondent. Meanwhile we may note, as significant of the growth and power of the Association, that the Conference is attended by two thousand delegates coming from all parts of the civilized world, and that about two hundred delegates represent the United States. The meetings are being held in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, the Albert Memorial Hall, and other places. The reports show that the organization now has over 5,000 branches and half a million members. Yet the founder, Sir George Williams, is still living and active, and has been fitly chosen President of the Conference. The report for America states that there are now in this country 1,400 associations, employing 1,200 secretaries, owning 300 buildings, and property to the value of \$18,000,000.

GENERAL NEWS.—The United States Senate last week adopted a resolution declaring in effect that the people of the Hawaiian Islands ought to establish and maintain their own form of government, that the United States ought not

to interfere, and that the intervention of any other government would be regarded as unfriendly to this country.-Reports from San Salvador state that the Government troops have been defeated with heavy loss; General Carlos Ezeta and six hundred of his men were killed; President Antonio Ezeta has fled: Bonilla has assumed the Dictatorship, and it is feared that a counter-revolution may break -In the New York State Constitutional Convention last week the most striking feature of the sessions was the afternoon devoted by the Committee on Suffrage to listening to addresses from Mrs. Dr. Jacobi and others; many more petitions, both in favor of extending the suffrage to women and in opposition to it, were presented during the week; during the present week animated discussion is expected on the question of taxing church property. Senator Turpie, of Indiana, has introduced into the United States Senate a bill providing for postal savings depositories. Very serious damage was done by floods last week in British Columbia and throughout the Northwest.war-ship Baltimore has been ordered to Korea to protect Americans there; a dispatch was received from the King of Korea last week stating that the rebels were gaining ground in Chunlato, the chief province of the kingdom, and that the presence of a United States war-ship was desirable for the protection of American interests.—M. Paul Bourget, the novelist, and M. Albert Sorel, the historian, were last week elected members of the French Cabinet.



The Outing of the Soul

The Outlook counts its Outing Number second in importance to no issue of the year. The gospel of personal righteousness finds many voices; the gospel of a full and rich life, fed from all the divine sources of truth, beauty, and power, still needs advocates. The old atheism which shut God out of a large part of his world still lingers like those drifts of snow that, in secluded places, elude the genial sun. Men are as slow to learn the divinity of nature as they have been to learn the divinity of humanity; as slow to accept the revelation of nature as to accept that of the human soul. It is difficult to realize how completely nature was lost to men during the Middle Ages; how comparatively untouched human life was by association with the countless aspects of sea and sky; how completely the union between men and the sublime house in which they lived was broken. For several centuries the great mass of men and women were so estranged from nature that they forgot their kinship. It is true that there were in every generation men and women to whom the beauty of the world did not appeal in vain, but it was a beauty obscured by mists of superstition, and the perception of which was painfully limited by lack of the deeper insight and the larger vision. Woods, flowers, and streams, so close at hand, so intimately associated with the richest experiences, could not wholly fail of that charm which they possess to-day; but while these lovely details were seen, the picture as a whole was invisible. The popular ballads and epics are not lacking in pretty bits of description and sentiment, but nature is wholly subordinate; the sublime background against which all modern life is set is invisible.

It is difficult to imagine a time when men had no eye for the landscape, and yet it is one of the most notable facts about Petrarch that he was the first man of his period to show any interest in that great vision which a lofty mountain opens, and which has for the men of to-day a delight so poignant as to be almost painful. Dante had struck some deep notes which showed clearly enough that