

went so far as to denounce any other scale of payment as "confiscation," and secured opinions from most distinguished lawyers sanctioning this view. The House of Lords, however, has interpreted the law just as a disinterested layman would have interpreted it. It declares that, as the public franchises conferred were for a limited period (generally thirty-five years), the companies had no right to earnings from the franchise beyond that period. All that was theirs was the tangible property their capital had constructed, and for this the public ought to pay only its cost when new, less a reasonable deduction for the deterioration it had undergone. In other words, the owners of street-car lines are to be paid for their property in the same way in which the owners of houses and factories are paid for theirs. This decision greatly strengthens the already dominant movement for municipal ownership of municipal monopolies. It is worth while noting that the demand for public ownership is fast developing into a demand for public operation as well. The City Council of Glasgow, by the overwhelming vote of 50 to 6, has recently dispensed with an intermediary corporation, and now operates its thirty-one miles of street-car lines in the same direct and satisfactory way in which it repairs and cleans its streets.

The Outlook goes to press the day before election. The rôle of historian is therefore forbidden it, and the rôle of prophet it declines. It desires, nevertheless, to sum up the campaign issues, which in several States lend significance to the returns. Everywhere, of course, the most important factor in determining results has been the business depression. There are fewer failures than there were a year ago, but the general level of prices for Wall Street stocks, as well as for farmers' crops, is more than ten per cent. lower than last November. In the East this has influenced voters in favor of the Republican party, on the ground that the lowering of the tariff was its cause; in the South and West it has influenced voters in favor of the Populists, on the ground that the suspension of the coinage of silver was the cause. East of Ohio the silver issue has hardly entered into the campaign except in Pennsylvania, where the Republican Convention half indorsed Senator Cameron's free-coinage views, and where Representative Sibley, the only Eastern Democrat who supported free coinage, has been renominated by the Democrats and Populists. In both New York and Massachusetts the American Protective Association plays a somewhat important part. In New York, however, the hand of the Association can nowhere be seen, except by the "unterrified" Democracy, which is appealing—we hope in vain—to this political ghost for deliverance. To the great body of the voters, however, the living issues of the campaign are the personal character of Senator Hill and the corporate character of Tammany Hall. In at least two Western States, on the other hand, the American Protective Association seems to have behind it a body of no inconsiderable weight. These are Michigan and Colorado. In both States the influence of the Association seems to be on the side of the Republicans. In South Dakota, however, the Catholic Bishop has directed a letter to his clergy asking them to support the Republican candidate for the Senate.

From the standpoint of National politics the election in South Dakota is almost as important as any in the country, for it is a doubtful State, from which a United States Senator is to be chosen; and the really important thing to be decided this year is the constituency of the incoming Senate. No matter what party may have a majority in the

House, neither the Republicans nor the free-coinage men can hope to seriously change the tariff or the currency laws while Mr. Cleveland is President, and Mr. Cleveland's term does not end until the incoming House of Representatives is superseded by another. But the Senators elected this year hold on for four years more, and may determine future legislation on crucially important matters. Now, nearly all the doubtful States from which Senators are to be elected this year are in the Northwest. The situation in South Dakota is typical of that in the entire section. In sixteen counties in the State there is open fusion between the Democrats and Populists, while in eleven more the Democrats have practically indorsed the Populists by not nominating legislative candidates. Republicans who claim the Governorship with confidence admit that the Senatorship is in doubt. Somewhat similar is the situation in Minnesota, where the Democrats and Populists outside of the two great cities have fused in one legislative district after another until the result is uncertain. In Minnesota, however, this fusion of Democrats and Populists in the country has been partially offset by the fusion of Democrats and Republicans in the cities. Two Democratic daily papers in the "twin cities" are now supporting the Republican candidate for Governor, on the ground that it is a choice between him and the Populist candidate, since the Democratic candidate cannot be elected. In Nebraska, as we have before stated, there is formal fusion between the regular Democrats and the Populists. In Nebraska the fusion candidate for the United States Senate, Mr. Bryan, is a Democrat, but a Democrat who believes in free coinage, the income tax, the popular election of Senators, and the foreclosure of the Pacific Railway mortgages and the operation of the roads by the Government. Between a Democrat of this type and a Populist of Senator Allen's type there is practically no difference. The "Bankers and Business Men's Association," which was prominent in the campaign against prohibition, is fighting hard to prevent a Populist victory, but the result is in doubt, as the Omaha "Bee" refuses to support the Republican candidate for Governor, on the ground that he is a railroad appointee. In Kansas and Colorado there are also Senatorial contests, but in these States the Populists are somewhat divided, and the Republicans are more confident of success. In Kansas the important issue to be decided is whether or not women shall be given the suffrage; the important issue in Colorado is how the women will use it. It is to the returns from these States, and those from New York, that the thoughtful student of politics will turn with the greatest interest.

The week's testimony before the Lexow Committee added appreciably to the amazing mass of proof as to the corruption in every branch of the Police Department. Commissioner Sheehan declined absolutely to show the Committee his bank-books, returned evasive answers to many questions, grossly insulted the Committee's counsel from time to time, made nothing like a sound defense against the charge that he left Buffalo as a defaulter, and, in short, left a wretched impression of his character both as an official and as a man. The woman whom the agents of accused police captains tried to detain in Jersey City was brought to New York and put upon the stand. In part her testimony was like much that had already been heard from keepers of infamous resorts who have paid blackmail to the police. But it was startling in that Mrs. Herreman testified that she had paid in all from \$25,000 to \$30,000 to the police for "protection" and to free herself from arrest and prosecution. Nothing more atrocious has been

told to the Committee than this woman's story of the systematic thwarting by the police of her attempts to keep her own niece from entering into an evil life. She also charged that a purse of \$1,700 had been raised by police officials to send her away from the city. Another sensation of the week was the testimony by two witnesses that the sum of \$500 was once paid into the hands of Mr. W. S. Andrews (formerly an Excise Commissioner, but now Street Commissioner) for procuring the relicensing of a saloon which had been shut up as a disorderly place. Commissioner Andrews, it is fair to say, vehemently denies the charge, and declares his intention to take the matter into the courts. Finally, the horrible charge was made, and (in part at least) sustained by the evidence of checks, that the police have systematically blackmailed and "protected" professional abortionists. Is there any possible lower depth than this?



General Oliver O. Howard

The law fixing sixty-five as the maximum age of active service in the army necessitates the retirement of General O. O. Howard while he is still at his best; for, at least to the ordinary observer, he shows no signs of age, except in a certain mellowness of character and ripeness of experience. It may be necessary, but it is certainly unfortunate, that a hard and fast rule should deprive this branch of Government service, in not infrequent instances, of men who, though possibly not physically equal to the hardships of active campaigning, are better prepared than their juniors for that administration which is so large a part of the army officer's duty. It is an interesting fact that this law would have excluded from active service in the Franco-German war the four great leaders of the German army. It is not needful to give the mere dates of General Howard's eventful life, and to do more than this would be impossible in a paragraph. A brave soldier, a capable officer, a warm friend, and wholly a Christian gentleman, he will be known in history as the Havelock of America. Without religious pretense or obtrusive piety, he has maintained throughout his life his Christian faith unshaken and his Christian purity unspotted. Passing through a storm of obloquy as Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, and by our wicked spoils system made, under Andrew Johnson's administration, responsible for subordinates whom he did not appoint and could not remove, he came out of the tragical wreck of that Department wholly acquitted of all blame, and carries with him to this day, by the mere force of his transparent and guileless character, a reputation which malice has not been able to blur or spot. In Wagner's triumphal march in honor of Germany's victories, Luther's "Eine Feste Burg" comes in as a dominant theme, rising clear and strong above the din of battle. General Howard has so sung in his heart for half a century "A safe stronghold our God is still," that the whole world has heard the song above the Babel sounds of sin and strife, and in honoring the singer honors the faith which he has exemplified.

Our readers should compare with the account we give this week of the great strike at Fall River the account in the "Forum" of the churches in that city and the attitude which

they and the operatives maintain toward each other. If Mr. William Bayard Hale's statement of the conditions of the tenements is to be relied upon, there is a call for a Parkhurst in the pulpits of that city. It is always a question, and a difficult one, how far the minister should enter into controversies between laborers and capitalists in such a community. It is very easy to be a partisan, and not easy to avoid being one. It is often difficult, too, for the best employers to compel cleanliness and order and observance of sanitary conditions in the houses of certain classes of operatives. It is not strange that the employer sometimes becomes discouraged and abandons the effort. But surely the ministry in such a city, without becoming partisan advocates, or claiming to judge between employer and employed, or assuming any tone of "holier than thou," might make common cause for a higher standard of righteousness in dealing with operatives than that reported by our correspondent, or that indicated in the following description of one block of tenements which we quote from Mr. Hale's article in the "Forum":

"We will begin our inquiry, entirely without selection, at the Richard Borden Mill tenements. They stand on Rodman Street, between two alleys. There are sixteen blocks arranged around a court; the blocks have six tenements each. You can enter the court with dry boots if you tiptoe on an isthmus, and jump; for the village is built on low ground, and pools of standing water abound. If you ask at the first tenement on the right, you will be told that there are four bedrooms and a kitchen, and that four sleep in each room. Operatives live in bedrooms and kitchens. They pay here seven dollars a month; this means to the corporation a rental of \$8,000 annually—five per cent. interest on \$160,000. Four to a room is perhaps an unusual number for this particular village. They are not often willing to tell how many share a tenement; it will average here, perhaps, ten, though the patrolman thinks more. The population of the court is about one thousand. . . . The court is littered with refuse; one threads one's way among unsavory heaps. Along under the eaves of every block is a ridge composed of potato-parings, egg-shells, and garbage; the universal rule is to pour the kitchen-emptyings out of the window. This description must pause, however, for it dare not tell how the center of the court—which is the playground of children and the thoroughfare for all—is occupied. A photograph would shock the world. In certain details of filth, hideous indecency, and indescribable shame, this place is probably not matched outside of Fall River anywhere in what we call civilization. And in the center of all stands a pump. The air is pestilential, and the place revolting to every sense. The heart sickens at the sight of the crowds who sit on stoops and hang out at windows, and gaze at their common misery. God in heaven! how is it permitted for girls to look upon this? The saloon is a retreat of which we should do wrong to deprive these men. For their women, there is no refuge but the streets. For them, immorality is almost inevitable from childhood. And among them all, hatred of the rich, and rage against life, are inevitable. In such a place what can men do but sit on the steps and curse their employers? what can women do but nurse their cripple babies and wish them dead?"

If this description is false, our columns are open to a denial of the falsehood. If it is true, they are open to any defense which the owners of the Richard Borden Mill tenements have to offer to Christendom against the indictment which such a picture furnishes against them for their inhumanity to man.

In the November "Cosmopolitan" Mr. William I. Fletcher presents a most encouraging account of the growth of the public library movement, in which this country is so far the leader as to make it almost distinctively an American movement. Our public libraries had their origin, says Mr. Fletcher, in the subscription libraries, of which Benjamin Franklin started the first. These subscription libraries, though limited in their usefulness to those meeting the dues, were nevertheless a powerful agency in extending the reading of books from the few to the many, and generally their establishment was due, in large measure, to a philanthropic purpose. Before the middle of this