

it was not possible to secure such evidence as would convict the offenders. Until Tammany influence is entirely extirpated no permanent reform is to be expected; and the case will not be improved by the substitution of a Republican party machine for Tammany Hall. The citizens of New York can have a good government if they desire it, but the fundamental condition is that it shall be divorced from the control of any political party; and until this condition precedent is acted upon it is absurd to complain either of bad government or Tammany Hall, which may always be counted upon to give the citizens the best government which is consistent with the interests of its leaders and its followers. The key to the situation is, therefore, the union of the opposition to Tammany Hall upon a single ticket."

A Committee of Seventy was provided for, to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting, "to confer with other anti-Tammany organizations and take such action as may be necessary."

Mr. Hewitt has, in his letter quoted above, put the whole issue tersely and truthfully. Under Tammany rule life and property have been, on the whole, well protected, and the legal taxation has not been extravagant as compared with that of other cities. But blackmail has been systematically levied, first on all candidates for office, from the Supreme Court judges down to the police patrolmen; second, on all houses of vice of every description; and, thirdly, on all private and honorable business whenever there was any opportunity to levy it. Whether this is to continue or not it is for the citizens to say this fall. To substitute a Republican machine for a Democratic machine will be of no advantage. The government of Philadelphia is, in its way, as corrupt as that of New York. If the Republican party undertakes to conduct a municipal reform campaign on the assumption that no men are honest except Republicans, the reform will be defeated. If, on the contrary, all honest citizens unite in a common effort to redeem the city, it can be redeemed. If this is the spirit of the movement, it is immaterial whether an independent and honest Republican is nominated for Mayor, and the nomination is confirmed by other anti-Tammany organizations, or whether an Independent Mayor is nominated on a citizens' ticket, and the nomination is confirmed by the Republican party. One method gave Brooklyn last year Mayor Schieren, the other method a few years previously gave it Mayor Low.

The Lexow Committee has again begun its inquiry into the corruption of the New York Police Department. Since it adjourned, the Department itself, through its responsible head, the Board of Commissioners, has recognized the existence of widespread corruption, by discharging from the force, after trial, four captains and about a dozen officers of lower rank. The very fact that so many men in the force have been guilty of blackmailing in precisely the same way, shows the existence of a *system* of bribery and connivance at crime; no one can maintain that these cases are sporadic—they are endemic. It is natural to ask why the Commissioners themselves never saw or heard any of the abundant testimony until the Lexow Committee, through Mr. Goff, put it so plainly before them that they could not but take cognizance of it. It seems now almost superfluous for the Lexow Committee to produce further evidence as to blackmail and bribery. No man in New York any longer denies the facts. Dr. Parkhurst has been proved to have been not only right, but accurately right, when he declared that our police system was corrupt through and through. The objective points now should be the purchase of appointments by captains and patrolmen, the final disposition of the money taken as bribes, and the right organization of the force for the future. On the last point the feeling is growing among re-

formers that there should be one governing head, a man appointed by the Mayor and removable by him. Then the people would know just where to place the responsibility. And when it comes to selecting the Mayor himself, there is only one thing needful—to follow the course indicated by Dr. Parkhurst when he says that "our salvation from Tammany corruption lies in the renunciation of our partisan preferences." As to Superintendent Byrnes's report on the condition of the Department, it is in part a confession and in part an avoidance; he confesses that the license law is absolutely unenforced, he avoids the subject of corruption among the police. Some of his recommendations are good; thus, the advice that the Inspectors should be detached from district duty is none the less sound because it would throw more power into the Superintendent's hands. One good result that has already come from the present agitation is the doing away with the old "ward-men," who were special detectives attached, one to each police precinct, to do the lesser local detective work in plain clothes—the headquarters detectives being called in in important cases. Naturally, these ward-men were the personal henchmen of the corrupt captains, and were always the go-betweens for all the "dirty work" of the precincts.

We welcome in the New York "Evening Post" an editorial protesting vigorously, as our readers will remember we did some weeks ago, against the attempt to extend the function of the injunction to such an extent as is proposed in the present proceedings against Mr. Debs and other members of the American Railway Union for contempt. That we have no sympathy with Mr. Debs or with the strike which he led we have made apparent by our unqualified condemnation of the entire proceeding, in its origin, its methods, and its results. Moreover, we have advocated such changes in the laws of the land as will make counseling such a wholesale interference with the highways of the Nation a penal offense, if it is not so already. But if it is, the persons charged with the violation of the law should be tried before a jury of their peers, with all the protections which Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence affords to persons accused of crime. If, on the other hand, there is no existing law against such a strike, the courts should not allow themselves to create such a law by judicial edict and enforce it by contempt proceedings. We quote from the "Evening Post":

"Our readers do not require to be told that we regarded the aims of the strikers at Chicago as hopeless and their methods as wicked and criminal. We do not forget, however, that these men are our fellow-citizens, or impute to them as a body any exceptional depravity. It is in the highest degree important that the very poorest member of the community should possess unshaken confidence in the integrity of our judges and the impartiality of the administration of justice. We fear that many of the common people, especially in the Western States, entertain the belief that the courts have allied themselves with the great corporate interests of the country, and it is eminently desirable that this belief should have no sound basis. It is the duty of the courts to defend rights of property, and upon this account they incur a certain degree of unpopularity with those who have few such rights to defend. But every effort should be made to escape this odium by exhibiting the strictest impartiality, and there is reason for contending that this caution has been disregarded in the recent injunctions. Upon their face they indicate the purpose of causing the arrest and punishment of citizens, without trial by jury, for offenses for which criminal jurisprudence provides that right. If there is no other way of repressing crime except by treating it as contempt of court, our jurisprudence must be reconstituted upon models that have more likeness to those which prevail under despotic governments."

The strike of the garment-workers in New York City has enlisted universal sympathy and support from the

public, and is approaching, at this writing, an apparently just and, it is to be hoped, final settlement. These garment-workers were, as a body, thrown out of work in May, 1893, and work was not revived until May, 1894, and then only at such rates that good workmen earned but six dollars a week by ten hours' daily toil. Saturday, September 1, they struck for a ten hours' day, from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., with an hour off at noon, a weekly minimum wage, and a weekly pay-day. As a rule, the great clothing houses deal with "contractors," who, in turn, employ the garment-workers. All three parties, workers, contractors, and dealers, have their "unions" or "associations." The contractors held a meeting of their Protective Association on Tuesday evening, and voted that the men's demands were right and ought to be granted, but that they could not grant the advance unless the wholesale clothing-dealers would advance their rates of payment. On Wednesday Messrs. Fechheimer & Fishel, a large wholesale house, declared that they considered the demands of the men right, that no business which could not pay the workers the minimum wages asked ought to exist, that no man ought to work more than ten hours a day, and that they would pay their contractors the advance necessary to enable them to accede to the demands of the men. They also, on Thursday, sent a list of the contractors who worked for them to the headquarters of the United Garment-workers, that arrangements might be made for the tailors to return to work for these contractors.

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Other dealers have indicated their readiness to accede to the advance demanded. The press and the public have also heartily sustained these demands, so that there can be no doubt that the public will pay, if necessary, the increased prices for the clothing rendered necessary by the advance in wages. And yet the strike is not fully over. The workmen insist that bonds shall be given for the faithful fulfillment of the new terms; and the better class of contractors sustain this demand, for there will be workmen, contractors, and manufacturers who, for the sake of gain, will be continually seeking to lengthen the working hours, and unless some legal penalty is provided for the enforcement of the contract it will be imperiled by the spirit of competition, which in the clothing trade is very sharp and often utterly unscrupulous. The sweating system has been for many years publicly condemned, but so long as the men consented to work for miserable wages and during excessive hours, the competition of the men for work and of the public for cheap goods rendered every one concerned helpless. The men themselves were the only power that could stop the steady process toward starvation wages. Nor could they have done anything had they not been organized in a "union." The results of this strike should convince the most unbelieving that there is power for good as well as for evil in trade-unions, and that public opinion can do much to facilitate justice in such cases; for it is probable that, without the support so cordially extended to the strikers by the press of the city, and by some philanthropists co-operating with the strikers, the contractors might not have ventured to ask for an advance from the dealers.

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Mr. W. B. Shaw's invaluable review of State Legislation appears this year in the "Review of Reviews." As usual, it records so many good changes as to be very encouraging reading. It is true that only one legislature out of fourteen in session during the last year passed an important law against the liquor traffic. This was in Kentucky, where the right of local option was extended to

the entire State. Over against this must be set the new license law in Iowa, which was a concession to the demands of the liquor traffic. In New York State the Republican Legislature left unchanged the code of excise legislation framed by its Democratic predecessor. But outside of this field the reforms sanctioned have been numerous and important. Massachusetts has taken the lead in the line of educational reform. It has now extended the privilege of a high-school education to every child in the Commonwealth. This it does by requiring those towns which do not themselves support high schools to pay the tuition of their resident children in the high schools of other towns. Transportation expenses are also authorized to be paid from the public money. The same State has provided that after 1895 manual training shall be given in every city having a population of twenty thousand, and authorizes instruction in cooking as a part of the regular curriculum throughout the State. It also carries further the exclusion of illiterates from the suffrage by providing that each voter shall hereafter be required to read from a slip containing a portion of the State Constitution, each of these slips to be drawn from a box. New York State has authorized the Superintendent to withhold a portion of the public-school fund from any district which fails to enforce the Compulsory Education Law. Utah permits kindergartens to be maintained from public-school moneys. Such progressive legislation in that Territory ought to lessen Eastern fears that Statehood would imply the reascendency of the Mormon priesthood. Of the miscellaneous reforms sanctioned, the most important are the prohibition of the sale of cigarettes or tobacco in any form to children under the age of sixteen in Iowa, the authorizing of villages owning water-works to furnish gas and electric light to their inhabitants in New York, and the extension of the Civil Service Law in Massachusetts to all towns of over twelve thousand inhabitants. In the entire list recorded by Mr. Shaw, if we except the Rhode Island race-track law, there is hardly an act that is clearly bad. The legislative sins of the past year seem to be those of omission rather than of commission.

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In the "Review of Reviews" for September is a translation of the declaration of the bimetallist members of the German Silver Commission. The translation was furnished to the "Review of Reviews" by President Andrews, who regards it as one of the most telling and weighty summaries ever made of the case for bimetallism. It certainly is exceptionally good. Its only fault is that it uses some arguments that do not carry weight. Like most of the advocates of bimetallism in this country, the German Commissioners begin their argument by establishing the fact that the increased purchasing power of money during the last twenty years has been due to the exclusion of silver from the coinage. Over against the claim of monometallists that the increased value of money is due to the cheapening of production, the Commissioners point out that during the twenty years prior to 1873, when both metals were admitted to the currency, this same cheapening process was going on, without any rise in the value of money. As to the evils resulting from silver's demonetization, the Commissioners say:

"An incessantly heavier and heavier burden is falling on the debtor in favor of the creditor. In respect to this Archbishop Walsh, of Dublin, remarks: 'A great part of the capital employed in the business of our land has passed into the hands of creditors who have neither toiled nor spun, but hold securities and mortgages. The discouragement caused by this state of things is very deep. . . . All desire to undertake business enterprises is paralyzed.' . . . A setback to German agriculture is manifest, referable (in part) to the necessity