

on the free-lunch counters for their meals. When asked if these customers were not unprofitable, he said:

"In one way, yes; another, no. If they come in by themselves, a glass of beer is their limit. But these human fixtures have insinuating manners and a wide acquaintance. Some of the most famous politicians, known widely over the country, belong to this brigade, and they are very adroit in thrusting a popular topic in a bar-room that will please the head treater of the group, and thus they are assured of drinks, luncheon, and cigars."

That an institution which is nearly a quarter of a century old, and has seemed to become more and more firmly established, should be easily uprooted is not to be expected, but the measure of success already achieved indicates that a carefully drawn provision would prove effective.

⊗

The apparent inability of one generation to learn anything from the experiments of previous generations is one of the most discouraging phenomena in human life. A society bearing the seductive title of "The Law and Order Society of New York City," but which does not in the publications we have received give the names of any generally well-known citizens as connected with it, has presented to the Legislature a bill for licensing houses of prostitution, to be known by the euphonious title of "District Inns." They are to be confined within certain designated districts, and three "Law and Order Commissioners" are to be appointed by the Governor, with a salary of \$5,000 each, to issue licenses for such "District Inns," and to provide for the medical examination of the inmates. Six physicians are to receive \$2,500 salary each, six inspectors \$1,500 each, and a counsel a salary of \$4,000. But for these financial provisions we should not be inclined to take this movement very seriously. Considering these promised salaries, the movement may require watching. Segregation of prostitutes in separate districts was tried in France in the thirteenth century, later in Spain, very recently in Rome, and in each case was abandoned as utterly futile. License has been tried with no better results. It was the method of ancient Greece, and the immorality in Corinth, Athens, Ephesus, under this system is one of the notorious facts of ancient history. It has been attempted, coupled with medical examination, in modern times, both abroad and in this country, and always with disastrous results. In Paris the attempt to intrust the supervision of such houses to a special commission has been abandoned and the whole subject has been turned over to the police. Inspection has not even prevented disease—the only ground on which this system is defended. Under this system the number of diseased women in Paris doubled in five years; and the official report of the authorities is that, despite inspection and license, "prostitution augments and that it becomes more dangerous to the public health." The most notable experiment of this sort in the United States was in St. Louis, 1870-74, at the end of which time the results showed such an increase of prostitution that the law permitting license was repealed by a vote of three to one in the Senate and ninety to one in the House. We hope that there will be in our Legislature some watchful eyes on the lookout for this measure, which should be entitled "An Act to create offices and give salaries for the promotion of immorality and disease in the city of New York."

⊗

The New York School Reform Bill, the principal features of which have been set forth in these columns several times, passed the State Senate on Wednesday of last week by a good majority, and will undoubtedly pass the Assembly, since it has practically the solid Republican support. If there has been any doubt in the minds of thoughtful men and women about the wisdom of this measure, that doubt must have been removed by reading the speeches of Sen-

ators Cantor and Grady in opposition to its passage. These Tammany representatives were guilty of the most flagrant demagogism in their antagonism to the measure. Their only argument was that the ward trustees under the present system kept the schools in touch with the people, and that the sentiment behind the Reform Bill was exclusive and aristocratic. A cheaper exhibition of political charlatanry has rarely been seen, even in a State Legislature. It was of a piece with the attempt of Tammany Hall to pose as the poor man's friend, when, as a matter of fact, Tammany Hall has been the poor man's oppressor and robber for years; giving him dirty streets, bad schools, expensive government, and a corrupt police system, when the things which the poor man needs above everything else are economic government, clean streets, wholesome conditions, good schools, and an incorruptible police force. Messrs. Cantor and Grady are, however, beating the air in vain; for the illusion among the so-called poor people with regard to Tammany Hall is fast passing away, and the methods of that organization as a spoils machine are coming to be as clearly understood by the poor man as by men of other classes.

⊗

Every step toward the betterment of the New York public-school system is a step taken by the friends of the poor man, as was pointed out in these columns last week, and the passage of this bill will be only the beginning of the inevitable reform which is coming in this city, and which all friends of education have so ardently longed for. The very character of the opposition to this bill—the bitterness, vituperation, and coarseness which characterized many of the speeches in opposition to it before the Senate Committee on Cities—affords a painful revelation of the kind of spirit which has grown up in certain circles in this city—the spirit which, in dense ignorance of the opinion of the whole country, is continually reiterating the falsehood that New York has a perfect school system; which treats as a matter of personal affront every attempt to criticise that system; which prompts teachers employed in our public schools to cry out in public meeting, in answer to criticisms, "You lie," or "You're a liar." An educational system which breeds such a spirit and which makes such manners possible is a system which needs a thorough revolution. There is nothing so tyrannous and brutal as a machine, and the machine element in the New York public-school management is bearing its fruits in an attitude of mind than which nothing could be further removed from the real educational feeling and spirit. It looks very much now not only as if the public schools of this city needed thorough overhauling, but as if many of their supporters needed a change of heart as well. As managed at present, our school system is not even provincial; it is parochial. Educators do not even discuss it, so general is the consensus of expert opinion with regard to it. The time for plain talking on this matter has come, and we earnestly hope that public-school reform in this city will not lack apostles as courageous and able as those who have already appeared in other renovations of our community life.

⊗

Commissioner Booth-Tucker, the new Commander of the Salvation Army, has arrived in this country. Contemporaneously with his arrival there appeared in the New York "Independent" statements both from General Booth, of the Salvation Army, and from Commander and Mrs. Ballington Booth, of the Volunteers. Neither these documents nor the published declarations of Commissioner Booth-Tucker throw much light on the causes which have led to the schism. There are, indeed, two sentences, one

in General Booth's paper, the other in Commander and Mrs. Booth's, which slightly tend to confirm the report which *The Outlook* has already made, that the split is due to the too autocratic method of the Salvation Army. General Booth says: "Just where men most revel in unlimited opportunity to carry out their plans, they most highly appreciate the devotion which leads the free to become the slaves of Christ and the servants of the poor." One may easily read between the lines of this sentence a defense of the Army organization and the Army spirit; as one may read a demand for greater flexibility in the following words of the Ballington Booths: "It is impossible to sit down and evolve or formulate great plans or to lay down cast-iron rules on which to advance to a successful future." We agree with what both the Ballington Booths and Commissioner Booth-Tucker have declared, namely, that there is plenty of room in this country for both organizations, and that there ought to be nothing but fraternal relations between the two. If the rank and file are possessed of the same spirit, there is no good reason why the Salvation Army and the Volunteers should not work in cordial fellowship, not in jealous rivalry. Brigadier Fielding, of Chicago, has resigned from the Salvation Army, which is said to be exceptionally strong in that city, to attach himself to the Volunteers—a fact which is deemed significant both because he is an Englishman and also because his course is supposed to indicate a considerable trend of feeling in the Army throughout the Northwest.



A New Life of Gladstone

The editors of *The Outlook* take pleasure in announcing that they have arranged with Mr. Justin McCarthy to write a Life of the Right Hon. William E. Gladstone, which will be published serially in the Magazine Numbers of *The Outlook*, beginning next autumn, and continuing through the ensuing year. The Life will be fully illustrated with many portraits and other pictures, and will be a prominent feature of *The Outlook* during 1897. Mr. McCarthy's residence for a number of years in the United States, acquainting him with public thought and popular institutions in America, his special studies for "*The History of Our Own Times*," which is recognized as the best popular account of the Victorian Age, his long service in Parliament—continuous since 1879—and his intimate relations with Mr. Gladstone, combine to make him the best of interpreters of Mr. Gladstone's career for American readers. Without attempting the impossible task of forestalling Mr. McCarthy's work, we may in a few sentences indicate the ground which leads us to our estimate of Mr. Gladstone's character, and our selection of his life as the most eminent illustration our age affords of Christian statesmanship.

We regard William Ewart Gladstone as the greatest European statesman of the present century. In so saying we do not forget Gambetta, who led France from chaos into republicanism, nor Bismarck, whose wise and invincible purpose united the before jealous German States into one German Empire, nor Cavour, who even more than Garibaldi deserves the ever honorable title of Liberator of Italy. In the singleness and earnestness of his purpose Gladstone has not been inferior to either of these his contemporaries; in complexity his problem exceeded that of either the French, the German, or the Italian statesman.

Dr. Elisha Mulford, by the felicitous phrase "*The Republic of God*," has happily expressed the modern faith, which

we fully share, that the development of the Kingdom of Heaven and the growth of popular institutions are inextricably interwoven, if not absolutely identical. If space allowed, it would be interesting to trace in English history the growth of democracy inspired by religion, of popular sovereignty founded on the Sovereignty of God, from the days of Alfred the Great to those of Queen Victoria. In that growth the nation has freed itself from ecclesiastical control at home and abroad, has converted a Royal Council into a House of Commons, has established the right of the meanest citizen to a trial by his peers, has secured forever inviolate the right of free speech, free press, and free worship, has transferred executive authority from an irresponsible King to a responsible ministry, amenable to the people for every act and every neglect to act. Jesus Christ laid two foundation-stones of future society in the two principles given to his disciples: Call no man master; and He that would be greatest among you, let him be servant of all. It is because Great Britain has moved so steadily, so gradually, but also so surely toward the realization of these principles that she has attained her present imperial proportions. It is because Mr. Gladstone has been her pre-eminent leader in this forward movement during the past half-century that we count him the greatest of European statesmen.

The story of Mr. Gladstone's life is the history of European liberty during the years of his public service. The condemnation visited upon him by his critics is his glory. His political inconsistencies are those of a man who dares to grow. By tradition and temperament a conservative, he has been a liberal from principle, and his liberalism in principle has been wisely moderated by his temperamental conservatism. With that felicity of phraseology which distinguishes his unique eloquence, he has described the age in a single compact sentence as one characterized by "the gradual transfer of political power from groups and limited classes to the community, and the constant seething of the public mind in fermentation upon a vast mass of moral and social as well as merely political interests." In promoting this transfer Mr. Gladstone has been the most potent influence in Great Britain; to his moderation is largely due the fact that this transfer has been gradual, by evolution, not by revolution; in this fermentation of the public mind he has been kept calm by his profound Christian faith; in the resultant mists and fogs his mind has been kept clear by the pre-eminence which he has always given to moral over merely political considerations. In the transition age in which he has lived he has been an object of historical interest and of moral admiration on two continents. He is probably the most warmly beloved and the most hotly hated man of modern times—unless Bismarck rivals him. But there is this difference: feudalism loves Bismarck and democracy hates him; feudalism hates Gladstone and democracy loves him.

So far we have spoken of him only as a statesman and in his relations to his age and nation. But, in addition thereto, the singular contradictions of his nature make him the most noteworthy figure in modern English if not in all modern history. His mastery of minute details and his grasp of great principles, his philosophical temperament and his marvelously accurate memory, his executive and administrative skill and his persuasive eloquence, his gentleness and his courage, his self-depreciation and his authoritative leadership, his skill in affairs and his classical scholarship, his political sagacity and his theological learning, his intense and even narrow churchmanship and his catholic appreciation of all that is good and true in denominations not only different from but openly hostile to and jealous of his own, his uncompromising identification of himself with