

that the threatened attempt to subvert this principle by making the heads of the various departments the examiners, directly or indirectly, will meet such a storm of popular disapproval as to defeat it at once and forever. In this city Mayor Strong has extended the operation of the civil service rules so that out of a total number of fifteen thousand officials only seventy-five are exempt from the rules. In his address Mr. Schurz declared that in the late National election the victorious party stood on the civil service platform, and that its declaration, so far as Mr. McKinley was concerned, was in no sense perfunctory. He called attention to the fact that Mr. McKinley had never failed as a member of Congress to give the civil service reform hearty and effective support. Six years ago, when a group of Republicans attempted to overthrow it in the House of Representatives, he said: "If the Republican party of this country is pledged to any one thing more than another, it is the maintenance of the civil service law and its efficient execution. Not only that, but its enlargement, and its further application to the public service. The merit system is here, and it is here to stay."

We are glad to see a vigorous effort made in the State of New York to secure the election of Joseph H. Choate to the United States Senate. Ever since Senators Conkling and Platt resigned from the United States Senate for the purpose of being sent back to it in triumph in order to humiliate President Garfield, and found themselves left at home, very much to their own humiliation, Mr. Platt has been engineering Republican politics in the Empire State, with the ill-concealed purpose of securing his own election to the United States Senate, and so a long-delayed personal vindication. Most of the people of that State think President Garfield was right and Senator Platt was wrong. But, were the latter ever so clearly in the right, and President Garfield ever so clearly in the wrong, the people of the State have more important business on hand than to give Mr. Platt his desired vindication. They need in the United States Senate a man who has reputation other than as a "boss," and ability other than that of managing a machine. They ought to have in that body a man with strong convictions, and ability to represent and maintain them in public debate. Mr. Choate has both. There is nothing to indicate that Mr. Platt has either. The same issue between the machine and the public is presented in Illinois, where a successor to Senator Palmer is to be elected by a Republican Legislature, and where apparently a Republican "boss," unknown to fame by any public service, is planning his own election. At this writing we are not able to name any one agreed on in the interest of the State to contest the election.

It is not probable that the opposition which has developed in Venezuela to the arbitration treaty will prove serious, though it may cause some delay. President Crespo warmly favors the method of settlement proposed by this country and Great Britain, and he and his Cabinet promptly gave their consent to the treaty submitted by Mr. Olney through Señor Andrade. But this consent must be ratified, it seems, by the Venezuelan Congress, which meets in February. This has given an opportunity to the opposition party, headed by Señor Michelena, to raise objections, and these have been vehemently taken up by some of the political papers in Venezuela. Señor Michelena, who was Minister to Great Britain at the time of the final diplomatic rupture between the two countries, argues that to accede to the treaty would be for Venezuela

to admit a sort of overlordship on the part of the United States quite inconsistent with Venezuela's sovereignty. Moreover, he regards the agreement that fifty years' adverse possession of territory shall be regarded as, by prescription, conclusive evidence of title as being totally unjust to Venezuela, and an abandonment of much of her case. Only unconditional arbitration would be acceptable to Señor Michelena and his supporters. The latest advices indicate that a strong sentiment is also shown at Caracas in favor of insisting that Venezuela should have at least one representative on the tribunal of arbitration. President Crespo has both political power and personal influence, and it is probable that his views will in the end prevail. It would indeed be a strange outcome of the matter if, after Great Britain has accepted the intervention of the United States in a dispute between herself and Venezuela, the latter country, in whose interest we have acted and at whose request we first took up the question, should now refuse to authorize the United States to act in her behalf.

A severe blow has been dealt to the cause of the Cuban revolutionists by the death of Antonio Maceo, the most brilliant and successful of their military leaders. It has been a favorite device of the Spanish "press agents" to report Maceo's death, and it is not surprising that for a time the report of last week received little credence. Even now, although the death of Maceo seems assured, there are several entirely different stories as to the way in which he met his end. From the Spanish papers have come two or three conflicting accounts of a skirmish or battle in which Maceo and the son of General Gomez were killed in open fight. The Cubans, on the other hand, assert with great earnestness that Maceo was treacherously lured into an ambushade by a request for a conference with the Marquis of Ahumada, acting Captain-General of Cuba, under a flag of truce, and was then murdered in cold blood. His personal physician, Dr. Zertucha, it is alleged, betrayed him. The accusation is direct and specific, but at present it must be said that the whole matter is involved in doubt, and only the fact of Maceo's death is positively known. He was a man of extraordinary powers. A mulatto by birth, a man of little or no education, he became a patriot soldier before he was twenty in the uprising of 1868, and almost at once showed wonderful natural aptitude as a leader of men in the irregular warfare necessary under the circumstances. Personal courage, knowledge of roads and woods, skill in dashing from place to place, ability to conduct a retreat as well as to head an advance, all soldier-like and general-like qualities, seem to have been instinctive with him. In the earlier revolution he was wounded no less than twenty-one times. At the end of the war, Maceo, who was the last of the Cuban leaders to lay down his arms, spent some time in Jamaica and the United States, but was constantly engaged in revolutionary agitation. Upon the outbreak of 1895 Maceo at once unfolded his standard under the very tree beneath which he had sheathed his sword in 1878. He was soon pitted against his old antagonist Campos, and began his really marvelous series of marches and countermarches from one province to another, fighting often against vastly superior forces, eluding pursuit, baffling his opponents, Campos and Weyler, over and over again, and making them a laughing-stock the world over. General Gomez is an older man, is a trained and experienced soldier, and his military operations have been only less brilliant than those of Maceo. He remains in the supreme command of the Cuban forces. Terrible as is the loss of Maceo to the Cuban cause, it will not,

probably, so change the situation as to render the subjection of Cuba an easy one.

The London "Times," which usually speaks with authority on such matters, announced on Thursday of last week that an agreement had been arrived at between the Powers with regard to the situation in Constantinople. The article was so carefully guarded in its statements that it conveyed the impression of being inspired by some member of the Government. It declared that a measure of agreement had been arrived at, that a fresh scheme is to be presented to the Sultan, and that he will be obliged to accept it or face coercion. The Sultan will be told in plain words that unless he accepts the scheme and proceeds at once in good faith to enforce it, concerted measures of coercion against him will be adopted within a fixed period. Any less definite attempt to deal with the situation, after all that has passed, would bring ridicule upon all the Powers concerned. The article declared, in closing, that the expectations of success aroused by the scheme were due to the presence of a factor which has hitherto been absent in diplomatic transactions at Constantinople, and that factor is the resolution, concurred in by all the Powers who are to act, to compel the Sultan to receive their decision. The London "Chronicle" made a still more definite statement, affirming that the joint fleets of Russia, France, and England will enforce the ultimatum which is to be presented. It is at this writing reported that Italy has acceded to the plan, and that the consent of Germany and Austria is hourly expected. The public has grown so weary of waiting and so distrustful of general statements that it will receive this latest declaration with a good deal of hesitation. It will not believe until it is convinced by definite action. It is to be noted, however, as a very significant fact that there appears to be a much better understanding between Russia, France, and England than has existed for a long time past; and such an understanding would be the first step toward joint action between the three Powers at Constantinople.

Two great strikes have aroused international interest during the last fortnight. First came that of the dock-laborers at Hamburg. At first it was a local demand for higher wages, but it became a part of German national politics by the action of Socialists all over the Empire in raising funds for the strikers, and finally became a part of the international labor movement by the action of the English dock-laborers in raising similar funds. The employers refused to accept arbitration, on the ground that they did not believe the employees would be bound to accept the tribunal if it went against them. At first the Government seemed disposed to force the employers to accept it, but when political complications arose the Government decided not to interfere. This strike still continues. The strike in England which was the great labor event of last week threatened to be far more serious, but was quickly settled because of the greater sympathy of the upper classes with the wage-earners, and the greater power of public opinion. The London and Northwestern Railway had dismissed sixty-five employees for refusing to forswear their allegiance to their trades-union. The union promptly issued 50,000 notices to quit the service of this corporation, and the disastrous tying up of a great system seemed imminent. But the pressure of public opinion through the Board of Trade and through leading shareholders—including Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. Bryce—forced the company to reconsider its action and reinstate the men. "Some of the shareholders," says the cable dispatch, "promised to

hand over their next dividends to the strike funds if the company persisted in trying to boycott the union." The victory for the union is considered of great importance, but it is surely no greater than the victory for conservatism and good feeling between rich and poor.

The exact facts in the scandal connected with the Public Works Department of the London County Council are now before us. It is encouraging to find that the dishonesty involved was statistical rather than financial, and it is decidedly encouraging that statistical dishonesty should call forth so much indignation. The London County Council, it will be recalled, has itself performed, through its Public Works Department, much of the public work formerly given out to contractors. The Progressive members at whose instance this policy was adopted have boasted of the great savings as well as the better work secured under the new system. Time after time this department has performed work for less than the cost estimated by the architect. The present scandal was the method of bookkeeping adopted to make the department's record uniformly favorable. When a job was costing more than the architect's estimate, the bookkeepers would charge some of the materials to other jobs upon which there was a profit. "When we found we were going to have a loss," as one of the witnesses put it, "we took the profit from one job and gave it to another." In this way, only three public works out of twenty-seven undertaken last year seemed to have cost more than the architect's estimate. In reality seven out of the twenty-seven had cost more. However, the profits of the profitable jobs amounted to a sum sufficient to meet the losses concealed. Not only did no individual receive any of the city's money, but the aggregate profit of the city upon all the public works was quite as great as the "cooked" accounts indicated. Some of the Conservative organs are making a great deal of political capital out of the scandal, and a few of them are suggesting that the old system of relying on private contractors should be returned to. The more moderate of the conservatives, however, have simply insisted upon a system of higher salaries in order to secure better superintendence of the public works.

The developments of Russian policy in the Chinese Empire continue to be of great significance. As a reward for Russia's intervention to obtain Japan's retrocession of the Liaotung Peninsula, and also to obtain from Paris the funds for the first installment of the war indemnity, China is paying a very large price. The Russo-Chinese Convention, signed a few weeks ago, provides that (instead of making a circuitous route of over a thousand miles along the Amur River in order to reach Vladivostok) the Siberian Railway may be constructed eastward through the Chinese province of Manchuria. Russia may also construct lines from Kirin southward to Shanhaikuan and Port Arthur. Russia thus saves distance and gains additional and more desirable ports than the ice-bound Vladivostok. In order to make this transaction seem more reasonable to the Chinese, however, the Convention provides that Russian lines running through China may be purchased by the latter after thirty years, and that Chinese lines built by Russia may be purchased by China after a period of ten years. It is probable, however, that all of the funds which can be secured for much longer periods must be devoted to paying the Japanese war indemnity, and to reorganizing the army and navy. Finally, the Convention provides that the Russians may station their troops along the lines constructed by them; that the Chinese soldiers in Man-



churia shall be controlled by Russian officers; that Russia shall have the right to work the Manchurian mines, and that part of the province of Kianchau shall be leased to Russia. Russian influence has long been dominant in Korea. Thus the entire Empire north of the Great Wall is practically in Russian control. Russia is also using the possessions of France in Tonking to check Japan. The new masters of the island of Formosa have made no secret of their intention to become masters also of the Philippine Islands, and the unhappy state of Spanish finances causes them to hope that their indemnity proposal might be agreed to by Spain. It is even said that the Philippine rebellion was fomented by the Japanese; at all events, the Japanese Government has issued orders to send a warship to the islands. Russia has now made a counter-proposal to Spain, and it is rumored that Spain would be ready to grant the concession of a naval coaling-station on one of the islands if Russia "would manifest her friendship at this time of trial." What that phrase may mean as regards the United States is not quite clear, but it is clear enough that Russia proposes to checkmate the recent advance of Japan in Pacific waters.

Prince Luitpold, the Prince-Regent of Bavaria, is the first of the present rulers of Continental Europe to take a definite stand against dueling. The Prince recently canceled the decision of a court martial which had sentenced an officer to be dismissed from the army because the latter had declared himself opposed to dueling. In his general order the Prince-Regent instructs his Minister of War to announce that henceforth, so far as the Bavarian army is concerned, the compulsion to fight duels is abolished. It is to be hoped that the other Continental sovereigns will follow this good example. In our own country the practice of dueling is now confined to certain parts of the South, and we rarely hear of duels even there. Nevertheless, it is a pleasure to learn that Mr. Alfred S. Clay, who has received the Democratic nomination for Senator from Georgia to succeed General Gordon, has had the moral courage, in an atmosphere favorable to dueling, to refuse to fight. In declining a recent challenge sent him, he said: "I am opposed to dueling. I am opposed to it because it is prohibited by the Constitution of this State, that I have frequently sworn to support and defend. I am opposed to it because it is condemned by every principle of our laws and every doctrine of our religion. I am opposed to it because I am unwilling to commit murder, or to become a party to its commission by others. I never intend to take the life of a human being, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so in self-defense. . . . Nor have I done you any wrong that entitles you to redress at my hands. I have done you no injustice. If I had, I am manly enough to confess it and make the proper reparation for it."

### Machines in Politics

At the Manhattan and Brooklyn Conference held at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, the other day, Benjamin F. Blair, Esq., a well-known member of the New York Bar, read a very significant paper on the subject of political duties. Much of this paper went over ground with which our readers are familiar. The speaker condemned the indifference of citizens to their political obligations; gave illustrative facts showing the extent of this apathy; insisted that simply voting on election day is not a sufficient discharge of the duties of citizenship; reminded his readers that the word idiot was one which the Greeks

applied to people who gave their whole time to their own private affairs and neglected their public duties, and lamented the number of idiots we have in America; dwelt on the value both of conscience and of party spirit as motive powers in inciting men to the performance of their duty; showed how party spirit could be consecrated to noble ends; reclaimed the words politics and politicians from the undeserved reproach put upon them by public and indiscriminating sneers; called on his audience to commend public officers who had faithfully performed their duty to the city, the State, or the Nation; insisted that if good men are to reform politics they must not be Pharisees—they must be willing to associate politically with all sorts and conditions of men; and brought his address to a close by the following practical counsel to those who wished to defeat self-seekers in public affairs:

"If you are going to 'beat the machine,' you must have another machine to do it with. And, other things being equal, if you are to win, your machine must be either the stronger or the better managed of the two. But if you have forces sufficient to build such a new machine, then you have forces sufficient to capture the old one, and as soon as you have done that your battle is won; whereas, after you have performed all the labor of organizing your new machine, the battle is still to be fought, and the chances—nay, the very decided probabilities—are that, by the time it is over, both sides will be exhausted, your party distracted and weakened, and the opposition party, with its machine, no whit better than the one you have been trying to beat, intrenched in power. I say, then, do not waste your time in organizing leagues to 'beat the machine,' but go into the existing organization of your party and *capture the machine.*"

Mr. Blair's advice is that of a man who is at once a moral reformer and a practical politician; who is familiar with political machinery; who has taken an active part in the politics of his city, not for what he could get out of it for himself or for others, but for what he could do for the community in which he lives. There may be cases in which the only way to destroy a bad machine is to organize a new one, but these cases are rare. Except where non-partisan action is needed for special ends, the best thing the citizen can do is to co-operate with other citizens like-minded with himself, go into his party machinery, and convert it from base to noble uses. This is not impossible. It has often been done. It cannot be accomplished without persistent courage, but there is nothing worth doing which persistent courage cannot do. If conscience is to conquer selfishness, conscience must not remain unorganized.

### Dr. John Watson

Dr. John Watson brought to a close what has been a continued service and a continued ovation in the United States by giving his last public address in this country last Sunday in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The church was crowded to its utmost capacity. It was, indeed, only with the greatest difficulty that pewholders were able to get their seats, and some of them doubtless were among the hundreds turned from the doors of the overcrowded house. The church pursued the democratic method it has always pursued in similar cases; no tickets were issued; the throng were admitted as rapidly as they could be with due regard to the rights of pewholders. Dr. Henry M. Field, of the New York "Evangelist," and Dr. Lyman Abbott, the pastor of Plymouth Church, occupied the pulpit with Dr. Watson, and conducted the service of worship. Dr. Watson intro-