

recommending, on grounds of public policy, that new bonds should be sold to the syndicate "on about the basis of the contract of February 8, 1895," but pledging his co-operation in making the loan a success in case the President decided to offer the bonds to public subscription. This pledge is carried out by the dissolution of the syndicate, leaving the members entirely free to offer what terms they see fit, and by the co-operation of members of it in making the loan a success. There is now little doubt that the entire issue will be subscribed for at rates approximating those for which the former issue now sells in the open market. During last week Secretary Carlisle sensibly extended the time during which payments for the new bonds could be made. He did this at the suggestion of many New York bankers, who recognized that the purchase of \$100,000,000 in gold for the Treasury would contract the amount of money in circulation, and feared that if this contraction took place suddenly, the loan to "restore confidence" would precipitate a panic.

Among the recent elections of United States Senators the most important was that held in Utah on Monday of this week. Mr. Frank J. Cannon, the son of George Q. Cannon, of the Presidency of the Mormon Church, was selected as the representative of the Mormons, and Mr. Arthur Brown as the representative of the Gentiles. Mr. Cannon was elected delegate to Congress in 1894, partly because of the revulsion of public sentiment against the Democratic party, and partly, it is alleged, because of the church influence in his favor. At one time, in his wilder days, he left the Mormon Church, but returned to it previous to his entrance into politics. He is not regarded as a man of marked ability or strength of character. His colleague, on the contrary, is reported to be a man of exceptional power, closely resembling Senator Tillman. He has been an intense anti-Mormon, and his election was something of a surprise. Both Senators are, of course, Republicans and advocates of the immediate free coinage of silver. In Kentucky the Democratic caucus renominated Senator Blackburn, but fourteen Democrats opposed to free coinage refused to be bound by the caucus action. The election of a Democrat is thus rendered next to impossible, as the two Populists who hold the balance of power will not support a Democrat acceptable to the anti-silver wing. The Republicans may unseat enough Democrats in the lower House to give themselves a majority of both Houses on joint ballot, but the Democrats threaten to meet any such tactics by unseating Republican Senators. In such an unseemly fight as this the Republicans would seem to have the political advantage, as the Republican House has a much longer tale of members than the Democratic Senate. In Ohio the Republicans have elected to the Senate ex-Governor Foraker, who is expected to succeed in all respects to the power and prestige of James G. Blaine. In his speech before the Ohio Legislature accepting the election he characteristically defined himself as a bimetalist, without defining bimetalism.

Temperance legislation occupies the first place before most of the newly assembled Legislatures. In Ohio the temperance forces seem to be entirely united in support of the local option bill, barely defeated last year, extending to counties the rights now possessed by townships to prohibit bar-rooms within their borders. The Anti-Saloon League, which has carried on so effectively the agitation in favor of this measure, holds its convention in Columbus this week. Among the speakers announced are the Rev.

J. M. Cleary, of Minnesota, and Bishop Watterson, of Columbus, representing the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, Colonel Eli Ritter and the Hon. I. E. Nicholson, of Indiana—the leaders of the forces which secured the enactment of the Nicholson Law last year—and the Hon. Walter B. Hill, of Georgia, representing the powerful Anti-Bar-room League in that State, besides President J. W. Bashford, of Ohio Wesleyan University, and others who have given the Ohio League its astonishing vitality and strength. The fact that most of these men are Prohibitionists furnishes illustration of the falsity of the charge that Prohibitionists will not work with moderate temperance people to push forward restrictive measures immediately practicable. It is our observation that much, if not most, of the hard work in behalf of such measures is performed by the members of this party from whose theories we so often dissent. In New York State a large number of excise bills have been introduced into the Legislature besides the Raines tax bill reported last week. A moderate Sunday-opening bill has been presented having the support of Dr. Parkhurst and the Chamber of Commerce, and an immoderate Sunday-opening bill having the support of the Chamber of Commerce and the Excise Reform Association. The former merely authorizes bona-fide restaurants to sell wine and beer with meals, and without meals from 12 to 2 P.M. and from 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. provided they are not to be drunk on the premises. With such an enactment as this it is believed that the temperance forces in this city could defeat at the polls the proposition for wide-open saloons from 1 to 10 P.M., on which the other bill demands a referendum. It is for this last bill, of course, that the liquor-dealers are working with might and main, and we regret to find them supported by many men to whom Sunday bar-rooms, with the attendant treating, tippling, and loafing, are personally repugnant. Fortunately, however, the Legislature—Republican by over two-thirds majority—will not dare to repudiate the anti-saloon platform on which it was elected by offering the local option demanded by liquor-dealers while refusing the local option demanded by temperance people.

Another temperance matter of interest in New York is a decision of the Court of Appeals which will gradually reduce the number of saloons within two hundred feet of churches or schools. Heretofore it has been the custom, at least in this city, to renew licenses to old saloons within the legal limit, even if the saloons changed hands, unless a protest was filed by the church or school authorities. The Court of Appeals decides that under the law licenses can only be renewed to present licensees and cannot be transferred to new men. The significance of the decision is much less than most of the reports have indicated. In Iowa retiring Governor Jackson, in his message to the Legislature, urges that the license law passed under his administration has lessened the number of saloons. The number of United States licenses issued during the last year of State-wide prohibition, he says, was 6,032; the number issued during the first year of the so-called "mulct" law was 4,264. The revenue of the taxpayers from the license or "mulct" system was \$1,156,000. On these accounts the retiring Governor urges that the new law has been helpful to the State as well as to the liquor-dealers. That it has helped the liquor-dealers no one denies; that it has helped the State is vehemently denied by most of the temperance people, who ask nothing more of the new Legislature than that it shall fulfill the pledge to submit to the voters of the State a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution. The fact that the number of United States

licenses issued has been lessened signifies nothing, they urge, since one open dram-shop does more business than a dozen stealthy transitory joints. The public revenue from the licenses, they add with force, is not so much wealth added to the State, as a petty salvage from the sums wasted in the bar-rooms. In Canada the prohibitionists have just scored a succession of victories. In the city of Toronto the Prohibitory Union has elected its candidate for Mayor, and seven members of the Board of Aldermen. In Manitoba five-sixths of the Liberal candidates for the Legislature were prohibitionists, and the great Liberal victory was incidentally a prohibition victory.



The problem of the Greater New York is far more serious and more important than the legislators seem to think. To compel a union of two great cities under one municipal government against the protest of a considerable portion of the citizens of either city would be a great injustice. On the other hand, a mere submission to popular vote of the question whether the two cities should be united in one city, without any attempt to determine beforehand what the nature of that union shall be, is to ask for a vote in the dark. The real problem is this: There is crowded together on Manhattan Island and the immediate vicinity a population already numbering two and a half millions, and certain in a very little time to number four millions. What should be the relation of this great population to the rest of the State? What should be its powers of self-government, and how should they be exercised? These questions cannot be answered offhand by a popular election, nor wisely answered by a committee composed of legislators many of whom are without any expert knowledge of municipal problems. Moreover, it is certain that any legislative committee will be largely influenced by a consideration of the effect which union will be likely to have upon the fortunes of the two great political parties. A hasty decision is not important; a wise decision is. For this what is needed is a committee composed of the most statesmenlike men in the State, men familiar with municipal problems here and abroad, such men as Seth Low and Albert Shaw, to study the problem and propose a plan for legislative or popular acceptance, or both. It may well be that the whole district should be divided into smaller districts, each with its own administrative center and administrative head, analogous to the arrondissements in Paris, but all united in one municipal organization with a central legislative body and a central executive head including and supervising the various departments. It is possible that the proposition to give local option in the matter of liquor-selling to the wards should be extended to other matters either in the wards or in larger districts. Certainly the wisest plan for municipal government for such a heterogeneous population cannot be hit upon by chance, but requires for its formulation a comparison of views by the wisest and most patriotic men.



This problem is itself part of the larger problem of municipal government throughout the State. What is the relation of the city to the State? What measure of home rule should be accorded to the city? These are questions which not only have never been solved, it may almost be said that they have never been seriously studied by the law-making powers. Dr. Shaw, in his studies of foreign municipalities; Professor Goodenow, in his study of American municipal legislation; The Outlook, in its description three years ago of municipal corruption in this country, and other periodicals and papers in fugitive and fragmen-

tary articles, have considered the subject of municipal government from the historic and scientific points of view; but it may fairly be said that no systematic, patriotic, and scientific endeavor has been made by any Legislature to ascertain the principles which should be applied to municipal government, and to construct a general municipal charter upon those principles. This is what pre-eminently needs to be done. The charter of the great cities should be like the Constitution of the State, adopted after careful deliberation, and not easily to be changed. The Reform Club in the city of New York could render no better service than by entering into correspondence with smaller bodies in other cities for the purpose of devising a plan for municipal government to be urged upon the Legislature. If the cities from New York to Buffalo were once able to agree upon a general plan of municipal government, their united action would unquestionably secure its ratification by the people of the State. It is doubtful whether any legislative committee will or can secure any such results.



The political machine corrupts, vitiates, and demoralizes everything which it touches. The Hon. Levi P. Morton has made, on the whole, an excellent Governor of New York State. He has been conservative, conciliatory, prudent, and in his moral standards greatly superior to the politicians who have claimed to control the Republican party. When such a man is nominated for the Presidency by his friends, legitimate political ambition should intensify his desire and strengthen his purpose to do great things. But the machine is supposed to control the convention which makes the Presidential nomination, and it is probably true that no man can even have his name submitted to the people as a candidate unless he has secured a nomination from the machine. When, therefore, Mr. Morton's name is seriously mentioned for the Presidency, immediately he is brought under pressure to yield to the machine, whose behests he did not obey in the gubernatorial administration. Apparently as a result of that pressure, he has removed a good man and appointed an extremely doubtful one on the Civil Service Commission, in deference to the demands of the spoilsmen, and in spite of the protest of the Civil Service Reformers; in other words, he has put the law into the hands of men whose character and antecedents give the public reason to believe that they will disregard its spirit, and, so far as they dare, will violate its principles. If this is what the machine can do with a man so deservedly esteemed as Governor Morton, what wonder that it corrupts and demoralizes men of feebleness and less eminence! Such political appointments as these make the independent citizen question whether he can hope for political purity in either party, or for a political issue, not between spoilsmen struggling for office, but between statesmen honestly differing in their political judgments. Our present political system is as if in the Civil War General Lee on one side and General Grant on the other had been controlled in their campaigns by the peddlers, sutlers, camp-followers, and hangers-on who were following the army for what they could make out of it.



The New York Kindergarten Association has made an appeal for funds. It needs about \$9,000 for the work of the winter, in addition to the money which it receives from regular sources. No officer of the Association receives any salary, and very considerable work is done and very heavy responsibilities are shouldered by busy men and women out of pure love of the cause. Subscriptions of any amount may be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. Alfred Bishop Mason, 10 Wall Street.