

*SWORN PUBLICATION OF CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.*

THE advocates of reform in our election methods reached a practically unanimous conclusion early in their discussions, that the wisest course to pursue was to proceed step by step rather than to endeavor to accomplish all that was desirable at one and the same time. They concluded that the first step was to secure a secret and uninfluenced ballot, and that the only way by which this could be obtained would be by taking the printing and distributing of the ballots out of the hands of the political organizations, and putting it exclusively in the hands of the State. This would take away the main excuse for the use of large sums of money in elections; for if the State pays all the election expenses, there will be no excuse for heavy assessments upon candidates. It was thought that, when this ballot-reform legislation had been secured, it would be natural and comparatively easy to secure, as the next step in the reform, a comprehensive law limiting the expenditures of candidates and requiring a sworn statement of all such expenditures after election.

The wisdom of confining the discussion to ballot-reform legislation has been vindicated by the results. It may be said with strict accuracy that public sentiment has already been sufficiently educated to the necessity of this part of the reform to secure its adoption by every State in the Union within a few years. Perhaps Gov. Hill realized this when he hastened to put himself on record in favor of the next step in the reform, by advocating in his message the enactment of some law requiring the publication of campaign expenses by candidates after election. At all events, his recommendation was a commendable one, and in preparing a bill on the lines of it Mr. Crosby has performed a useful public service. He has not, it must be admitted, drawn a measure which is adequate to the demands of the subject, but he has made a starting-point from which progress in the right direction is certain to be made.

Mr. Crosby's bill simply provides that every candidate for public office shall, within ten days after his election, file with the Secretary of State an itemized statement of all moneys contributed or spent by him and all debts incurred in aid of his election; and whenever such expenditures or debts are made or incurred through an agent, a similar statement of the agent's transactions shall be filed. In case of failure to file such statement or statements, the candidate is liable to a fine not exceeding \$1,000, and is forbidden to enter upon the duties of his office or to receive any salary or emolument. Several serious defects are at once apparent in this measure. One is, that there is no limit placed to the expenditures by candidates. Another is, that there is no penalty prescribed for filing false statements. Still another, and the most serious of all, is, that the provision depriving a candidate of his office, in case of failure to comply with the law, is in all probability unconstitutional.

The broad, general trouble with the bill is

that it attempts to deal with a very momentous and complicated question in too brief a manner. We cannot break up a system which is at once so widespread and so insidious in its ramifications as the use of money in elections, by enacting a law of only three short sections. The English Corrupt Practices Act, which abolished the use of money in elections in England, contains seventy sections and five schedules of many sections each, and no part of it has been found to be superfluous. As one of its most intelligent expounders says of it: "It is pervaded by two principles. The first is, to strike hard and home at corrupt practices; the second is, to prohibit by positive legislation any expenditure in the conduct of an election which is not absolutely necessary." These two principles are applied with the greatest minuteness. Not merely is bribery forbidden, but every conceivable form of bribery or undue influence is defined and the penalty fixed. The maximum amount of expenditure which each candidate can make is named proportionate to the size of his constituency. This sum must cover all expenses—printing, postage, room-rent, clerk-hire, every thing. All disbursements must be made by one person, either the candidate himself or his agent. If he employs an agent, he cannot disburse a farthing himself, but must leave it all to the agent. An account with vouchers must be kept of all expenditures, and returned under oath to the proper officers after election. Any person found guilty of an "illegal practice" is liable to a fine of £100 and five years' incapacity for voting, while a candidate guilty by himself or his agent loses his seat, and is disqualified for sitting for the same constituency, in the former case for seven years, in the latter during the existing Parliament. Minor offences of illegal payment, etc., are liable to a fine of £100. Any candidate whose expenditures exceed the maximum limit loses his seat.

It will be seen at a glance what a difference there is between the specific provisions of the English Act and the general prohibitory provisions of Mr. Crosby's measure. No general prohibitory law against bribery, or any other method of using money to influence elections unduly, has ever been worth the paper it was written on. We have had them on our statute-books in every State for years, and they are all dead letters. The English Act, on the contrary, has accomplished its object. It destroyed bribery at a single blow, and it so reduced the use of money in elections that the total expenditures dropped from \$15,000,000 to less than \$4,000,000 in the first election held under the law; and in the latest election under it the expenditures were only about one-half of the maximum allowed by law.

Of course, the worst evil we have to meet here is that of the "assessments" upon candidates. These are made, not upon him after his nomination, but before it and as the price of it. Under Mr. Crosby's bill a candidate who had been "assessed," and had paid \$20,000 for his nomination, could file a sworn statement which could truthfully

omit all mention of this \$20,000, for it would represent no expense incurred in his election. Probably the only way to reach this assessment evil would be a provision in the law requiring every successful candidate to take an oath before entering upon office, that he had paid no assessment and incurred no debt of any kind in any way either to secure a nomination or an election. Such a requirement, with a sworn statement of expenditures, with heavy penalties for failure to make it or for false swearing in making it, would go far to break up the practice. But this, like all other provisions of such a law, requires the most careful thought and deliberation. Nothing would please the political corruptionists more than to have an inadequate law, which would be of no effect in practice, passed at this time; for it would tend to delay the passage of an adequate law, and, by its failure, to bring ridicule upon the advocates of the reform as mere "theorists" whose ideas never amount to anything in practice.

*A "RIGOROUS" OHIO POLICY WANTED.*

THE question of Gen. Harrison's "policy towards the South" has been much discussed by the Republican press, and there has been no little speculation as to whether it would be "rigorous" or "conciliatory," and as to what he would "insist" should be done in that part of the country. Recent events force to the front another question—What will be the new President's policy towards Ohio?

The last Ohio Legislature, more than twenty years after the close of the war, abolished the "black laws," discriminating against the negroes, which had until that time remained upon the statute-book, and thus opened the public schools of the State to white and black children alike. During this period of more than twenty years, it must be remembered, the Republican politicians of Ohio had been trying to force upon the Southern States through Congress legislation which would do away with all race discrimination, in schools and elsewhere, in that portion of the Union.

No sooner did the Ohio people discover that the action of the Legislature, which had been much praised as "abolishing a relic of barbarism," really meant that negro parents could, if they chose, send their children to schools previously attended solely by whites, than trouble broke out in a number of places. The most serious difficulty has been in a town of Clermont County, which belies its name of Felicity. The population of Felicity consists of nine whites to one negro, and until the law of 1887 was passed, the negro children attended separate schools, which were maintained almost exclusively by the whites, the school-tax paid by the negroes being only \$16 to \$3,600 by the whites. When the school term opened in the fall of 1887, several negro children presented themselves at a white school, and insisted upon admission. They were refused entrance, and when a negro father accompanied his children, in order to enforce their

rights, he was roughly handled by some white men. The negroes finally concluded that it was of no use to continue the struggle, and a peace was patched up by an agreement of the whites to provide two graded schools for colored children, taught by excellent colored teachers.

But the old trouble was renewed when the last school year opened in September, 1888. The graded-school system for the blacks had proved a failure, only sixteen pupils attending the two schools, and the whites decided to support only one school for the blacks. Thereupon the blacks resolved to make another effort to get their children into the white school. Three successive days the colored children applied for admission, and three successive days the white men and women (for the feeling was even stronger among the women than among the men) stood in the door and told them that they could not enter. The School Board (consisting of three Republicans and three Democrats) remained passive, informing the negroes when appealed to that they did not propose to take any hand in the matter. In the words of one of them: "Some of our best citizens said to us, 'We want you directors to keep your hands off, and we will attend to this matter ourselves. We propose that the negroes shall not go into our white school. We have made every provision for them. It would break up our school, for the majority of the white people would withdraw their children.'"

Again the negroes found that they must give up the attempt to secure their rights by their own exertions. This time they resolved to appeal to the courts. Indictments were sought and obtained against certain white persons who had obstructed negro parents when they tried to enter their children in the white school. The cases recently came to trial. Two juries refused to convict the offenders, and it being evident that public sentiment would secure the same result in any case, the trial of all the other cases was postponed.

All through this struggle, which has now lasted nearly a year and a half, the Governor of Ohio has been inactive. Not one word has he said in denunciation of the outrages or in rebuke of the law-breakers. His recent message to the Legislature was entirely silent on the most vital issue now pending in the State of Ohio.

Here, evidently, is a clear case for the incoming President. In a State of the American Union negroes are denied those rights guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Local sentiment sustains the injustice; the courts refuse to punish the offenders; the Governor of the State, overawed by the political influence of the law-breakers, is supine. The poor negro of Felicity is helpless in the face of a hostile State.

Obviously there must be a "policy towards Ohio," and as obviously it must be a "rigorous" one. The sun should not go down on the 4th of March before Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, has notified the white people of Felicity, Ohio, that he will "insist" that they open their schools to the negro children, that a force of

United States troops will be stationed at the door of the school-house to enforce the rights of the negroes, and that the pusillanimous Governor of the State will be lodged in the penitentiary.

#### THE MASSACRE AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

"NINE Heads in the Basket" is the appropriate heading of the news which came from Washington on Tuesday, announcing the removal of officials in the Appraiser's Department. A cocking main in New Jersey, or a lynching affair in Texas, or a shooting affray among gamblers in Arizona could not be treated with more *sang froid* by the newspapers than is this massacre at the Custom-house. It seems to us a very serious business, and not at all an occasion for merriment. Secretary Fairchild, in the character of a Tammany sachem, adorned with war-paint, and brandishing the tomahawk and scalping-knife, is not at all an agreeable or amusing subject for a cartoon. As to the victims, we do not know one of them. We read that this one has been in the service nine years, and that one six years, and so on. No charges are made against any of them, so far as the public are aware. The worst inferences will therefore be drawn, and ought to be; for it must be presumed that if any good reasons existed for such a massacre, they would have been promulgated at once.

Being left to grope in the dark for reasons for these proceedings, we naturally turn to what is called the Byrne report on alleged sugar frauds in New York. This document was sent to the Treasury Department November 1, 1887. The Senate called for a copy of it March 1, 1888. It was not furnished. A second call was made on the 8th inst., and the copy was sent in on the 18th without the "exhibits"—that is, without the matter which alone gives it any value as a guide to the truth. If Byrne had been a man of known qualifications and character, some weight, corresponding to his reputation, would have attached to his report. The gravity of the subject on hand was such that an investigation by no less a body than a Commission, like the Jay Commission of Secretary Sherman's time, could have satisfied public opinion as to the existence or non-existence of the alleged frauds. A secret report from any source would not at all have answered the public requirement; and this is eminently a public requirement, going much beyond the beheading of a few Custom-house officials. It involves a general charge on the part of Boston that New York owes her primacy in foreign commerce, in part at least, to unfair dealings—that is, to fraud in the importation of sugar and other things. This charge is distinctly made in the Boston *Commercial Bulletin* of January 19. "The removal of Appraiser Lewis McMullen of New York," says this paper, "and a number of his assistant appraisers, by Secretary Fairchild, is a signal victory of a long struggle against dis-

crimination and dishonesty in the customs service, in which Boston merchants have borne the heat and burden of the battle, and may justly be credited with the victory. When the Boston movement against undervaluations was started, it met with much ridicule from certain New York parties, who claimed that it was a senseless outbreak, and that there was no foundation for the belief that undervaluations and dishonest appraisements prevailed in New York to the detriment of importers in other places." The *Bulletin* adds that "the investigation of Special Treasury Agent Byrne of Boston into the practices of the New York Custom-house showed conclusively that undervaluations and frauds on the Treasury were the work of a well-defined ring of New York agents of foreign manufacturers and exporters, officials in the New York Custom-house, and American importers." If New York's primacy in foreign commerce rested on the shifty foundation of frauds in the Custom-house, it would be very insecure. We have no facilities for undervaluing sugar that might not be copied and surpassed by any other port. If we have any "well-defined ring," such as the *Bulletin* speaks of, why are not the names of the parties composing it given? We shall take pleasure in printing them whenever they are furnished by any person or newspaper.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that there is no "Special Treasury Agent" of the name of Byrne, and that no report of Byrne "showed conclusively" anything whatsoever, because the report was kept secret until a few days ago, and the testimony upon which it was based is still secret. Whatever weight might attach to a commission like the Jay Commission by reason of the reputation of its *personnel*, none can attach to that of the manager of a skating-rink who was never heard of until he became a "special employee"—that is the title given to him by Mr. Fairchild—of the Treasury Department.

Well, Byrne's report, whether worth much or little, remained in the Department thirteen months. That very little importance was attached to it becomes evident from the fact that nothing was done under it, or in pursuance of it, until Appraiser McMullen made difficulties about some changes in the Custom-house service which were clearly of a political nature. Passing over those changes, however, and supposing them to have been non-political, we are moved to inquire what the Secretary was about during the thirteen months in which the nine examiners whose heads "rolled in the basket" on Tuesday were deemed fit to pass upon the value of sugar, wool, hardware, tobacco, etc. It is not sufficient to say that he was studying the Byrne report thirteen months, or that he was making other investigations. All secret investigations, Byrne's and his own, if he made any, involving the reputation of individuals, are worthless. All such investigations involving the name and fame of the city of New York, (for this is what is chiefly concerned), are worse than worthless. It is therefore a proper inquiry, What does this new-born

zeal of the Secretary, after a slumber of more than a year, signify? He can hardly fancy that he will commend himself to excessive popularity among his fellow-citizens by putting a stigma upon them *en masse* as the last act of his official life. If the public service really demands the massacre at the Custom-house, well and good. But it is for Mr. Fairchild to show this to fair-minded men before he leaves his present position.

#### HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS.

A FEW lines out of a letter from Mr. Phillipps to the writer of this notice appeared in the *Nation* on December 20, 1888. That letter must have been among the very last he ever wrote. Among the rarities which he had most recently acquired, he spoke of "the printed original music to a song quoted in 'Twelfth Night' (act II. 3) only one other copy being known." The words, which were, "Farewell, dear heart, since I must needs be gone," now rise before us as a swan-song prophetic of his own departure as at hand. His health had long been failing, but, though faint, he was still pursuing his chosen way, and e'en in his ashes lived the wonted fires. The other recent find which he had mentioned in this last letter, was "a manuscript book of travels containing the earliest account of the interior of Shakspeare's birth-room that has yet been discovered." This account must have reminded him in his age how in youth he had been among those first and foremost, about 1847, in saving the birth-house from being carried off bodily by Barnum into American captivity beyond the sea. Thanks, too, to Mr. Phillipps, the Shaksperian garden at New Place was long ago restored as nearly as possible to the appearance it had presented at the era of Shakspeare's retirement and death amid its flowers. Exact knowledge regarding Stratfordian topography may be said to have begun throughout with Phillipps, nor is it easy to see how research in this direction can go further than it is carried in later editions of his 'Outlines.' His discovery of the deeds of the poet's New Place—the only ones of his time known to exist—dated 1532, 1563, and 1567, was chronicled by the *Nation* in 1886, and encourages hope of further light in unexpected quarters. Mr. Phillipps's monograph on the travels of Shakspeare's theatrical company (and hence possibly of Shakspeare himself), and another on "Misprints," showing how in the text of the plays we may "by indirections find directions out," are two recent specimens among scores of booklets in which Mr. Phillipps, in every way inventive love could dictate, was every year, for a generation, throwing side-lights on his favorite dramatist and his works. His only mistake lay in printing these booklets, Halliwelliana, almost all of them, for presentation among friends, and not putting them on the market at all. Recondite lore or subtle speculation has thus been hid in a corner: it should have been proclaimed on the house tops.

During less than twenty of his last years was Mr. Phillipps rich enough to indulge his Shaksperian tastes. Indeed, he never bore the name Phillipps till 1872, taking it with his wife's fortune. Born James Orchard Halliwell, his first schooling was in his birthplace, Chelsea, and Brighton. Then he was a Cambridge student for two years. But in 1840, when only twenty years old, he had already edited an edition of Sir John Mandeville. Henceforth his studies were antiquarian, and mainly in some department of English mediæval history. Some of his themes, as English nursery rhymes, the

wise men of Gotham, and old inventories of furniture, seemed trivial—rather subhistoric than prehistoric. But he showed that "poor matters point to rich ends," that small matters had large relations, and he took up great things by little handles. He also dealt in more pretentious works—'Letters of English Kings,' mostly before unpublished, and an 'Archaic and Provincial Dictionary' which is still high authority. So prodigious was his literary fecundity that he had produced threescore works before he was forty years old. Several of these were altogether Shaksperian, and in 1852 he began the most monumental edition of Shakspeare that has ever been published—in sixteen elephant folios, limited to 150 copies at £63, subscription-price. During the progress of this vast work, which occupied him thirteen years, his recreations were rambles in Wales, Cornwall, and the Continent as far as the St. Gothard, which furnished material for more than one book.

From his fiftieth year Mr. Phillipps has dedicated himself to illustrating Shakspeare in his own way. But he had done much earlier. In 1862 he had engaged an accomplished draughtsman to make sketches of every morsel that could be found of Shakspeare's England—that is, of every object that he himself was likely to have seen, following the routes taken by the poet in his various journeys, etc. This alone proved a six years' task. But after the wind-fall of a fortune, Mr. Phillipps at once proceeded to lavish it on selectest Shaksperiana. His house at Brompton he filled with Shaksperian books. Ere long he set up another establishment upon a hill-top 462 feet above Brighton. Here he treasured all Shaksperian rarities that money could buy, or search and research detect. His success was so great and speedy that it has long been confessed that Hollingbury Cope has the honor of sheltering more records and artistic evidences connected with the personal history of the great dramatist than are to be found in any other of the world's libraries. His motto in a hand-list of these memorials was: "But now he's gone, and my idolatrous fancy must sanctify his relics."

Nearly a decade ago, Mr. Phillipps gave public notice that his collection was open at all times to Shaksperians. He had as great delight in exhibiting as in gathering his illustrative wonders. He printed catalogues that filled volumes, describing the curiosities. No matter whether visitors came as single spies or in battalions, they all, according to their several capacities, found what they sought.

On May 10, 1888, Mr. Phillipps wrote to us: "My doctor says that I must lie fallow this summer—do as little in the way of reading and writing as possible. So it will be a capital opportunity for you to send your American friends here, and I need not say that any arriving with your introduction will be most warmly welcomed." As a help to any Shaksperian pilgrim we might send, Mr. Phillipps had formerly enclosed to us what he called "A rough sketch-plan of the way to Hollingbury Cope from Brighton." This guide covers a sheet of foolscap (17x18½ inches), and abounds in characteristic notes. One of them reads thus:

"This local habitation and a name' derives the latter from an ancient British camp in its immediate vicinity—a fine and interesting example of a primeval earthwork fortification, which has been known from time immemorial as Hollingbury Castle. The camp is entrenched on the highest eminence in the locality, over five hundred feet above the sea-level, and the cope is situated a little distance towards the west, at a somewhat lesser elevation. Although so near Brighton, being only two miles and a half from the sea, it has an essentially different

climate. Upon the day when this is being written, 24th February, 1888, although snow is scarcely visible in the town, the drifts here are several feet in depth outside the fences, and the roads impassable to any description of vehicle. Our only communication with Brighton is, just now, for some distance out through the solid snow, and if the Hollingbury bungalow, with its present surroundings, is not a fragment of Nova Zembla, it must anyhow be a first-class imitation of it."

Two of our friends found their way to this Shaksperian Mecca on the 8th of last August. They were so received as to feel overpaid for their pilgrimage. Writing next day, they said: "Mr. Phillipps is now, he says, pretty well, and his appearance corroborates this; but he told us that a month ago he was quite ill and unable to see any one." Nor was any formal introduction needed for securing a sight of the Shaksperian jewels. One apt quotation, one intelligent remark on the dramatist, was a sufficient open-sesame. One American youth, just out of college and on a walk about Brighton, calling, as he told us, with diffidence because unacquainted, was so greeted that he felt forthwith at ease, and went away with memories of most instructive hours. Mr. Phillipps has assured us that he was more glad to see Americans than others, not only because they came from far, but because his own lucubrations had been appreciated in their country sooner than in his own.

More than four years ago, inspecting this Shaksperian museum, while the comments of its owner again and again added a precious seeing to our eye, we asked him what he meant to have done with his collection, since he could not always care for it, and no child of his inherited his tastes. His answer was that he was himself still at a loss what to do about it. We then said, speaking more than half jocosely: "Let us have it in America. 'We'll set it in a shower of gold and hail rich pearls upon it.' What a complement it would form to the Boston printed Shaksperiana, which have few superiors anywhere!" Such a disposition of his memorials he confessed had not occurred to him. It seems as if the hunt were not wholly lost, for he has bequeathed to the New York Shakspeare Society all his electro-plates, wood-blocks, etc. His great collection he offers to the municipality of Birmingham for seven thousand pounds.

#### A TRIP TO DELPHI.

CAMBRIDGE, January 20.

THE conditions of travel in Greece are changing so rapidly, owing to the introduction of railroads and the laying out of highways, that we may expect that within a few years the Greek tour will be as common as the Southern Italian is now. Indeed, more Americans would visit the principal points of interest in Greece even now, but for the prevalence of misconceptions as to the danger, expense, and discomforts of such a trip. The first obstacle—danger—no longer exists. No act of brigandage has been reported since the famous "Marathon massacre" nearly twenty years ago, and that was the work not of Greeks but of Turks, the peasants are as harmless, and often as friendly, as those of the more secluded Swiss cantons. The expense, too, need deter no one; for in Greece as elsewhere it may be pretty much what you choose—from a dollar a day for pedestrians, to six or seven dollars a day apiece for those who take tents, horses, guides, and cooks with them. The discomforts are, indeed, still numerous, and in some cases almost too irksome for ladies; but every year they diminish, and before long it will be possible to take train or diligence to all the most famous spots, and to be fed and

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