

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1889.

The Week.

It appears to be generally believed that the President will appoint his law partner, Attorney-General Miller, to the vacant place on the Supreme bench. There are signs, even among the Republican organs which are already subsidized or hoping to be subsidized, of surprise and disgust at such a proposition. But there is really no occasion for surprise that Mr. Harrison should think of giving so great an honor to a man who would never so much as have been thought of for such a place, by his most partial friend, if he had not been the President's law partner. As Senator, Mr. Harrison showed plainly that he regarded public office as a private benefit for his family and friends, and it could not have been expected that as President he would take any different view.

Senators Cullom and Farwell, according to common report, have "locked horns" with the President on the appointment of an Internal-Revenue Collector whose office is at Springfield, Ill. This is the home of Mr. Cullom, and it seems that an amendment of the Constitution has been surreptitiously and secretly adopted which provides that when an Internal-Revenue Collector has his chief place of business near the domicile of a Senator, then the Senator, if he belong to the same political party as the President, shall name the Collector, and nobody else shall have anything to say about it except to acquiesce in the nomination so made. This amendment would be No. 16 in the list, taking precedence of the two others that have been frequently accorded that place—namely, the one granting woman suffrage and the one recognizing God in the Constitution. Leaving out of view the mode and manner of bringing this clause into the fundamental law, we are moved to inquire why the internal-revenue collectors should be more particularly put at the disposal of Senators than United States marshals, district attorneys, pension agents, collectors and surveyors of ports, sub-treasurers, and other functionaries whose business extends over a large territory, but whose offices are for convenience fixed at some large town or city. The affair is very mysterious, however we look at it. We hope that the President and Congressman Cannon will take heed how they run counter to the Sixteenth Amendment.

If the news from Indianapolis be true, that a special examination has been ordered in that city to provide clerks to take the places made vacant in the post-office by a projected "clean sweep," it will make the position of the civil-service reformers in that quarter more trying than ever. They have all along been among the most faithful and

uncompromising of the disciples. The more the heathen raged around them, the more fervid their faith grew. They deserted President Cleveland's standard because of his aberrations from the strict line of orthodoxy, and vouched for Gen. Harrison's soundness. Their position now is, therefore, one particularly embarrassing. But there is not the least sign that they fear to meet the crisis in the only way known to honest men. They refuse to condone any slips or backslidings on the part of the new Administration, and demand unceasingly the observance of the law in spirit and in letter. As they operate principally in and around Gen. Harrison's "home," their troublesomeness in his eyes may be readily imagined. By the way, we observe that the *New York Tribune* is becoming alarmed. It calls on "the hungry horde" to stop exerting "a tremendous pressure on the appointing officers." It also calls on "some unthinking persons" not "to confound civil-service reform with the practices of the last Administration," and asks certain "quarters" not to "make contemptuous references to civil-service reform." But we doubt if either "the hungry horde" or "the unthinking persons" will pay much heed.

The appointment of Hirsch to succeed Mr. Oscar Straus as Minister to Turkey comes somewhat untimely, while the Presbyterian General Assembly is in session in this city. The chief American interests in Turkey are those of benevolence. We have little trade with Turkey, but we have very important missionary and educational establishments there, maintained by the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Besides the direct work of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and the American Board, there are a number of large colleges, such as Robert College, at Constantinople; the Syrian Protestant College, at Beirut; the Armenia College, at Harpût; the Anatolia College, at Marsovan; the Central Turkey College at Aintab; a number of important girls' boarding-schools or colleges in various cities, and the Bible House at Constantinople. These provide the most important educational, if not religious, influence of all those that are regenerating Turkey. Now let it be remembered that all this American influence in Turkey, backed by the whole influence of the Christian Church in this country, so far as it is interested in Turkey, has been united in seeking the retention of Mr. Straus as the American Minister at Constantinople. It is true that he is a Jew, as his successor is, but he has given himself to his duties with an assiduity which has no parallel in the succession of our representatives at the Porte. He has not sought to have a good easy time, to see the sights of the East, to hobnob with the Sultan, but he has done what no other man has been able to do in opening schools shut by the Turkish au-

thorities, and securing the withdrawal of edicts prohibiting the circulation of books or the erection of needed buildings. An indifferent minister is a great loss to this very important and influential American colony in Turkey. Therefore, missionaries, societies, colleges, and, we may add, the Philadelphia Directors of the American Exploring Expedition now at work excavating in Babylonia, all used what influence they had to secure the retention of Mr. Straus, but in vain. The post is given to an active politician, who doubtless has political claims, or the party in his State has claims, which are much stronger than those represented by the General Assembly of the church in which Mr. Harrison is a ruling elder, or by the American residents and institutions in Turkey. For Elder Harrison's own sake, it would have been better if he had delayed the announcement of the successor to Mr. Straus until after the adjournment of the General Assembly.

When Mr. Cleveland became President, a Republican, of course, was Postmaster of New Bedford, Mass. As in the case of Norwich, Conn., and hundreds of other important offices, the Democratic President furnished what even the *Boston Journal* at last confesses to be a "conspicuous" illustration of the spirit and purpose of civil-service reform, by allowing this Republican incumbent to serve out his term, although it lasted for two of the President's own four years. A Democrat named Carpenter was appointed as his successor in 1887, and has proved a most efficient Postmaster. No complaint of his administration was ever heard, and leading Republican business men assured him of their desire that he should serve out his term, among the number being Mr. Lemuel LeB. Holmes, a well-known Republican, and a member of that party's City Committee, and Mr. Jonathan Bourne, one of the most prominent Republicans in southeastern Massachusetts. About a month after the inauguration, however, Mr. Carpenter called upon Mr. Holmes, and told him that he had heard he was to be removed. The very next day came a telegraphic announcement of his removal. A few days later an explanation was sent out that the removal was made for alleged inefficiency. So gross an outrage did Mr. Holmes consider this that he went to Washington in order to seek an explanation. Postmaster-General Wanamaker told him that the removal of Mr. Carpenter was made upon representations of Pay-Director Thornton of the United States Navy, charging inefficiency, dated April 2, endorsed by Congressman Randall under date of April 4. Mr. Wanamaker said that the judgment of such a high official was deemed sufficient cause for the removal, and that the endorsement of the Congressman amply justified it, the Congressman being entitled to represent the wishes of his people at Washington. It was the circumstance of these two letters alone which led to the removal.

Mr. Holmes replied that it was not right. The people, he said, were satisfied with Mr. Carpenter's administration, which had been perfectly efficient, and the spirit of civil-service reform seemed to demand that he should be permitted to serve out his term. The Democrats, upon coming into power, after having been shut out from the offices for twenty-five years, had retained the Republican postmaster for two years, and the comparison which would be drawn would be unfortunate for the Republican party, and it would be difficult to meet the criticism which would surely be made in the fall. He sought to impress the fact that no dissatisfaction or inefficiency existed. He further pointed out that Mr. Thornton was in New Bedford very rarely, and that his only business with the office was the reception of an occasional letter. He had made no complaint, nor had he had any communication with the Postmaster or his clerk. Mr. Wanamaker finally suggested that Mr. Holmes should make a written protest against issuing the commission, which he did, and the Postmaster-General promised to withhold the commission until he could confer with Mr. Randall. Upon his return to New Bedford, Mr. Holmes made further protests by mail against the outrage, but the correspondence was finally closed by this letter from Postmaster-General Wanamaker under date of May 7: "I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter, and say that on further consultation with your representative in Congress the Department has issued a commission to the Postmaster of New Bedford, Mass."

The very feeling tribute of Col. Elliott F. Shepard to the late Allen Thorndike Rice suggests the fitness of his appointment as Mr. Rice's successor as Minister to Russia. Malicious persons insinuated that the Colonel was himself a candidate for this place when Mr. Rice was chosen. They pointed to the fact that while he had abundant words of laudation for all the other new ministers, he said nothing about Mr. Rice. Some said that he refrained from praising Mr. Rice on strictly moral grounds. But this was a mistake, for it is now plain that he always held Mr. Rice in the highest esteem, both morally and intellectually. However that may be, a vacancy exists, and who more fit to succeed to it than a sorrowing brother editor? We hope that President Harrison will avail himself of this opportunity to elevate the tone of our diplomatic service, for although journalism would suffer by the Colonel's absence from this country, the cause of orthodoxy would be strengthened in Russia by the presence at that court of the most religious Republican in the world.

It is scarcely worth while to review formally the work of the New York Legislature which adjourned on Thursday. It passed several excellent measures, including the Saxton Ballot Bill, the Fassett Prison Labor Bill, and the Excise Bill, some of which the Governor may allow to become laws. In general character, the members showed them-

selves to be inferior to the very low standard of previous years; their conduct in reference to the ceiling scandal and the "deal" bills of this city surpassing in partisan subversion anything which has been seen at Albany for several years. The Republican members, who were in the majority in both houses, allowed themselves to be moved in solid mass in favor of or against any proposition according as they were ordered by their party boss, "Tom" Platt. They held the Rapid-Transit Bill back until they were ordered to push it ahead in return for promise of offices and patronage from the Mayor of this city. When the Governor failed to sanction this bargain in all its details, they instantly blocked the progress of the bill again, and began fresh negotiations with the Mayor. There was no concealment about these proceedings, and in this respect the late Legislature was the most shameless that we have had since Tweed's time. The Republicans took the ground openly that they were in Albany, not to legislate for the best interest of the State, but to use their power as the majority to levy "blackmail" upon Democratic officials who had offices to bestow.

The ceiling scandal burst upon the Assembly when it first came together in January last. For more than five months it was with the members constantly. They had it investigated by two committees and by two sets of experts. These inquiries showed beyond the shadow of a doubt that the State had been swindled at least \$120,000 on a \$270,000 contract. It showed also who the guilty parties were. The first investigating committee made a whitewashing report mildly censuring the more guilty, having hastily stopped its inquiry lest more damaging evidence should be forthcoming. This report was so obviously in the interest of the swindlers that even the Assembly could not rest content with it, and a new investigation was ordered, the first report having been adopted in the meantime. The second committee found much more specific evidences of fraud, and would have found still more had not the chief swindlers taken to their heels, carrying with them their incriminating documents. This second committee made a report which, if adopted, would have enabled the State to regain some of its stolen money, would have protected it against further swindling, and would have brought the guilty persons into court. What did the Assembly do in this emergency? Openly and deliberately it took the side of the swindlers by substituting for this second report the first report, which had already been once adopted. This brought the refugees back in full confidence of immunity.

The *Tribune* ventures to say that "the conspicuous and well-known Trusts are all Democratic in management, and operate without regard to the tariff." Then, by way of illustration, it adds that "the Standard Oil owes nothing to the tariff, nor the Cotton-Oil Trust; and the Sugar Trust secretly consorted with Mr. Mills and his Dark-Lantern

Committee in the preparation of their free-trade bill, and helped to get it votes." We have no doubt that Democrats are quite as willing as Republicans to make money out of Trusts, but we observe that they are not so successful in that line. When it was charged in the Senate (by Mr. Dawes, we believe) that the Standard Oil Trust was a Democratic concern, Senator Payne replied that every one of its directors was a Republican in politics, and that its ownership was Republican by an overwhelming majority; and nobody ventured afterwards to deny or question the truth of what he said. The Cotton-Oil Trust is now controlled by the Standard Oil Trust—so the *Boston Commercial Bulletin* tells us. The Sugar Trust certainly did all that it could for Harrison and Morton in Brooklyn, and its influence was not inconsiderable. We presume, however, that it "consorted" with all committees at Washington that had anything to do with the tariff. It is the usual course, we believe, of all persons, firms, corporations, and Trusts that enjoy protection under the tariff, to "consort" with those who have tariff bills in their charge, without squeamishness on the subject of politics. If we owned any certificates in the Sugar Trust, we should sell them the very moment we learned that the Trust showed any bashfulness about going to Washington and consorting with any party or committee that happened to be uppermost. The *Tribune* shows a disposition to throw overboard the protective duties that the Trusts feed on, "when protective duties are, in fact, used as a means of restricting production and denying the benefits of protection to consumers." The field of debate here opened is a wide one. Every Trust will be able to show that it does not fall within the *Tribune's* category.

The recent decision by the Inter-State Commerce Commission as to the rights of negro passengers on railroad trains is heartily endorsed by leading Southern newspapers. The decision was rendered in the case of a colored preacher who bought a first-class ticket from Augusta to Atlanta, but was compelled to ride in a "Jim Crow" car, half of which is devoted to smokers. The Commission held that the railroad company may separate passengers according to color, but that it must make the cars provided for white and colored passengers equal in comfort, accommodations, and equipment for persons paying the same fare. "Of course," says the *Macon Telegraph*, "the Commission could have decided this case in no other way. Clean, comfortable cars should be set apart for negro passengers. They are required to pay the same fare as passengers in the best coaches, and no discrimination should be made against them in the matters of accommodations and the preservation of order in their separate cars." The *Telegraph* says that the Central Road sets apart a first-class coach, as good as any on the train, for the exclusive use of colored passengers, and no white person is allowed to ride in that car, as no negro is permitted in the first-class coach for whites. This plan, it thinks, meets the full requirements of justice to all, and it considers it the

most satisfactory arrangement that can be made for both races.

Wool "tops" are admitted at our custom-houses at a duty of ten cents per pound, which is the same rate as that of unwashed wool. Tops are pieces of broken yarn which the weaver throws aside as waste. But tops can be used to make good merchantable cloth if there is a sufficient inducement to do so. That there is such an inducement is made clear in a report of Consul Grinnell of Bradford, England, who says that the exportation of tops from that district to the United States during three months has exceeded by more than one million pounds the production of genuine waste in a whole year. The secret of the matter is, that tops are composed of scoured wool, upon which the duty is three times that of wool as it comes from the sheep's back, or thirty cents per pound. It becomes an advantage to the American manufacturer, therefore, to import broken yarn, and, of course, the Bradford spinner or comber is ready to produce anything that there is a market for. So we have the interesting spectacle before us of a foreign manufacturer producing good yarn, and then deteriorating its value by breaking it in small bits in order to get it into this country, where it may be restored by another laborious process to nearly as good condition as before. All this is by the way of "protecting American industry."

The idea of settling the labor problem on some sort of international plan, so that there shall not be any serious competition between the laborers of different countries, has been running in the heads of the labor agitators on the Continent of Europe for a long time. The Swiss Government has so far acceded to their wishes as to call an international conference, to meet at Berne, to arrange for something like uniformity of conditions in the factories of different countries, so that there shall be in all the same hours of labor and the same restrictions on the labor of women and children. All this calls forth from M. Leroy-Beaulieu one of his most vigorous protests in the *Économiste Français*, on the ground that uniformity of manners in different countries, if it could be brought about, would be fatal to our civilization; that uniformity of weights, measures, and money, and of all the laws regulating international dealings, is a good thing, but uniformity of life among the men and women of different countries would put an end to all progress and development, and ought not to be aimed at. He maintains, moreover, that, owing to the difference of the productive power of labor in different countries, uniformity of hours would be the ruin of those countries in which the laborer has, in order to compete with more favored races, to make up for the inferiority of his powers by lengthening his hours of toil. For instance, he points out that, if the Frenchman, Spaniard, Italian, or Hindu were to insist on having as short a day as the Englishman or American, he would be hopelessly beaten in the markets of the world, because he cannot accom-

plish as much in the hour as the Englishman or American can.

Late European newspapers occupy themselves a good deal with the proceedings of the Catholic Congresses that met during the last week in April and the first in May at Malines, Oporto, Madrid, and Vienna. All these assemblies, which should perhaps be called Ultramontane rather than Catholic or even Roman, spoke with a unanimity which would be surprising if it were not also suspicious. In almost identical words, each demands "the entire and complete sovereignty of the Supreme Head of the Church, which is necessary to him for the fulfilment of his office of pastor and teacher," and each shows covert or open hostility to the Italian Government. Whether all this will end in anything more and worse than talk, nobody can say. The *Temps* seems somewhat alarmed, and thinks that the assemblies are the Council of Clermont of a new crusade, and that Peter the Hermits will not be lacking; but the *Temps* is never overbold. To most eyes the Temporal Power looks like the deadest of all lost causes. One does not forget that the Popes came back again after the Babylonian captivity; but one remembers at the same time that the Babylonian captivity was a long while ago.

This unanimity of the Catholic conferences in demanding the restoration of the temporal power has been followed up, or rather accompanied, by some stern measures in the same direction at Rome. Mgr. Boncompagni, the Bishop of Cremona, lately wrote a pamphlet called 'Rome, Italy, and the Real State of Things,' advocating the establishment of some sort of *modus vivendi* between the Pope and the Italian Government. His pamphlet has just been condemned by the Congregation of the Index, which has special charge of wicked publications, and the author has been compelled to read a retraction of it, and profess his penitence for having written it, in the pulpit of his own cathedral at Cremona. Possibly, however, he may take some comfort in the news that since the condemnation the Secretary of the Congregation who signed the decree, Mgr. Saccheri, has disappeared from Rome, leaving behind numerous debts and mourning creditors.

One of the most curious things in the attitude of the French Radicals is the appetite they show for being offensive to the pious Catholics of the country, still a very large and influential body. There was doubtless much to be done in the way of "laicization" after the Republicans came really into power, owing to the abnormally influential position given to the clergy in French politics under the Empire, and to a sort of superiority to the law which the French Bishops have enjoyed ever since the conquest of Gaul by the Franks. The invaders found the Bishops the only remnant of Roman rule, enjoying great eminence and authority, and were converted and civilized by them; and ever since then the French Bishop has been more

of a potentate than his confrères in any other European country except Italy. To the French peasantry since the Revolution he has always figured as the equal of the Prefect and the General commanding the Department, as the representatives of earthly dominion and power. The Republic has therefore hard work in thrusting him "out of politics," as we should say—that is, in making him understand he is neither more nor less than a plain citizen. But the Republicans have in all work of this kind apparently taken pains to offend Catholics and to shock their prejudices. One of the worst things they have done in this direction is their effort to have theological students, heretofore exempt, compelled to serve three years in the army. The Bishops say, with great force, that if this be insisted on, they might as well shut up the seminaries, because, after three years in barracks, it would be impossible to make a priest of any young man, and the material for good priests is already sufficiently scarce. But the more the Bishops protest, the more strenuously the Radicals push their point, and it is probable that disagreement on this question with the Senate will lead to the breakdown of the army bill now pending.

Detailed information regarding the action of the Government in prohibiting speculation in gold on the Bourse of Buenos Ayres shows that it was a rigorous measure rigorously executed. As soon as the new Minister of Finance, Señor Varela, came to his post, he bent all his efforts to reducing the premium on gold. But in spite of all he could do, the price of gold steadily advanced from 135 last December to 160 in February. He attributed this largely to the speculation of the Exchange. In February, the Minister showed, the dealings in gold amounted to \$90,000,000, while the actual needs of commerce would not have called for more than \$5,000,000. It was on March 20 that the decree was issued declaring all buying and selling of gold, not for immediate delivery and immediate use, to be illegal. More than this, the doors of the Exchange were closed at once by the police and a guard of soldiers stationed before them. The members of the Exchange naturally felt themselves highly aggrieved, and would not agree to live up to the terms of the decree, which was the reason why the Government resorted to extreme measures. The larger part of the press strongly opposes the new law, yet it is popular with the country at large, and there seems to be no immediate prospect of its repeal. The effect upon the price of gold, however, has not been what the Minister of Finance hoped and predicted; that has changed but little since the date of the decree. He maintains, of course, that the speculators are still at work secretly to keep up an artificial price and prove the decree useless. However this may be, with the imports so largely exceeding exports, and especially with such a constant drain of gold to pay interest on the immense foreign loans, a specie basis for the Argentine Republic is not yet in sight.

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