

One reason why India  
wants Home rule.

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

I venture to state next the proposition, that a permanent family should have a permanent dwelling-place, domicile, or home town. In older societies this has always been the case. Indeed, a place often lent its name to a family. In American society the identification of a family with a place is comparatively rare. In American cities and large towns there are as yet no such things as permanent family houses. Even in the oldest cities of the East, hardly any family lives in a single house through the whole of one generation, and two successive generations are rarely born in the same house. Rapid changes of residence are the rule for almost everybody, so that a city directory which is more than one year old is untrustworthy for home addresses. The quick growth of the chief American cities, and the conversion of residence quarters into business quarters, partly account for the nomadic habits of their inhabitants; but the inevitable loss of social dignity and repose, and the diminution of local pride and public spirit, are just as grievous as if there were no such physical causes for the restlessness of the population. The human mind can scarcely attribute dignity and social consideration to a family which lives in a hotel, or which moves into a new flat every first of May.

In the country, however, things are much better. In the older States there are many families which have inhabited the same town for several generations, a few which have inhabited the same house for three generations, and many farms that have been in the same family for several generations;

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

and in more and more cases prosperous men, who have made money in business or by their professions, return to the places where their ancestors lived, and repossess themselves of ancestral farms which had passed into other hands. In the country it is quite possible, under a democratic form of government, that a permanent family should have a permanent dwelling; and in any village or rural town such a family dwelling is always an object of interest and satisfaction. To procure, keep, and transmit such a homestead is a laudable family ambition. It can be accomplished wherever testamentary dispositions are free, and the object in view is considered a reasonable and desirable one. It must be confessed, however, that very few country houses in the United States have thus far been built to last. We build cheap, fragile, and combustible dwellings, which, as a rule, are hardly more durable than the paper houses of the Japanese. Nevertheless, our families might at least do as well as the Japanese families, which are said to live a thousand or fifteen hundred years on the same spot, although in a series of slight houses.

The next means of promoting family permanence is the transmission of a family business or occupation from father to sons. In all old countries this inheritance of a trade, shop, or profession is a matter of course; but in our new society, planted on a fresh continent, it has not been necessary thus far for every family to avail itself, in the struggle for a good living, of the advantage which inherited aptitude gives. But as population grows denser

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

and competition for advantageous occupations grows more strenuous, and as industries become more refined and more subdivided, the same forces which have produced the transmission of occupations in families in Europe and Asia will produce it here. The children of the ribbon-weaver can learn to weave ribbons quicker and better than any other children; the son of a physician has a better chance than the son of a tanner to learn the art of medicine, and besides, he may possess an inherited faculty for medical observation; the son of a lawyer can be quietly inducted into his father's business with great advantage to both father and son. In all such cases, success depends on the hearty coöperation of the children, who may be impelled to work either by ambition and by an inherited disposition, or by the healthy stimulus of impending want. Under right conditions, a transmitted business tends to make a sound family more secure and permanent, and a permanent family tends to hold and perfect a valuable business. This principle, which is securely founded on biological law, applies best in the trades and professions, in ordinary commerce, and in the industries which do not require immense capitals; but in Europe many vast industries and many great financial and mercantile concerns are family properties, and there is in our own country already a distinct tendency to this family management of large businesses, as being more economical and vigilant than corporate management, and more discerning and prompt in selecting and advancing capable men of

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

all grades. The principle seems frequently to fail in this country in regard to the sons of uneducated men who have become very rich through some peculiar skill or capacity of their own which is not transmissible, or at least is not transmitted. The difficulty seems to be that the sons feel no sense of responsibility for their privileges and no inducement to work. Brought up to do nothing, they sink into the life of mere idlers, and are dispossessed by hard-working and ambitious men of the very business which the fathers created, and would gladly have had their sons inherit.

The most important of all aids in perpetuating sound family stocks is education. Whatever level of education a family has reached in one generation, that level at least should be attained by the succeeding generation. It is a bad sign of family continuance if a farmer, who was himself sent away from home to a country academy for two or three terms, does not give his son the same or a corresponding opportunity. It is a bad sign if a clerk in the city, who himself went through the high school, is content that his son should stop at the grammar school. It is a bad sign if a professional man, whose father sent him to college, cannot do as much for his son. Diminution of educational privileges in a family generally means either decline in material prosperity or loss of perception of mental and spiritual values. The latter loss is a deal worse than loss of property in its effect on family permanence; for low intellectual and moral standards are fatal to family worth,

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

whereas countless excellent families meet with reverses in business, suffer losses by flood or fire, or confide in untrustworthy persons, and yet survive with all their inherent mental and spiritual excellences. In a righteous democracy the qualities which make a family permanent are purity, integrity, common sense, and well-directed ambition. Neither plain living nor rich living is essential, but high thinking is. Now, the ultimate object of education, whether elementary, secondary, or higher, is to develop high thinking. What, for example, is the prime object of teaching a child to read? Is it that he may be able to read a way bill, a promissory note, or an invoice? Is it that he may be better able to earn his living? No! These are merely incidental and comparatively insignificant advantages. The prime object is to expand his intelligence, to enrich his imagination, to introduce him to all the best human types both of the past and of the present, to give him the key to all knowledge, to fill him with wonder and awe, and to inspire him with hope and love. Nothing less than this is the object of learning to read; nothing better or more vital than this is the object of the most prolonged and elaborate education. The improvement of the human being in all his higher attributes and powers is the true end; other advantages are reaped on the way, but the essential gain is a purified, elevated, and expanded mind. We often hear it said that high-school graduates have learned too much, or have been trained out of their sphere,— whatever that may mean,— and that

### *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

colleges do not produce the captains of industry. Such criticisms fly very wide of their mark. They do not conform to the facts, and they betray in those who make them a fundamental misconception of the ultimate object of all education. The object of education and of family life is not to promote industry and trade; rather the supreme object of all industry and trade is to promote education and the normal domestic joys. We should not live to work, but work to live—live in the home affections, in the knowledge and love of nature, in the delights of reading and contemplation, in the search for truth, and in the worship of the beautiful and good. In urging this view of the object of education, I have presented the only argument needed to convince a fair-minded man that the family which would last must look to the education of its children.

A few words ought to be said on wise marriage, for that wisdom is of as much consequence to family permanence in a democracy as in any other state of society. In the first place, reasonably early marriages are desirable, from the point of view of family permanence, because they give better promise of children, and because the children of an early marriage will be sooner ready to aid the parents or the surviving parent. A farmer who marries at twenty-two may have helpful children by the time he is thirty-five. A professional man, or a mechanic, who marries at twenty-four, may have a son ready to take up his business by the time the father is fifty; whereas, if he delays

### *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

marriage until he is thirty-four, he cannot have his son for a partner until he is himself approaching sixty. It is a bad sign that among rich and well-to-do Americans marriage begins to be unduly postponed; but this evil is a limited one, because it affects only a very small proportion of the population, and often works its own cure by extinguishing the families which persistently practise it. Secondly, free selection of mates, under the guidance of mutual affinities and repulsions, is the democratic method in marriage; and biological science indicates that this is probably the best possible way of producing and maintaining a vigorous race. Selective in-breeding, such as has been attempted in noble families in Europe, has not succeeded; selection superintended by elders, as in France, certainly works no better than free selection; and marriage by commercial arrangement, or by purchase more or less disguised, whether of the woman by the man or of the man by the woman, is certainly not conducive either to family happiness or to family permanence in our day, whatever it may have been in patriarchal or matriarchal times. Every principle of political and social freedom tends to confirm and to establish the practice of unrestricted freedom of selection in marriage; so that we may well believe that American practices in this regard will ultimately become universal. With a view to family permanence and to continuous improvement, there are two directions in which the common American marriage practices might be improved. In the first place, among attractions



### *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

for either sex, physical strength and constitutional vigor and promise should count for more than they generally do; and among repulsions, constitutional weakness or delicacy and bad bodily inheritances should also count for more. Secondly, engagements to marry should not be made until the education of both parties has been completed, and their tastes and capacities have become tolerably well defined. Many ill-assorted marriages result from engagements made before one of the parties has attained his or her mental growth, or become acquainted with his or her powers and inclinations.

Suggestions are frequently made nowadays that the human race could be improved by utterly abolishing the institution of the family, and applying to men and women the methods of breeding which are successfully applied to domestic animals. All these suggestions fly in the face of every doctrine of human rights which mankind has been painfully trying for centuries to establish, and which at last it sees recognized by a considerable portion of the race. Moreover, in the domestic animals men have sought to reproduce and to develop certain bodily powers; they have not had to deal with mental and spiritual gifts. They have sought the best trotters among horses, the best milkers among cows, and the best layers among hens. The problem of improving the human race is infinitely more complex; for the main improvements to be sought, although undoubtedly having a physical basis, are improvements in mental and spiritual powers, the relations of which to the body are by no means

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

understood. To the solution of this more complex and more recondite problem the results obtained in the breeding of valuable varieties of domestic animals contribute hardly anything of value. Meantime, the family remains the most sacred, durable, and potent of human institutions, and through it must be sought the replenishment and improvement of society.

If adequate laws and institutions provide for the safe holding and transmission of property, whatever promotes thrift and accumulation of property in families promotes family permanence. Democracy distrusts exaggerated accumulations of property in single hands; but it firmly believes in private property to that extent which affords reasonable privacy for the family, promotes family continuance, and gives full play to the family motive for making soil, sea, and all other natural resources productive for human uses. Thus democratic legislation incorporates and protects savings banks, trust companies, insurance companies of all kinds, benefit societies, and coöperative loan and building associations, which are all useful institutions for promoting thrift, if they are vigilantly watched and wisely controlled by the state. But the most direct legislative contribution to family permanence, apart from marriage and divorce laws, is to be found in the laws regulating the transmission of land, buildings, implements, wagons, vessels, household goods, and domestic animals, both by will or contract and in the absence of will or contract. The great majority of families hold no other

### *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

kinds of property than these, the ancient and universal kinds. Stocks and bonds, forms of property which have practically been created within forty years, are held only by an insignificant proportion of families; so that legislation affecting unfavorably the transmission of these new forms of property from one generation to another could not be very injurious to the family as an institution. For example, succession taxes on stocks and bonds might be imposed without serious harm. On the other hand, any legislation which should destroy or greatly impair the inheritable value of land, or of improvements on land, would be a heavy blow at family permanence, particularly in a state where land is for the most part owned by the occupiers. The farm, the village lot, and the town or city house with its appurtenances and contents, constitute transmissible family property in the vast majority of cases. In the interests of the family, democratic legislation on inheritances should chiefly regard, not the few estates which are counted in hundreds of thousands of dollars, but the millions which are counted in hundreds of dollars. Inheritances of a few hundreds of dollars have a great importance from the point of view of family permanence; for most inheritances are on that scale, and five hundred dollars means a favorable start in life for any young working man or woman. The proposal to destroy by taxation the transmissible value of land seems to be aimed at the few unreasonably rich, but it would strike hardest the frugal and hard-working millions.

## *Family Stocks in a Democracy*

Lastly, family permanence is promoted by the careful training of successive generations in truth, gentleness, purity, and honor. It is a delightful fact that these noble qualities are in the highest degree hereditary, and just as much so in a democratic as in an aristocratic society. They are to be acquired also by imitation and association; so that a good family stock almost invariably possesses and transmits some of them. Truth is the sturdiest and commonest of these virtues; gentleness is a rarer endowment; purity and honor are the finest and rarest of them all. In a gentleman or a lady they are all combined. Democratic society has already proved that ladies and gentlemen can be made much more quickly than people used to suppose; but since it has been in existence hardly one hundred years, it has not yet had time to demonstrate its full effect in producing and multiplying the best family stocks. It has already done enough, however, to justify us in believing that in this important respect, as in many others, it will prove itself the best of all forms of social organization.

Does any one ask, Why take so much thought for the permanence of superior families? I reply that the family is the main object of all the striving and struggling of most men, and that the welfare of the family is the ultimate end of all industry, trade, education, and government. If the family under a democratic form of government is prosperous and permanent, the state, and civilization itself, will be safer and safer through all generations.

# EQUALITY IN A REPUBLIC

FROM THE "CAMBRIDGE MAGAZINE," MAY, 1896

## EQUALITY IN A REPUBLIC

---

**M**ANY people are much disappointed because it has turned out that our free institutions do not produce equality of condition among the citizens. The motto of the French Revolution was, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"; and it was expected of the American republic that it would prevent the existence of great distinctions in regard to wealth between its citizens, and tend decidedly toward equal conditions for all. An experience of a little over one hundred years has demonstrated that republican institutions do not prevent the existence, on the one hand of a very rich class, and on the other of a very poor class; and that between these two extremes every possible variety of condition may exist. In some respects free institutions do certainly tend to equality. Thus, they make all citizens equal as regards the suffrage, the security of life and property, and the duty of obedience to the laws; they abolish hereditary privileges, such as titles, transmissible offices, monopolies, or sinecures; but they do not interfere

## *Equality in a Republic*

with the accumulation of property, or with the transmission from generation to generation of property and of all that property can procure for its owner.

Looking back on this experience, it seems as if any one might have known from the beginning that a legal state of secure individual liberty could not but produce in the long run great inequalities of condition. The state of society at large under freedom is perfectly illustrated by the condition of things in a university, where the choice of studies is free, and every student is protected and encouraged in developing to the utmost his own gifts and powers. In Harvard University, for example, thousands of students enjoy an almost complete liberty in the selection of their studies, each man being encouraged to select those subjects in which he most easily excels, and consequently finds most enjoyment and most profit. The result is that no two students in the University are pursuing the same subjects with the same success — that is, attaining the same intellectual results in the same time. If a student at the beginning of his course has some advantage over his fellows in the study of Latin or chemistry, at the end of four years his advantage will have been greatly increased by the elaborate training in Latin or chemistry which he has procured. The difference between him and his associates in his acquired knowledge of Latin or chemistry will have become greater and greater, and his superior capacity for acquiring a still further knowledge of the subject will be much more

## *Equality in a Republic*

marked at the end of the course than it was at the beginning. As one thousand students that entered together advance through the college, they become more and more unlike in their capacities and attainments, the difference in capacity being much more important than the difference in attainment. This is the inevitable result of the policy of freedom of studies. Under any policy—the most repressive conceivable—it would be impossible to keep the students alike in attainments and capacities during four years, even if they were alike at the start. The only means of turning them out at the end of a four years' course in a tolerably even condition would be to prescribe rigidly the same group of subjects for every student, and to repress in every way possible the unusual gifts of the superior students, while stimulating to the utmost the slow wits of the dullards and sluggards—that is, a despotic government would be required to produce by artificial restrictions some approach to equality of mental condition at graduation.

In American public schools,—in which far too many pupils are placed before one teacher, and a strict grading system is employed as a means of helping her to perform her impossible task,—we have an illustration of the attempt to produce from many hundreds, or even thousands, of children an approximately uniform product representing an average of the bright and the dull. This method does not succeed in producing mental uniformity; and, though it fails to average the chil-



## *Equality in a Republic*

dren, the attempt is the greatest evil in American public schools. The manual-training schools, which have come into existence in many communities within the last fifteen years, afford a valuable illustration of the inevitable diversity of mental product even under a discipline intended to be uniform. In such training of the eye and hand as lessons in carpentry, forging, drawing, molding, and turning afford, it proves impossible to keep the different members of a class together in simultaneous exercises. The members of a class started on the same day in forging, for example, soon get separated, simply because one boy can do a great deal more work and better work than another. Some boys are slow to attain any excellence at all in work of eye and hand, while others take naturally to fine handiwork. In every trade the same irrepressible differences between workmen constantly appear. They are differences in physical organization, and also in disposition and will-power; and they last through life, and indeed go on increasing from youth to age. No restrictions have yet been devised which abolish these differences. It may be agreed by workmen in the same trade that a uniform number of hours shall constitute a day's work, and uniform pay be given for that uniform day's work. It may be agreed that no mason shall lay more than a specified number of bricks in a day, or that no compositor shall set more than a specified number of ems in a day; and yet, in spite of these sacrifices of individual liberty, the differences between workmen will remain; and it will be found

## *Equality in a Republic*

that employers exhibit decided preferences in selecting hands, so that this man will always have work and that man will seldom have it. In short, the only way to bring about uniform earning-power is to establish some kind of despotism, or some system of voluntarily assumed restrictions on individual liberty. Under an absolute despotism, such as that of the Sultan of Morocco or the Khalifa of the Sudan, under which all property is held only at the will of the ruler, and every distinction or public station proceeds solely from him, and may be at any moment withdrawn by him, a kind of equality may exist among all the subjects of the despot. There is no freedom to rise, and the man who has been lifted up may at any moment be cast down to the lowest social stage. In dependence on the will of the despot great inequalities of condition may temporarily exist; but they have no security or permanence. Before the one tyrant all subjects are in some sense equal, even military rank being held only at the will of the despot. The subjects of such a government are not free to exercise their different individual capacities, and there results a low, though level, social state.

These familiar illustrations prepare us to accept the proposition that public freedom must result in inequalities of condition among the citizens; and indeed that is just what has happened in our republic. If all the property in the United States should be evenly distributed among all the citizens to-morrow, on the day after to-morrow inequality

## *Equality in a Republic*

of condition would again be established, because all men would be legally free to put into play, in security, their very different gifts and powers for the acquisition and accumulation of property.

But some one may say: Granted that in any one generation the powers of acquisition of the different citizens must be very unequal, and that hence great differences of property must arise, might not these differences, which really depend on the liberty and security which free institutions provide, be made non-transmissible, so that each new generation should be obliged to begin over again the differentiating process? There are two answers to this question. In the first place, the distribution by the state of possessions accumulated by one citizen, among other citizens who had no obvious part in earning them, could not be effected without pauperizing the recipients of the unearned bounty; and secondly, all social experience teaches that the family motive gives the strongest impulsion toward industry, frugality, and disinterestedness. It is ultimately for the family that most men and women struggle and labor all their lives. It is on the family, and not on the individual that states are built. It is the family virtues which make commonwealths possible. The transmission of property, therefore, from father or mother to children has always been safeguarded in every civilized community. It is a right quite as precious to the man of small property as to the man of large property—indeed, more precious. It is a right which everybody is interested in who has any prop-

## *Equality in a Republic*

erty at all, and any family at all; and though some modern states have ventured to prescribe in some respects how an owner shall distribute his estate among his heirs, no state has ever ventured to deny or abolish this right of distribution. It is one of the elements of our republican freedom in the United States that wills are subjected to much fewer restraints and limitations than they are in most European countries, and this freedom tends strongly to the distribution of properties at death.

We have seen during the last forty years in the United States the development of a disposition among rich people to tie up their estates in trust, in order to hold the properties together for the common benefit of descendants, and to prevent their being wasted by youthful or unintelligent heirs.

Whether this process be socially mischievous, or not, has not yet been determined by experience. If it prove to be injurious, it can easily be checked by legislation. In the meantime, there are two methods in use for securing public benefits from great private properties. The first is the voluntary method of public benefaction which many rich Americans adopt; the second is the succession tax, which appropriates for the public benefit a percentage of all estates which rise above a very moderate limit—a percentage which is small on lineal inheritances and larger on collateral inheritances. Succession taxes are on the whole far the most desirable form of taxation on personal property; for they have the advantage of being

## *Equality in a Republic*

levied within a moderate number of years on all the personal property in the community.

It being thus clear that individual liberty in a free state must lead to inequality of possessions, it remains to ask: Is this condition of things to be regretted? Is it desirable that conditions as regards property should be equal? All the analogies of nature and all human experience seem to me to indicate that a society in which there were no varieties of condition would be unnatural, monotonous, stupid, and unprogressive. Civilization means infinite differentiation under liberty. An interesting human society must include individuals of very various gifts and powers. If all women were equally beautiful, the race would hardly know what beauty was. If no man could be more judicious, inventive, or far-seeing than another, progress would be impossible. Society would be as dull as a prairie or an ocean would be, if it were left without the atmospheric changes which give variety to such monotonous plains.

Let us then distinctly abandon equality of possessions as one of the objects which republican institutions aim at, and let us substitute for this foreign conception the object expressed in the word unity. Social unity is consistent with great social diversities. "There are diversities of gifts; but the same spirit." Let us substitute for the French motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," an Anglo-Saxon motto—"Freedom, Unity, Brotherhood." Those three ideas go well together, and express a lofty and practicable social aim. The fate of

### *Equality in a Republic*

free institutions is not to be settled on any issue of poverty or wealth. It is their effect on public health—physical and moral—which is to determine their destiny. Republicans may be either rich or poor, with safety to the State; but they cannot be corrupt in body or soul without bringing the republic to its fall.

ONE REMEDY FOR MUNICIPAL  
MISGOVERNMENT

PUBLISHED IN THE "FORUM," OCTOBER, 1891

## ONE REMEDY FOR MUNICIPAL MISGOVERNMENT

---

IN these days, when so many sanguine philanthropists are advocating large extensions of governmental activity, and indeed are hoping for a beneficent reorganization of society, in which popular governments shall plan, order, make, store, and distribute everything,—all without unduly abridging individual liberty,—it may be wholesome to discuss sometimes the practical shortcomings of democratic government within its present rather limited field. Before we take courage to believe that governmental management would be successful in many new fields and on a much larger scale, we ought to be satisfied with the results of that management within its actual province. It is more instructive to discuss shortcomings close at hand than those remote, and evils right under the eyes of the people than those they can hardly discern. To discuss the evils which attend municipal government is, therefore, more edifying than to consider the evils of the national and state administrations.



## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

In peaceful times the national government is remote from the daily life of the average citizen. Its wastefulness does not come home to him. Its corrupting patronage and jobbery are unperceived by him. Errors in the financial policy of the government become plain to him only when he experiences their ill effects. The post-office is the only function of the national government which concerns him intimately, and that function is really a simple business, and has always been a government monopoly; so that the average citizen who gets his mail with tolerable regularity, and has no experience of any other method of sending letters and newspapers, generally thinks that the post-office business is as well done by government as it could be by any agency. Municipal functions, on the other hand, touch the average citizen very nearly. It makes a great difference to him whether the city keeps good schools or bad, and clean streets or dirty, supplies him with pure or impure water, and taxes him fairly or unfairly. Moreover, all critics of the working of the institutions of the United States during the last fifty years—whether friendly or hostile, whether foreign or native—agree that municipal government has been the field in which the least efficiency for good has been exhibited and the greatest positive evils have been developed. To what causes the existing evils of municipal government in the United States are to be ascribed, and in what direction the remedies are to be sought, are, therefore, questions of the profoundest interest for the

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

average citizen, as well as for the social philosopher. It is easy to attribute these evils to the inherent viciousness and recklessness of the urban population—wickedness and folly which are more and more effective for evil as the proportion of urban to rural population rises. It is easy for people whose forefathers came to this western world one or more generations ago to believe that the people who have just come are the source of all municipal woes. But neither of these explanations can be accepted as probable or reasonable. When we examine the working of the American democracy on the greatest state questions,—such as independence of Great Britain, the federation of the States, and the indissoluble union of the States,—we find that the democracy has dealt wisely with these great questions, and just as wisely in the generation of 1860-90 as in the generations of Revolutionary times. We observe that, in the management of a great national debt, our democracy has exhibited better judgment, and, on the whole, juster sentiments, than any oligarchy or tyranny has ever exhibited. We see that private property is more secure under the democratic form of government than under any other form. We find that there has been an unequalled amount of diffused intellectual and moral energy among the mass of the people during the last forty years; and we are sure that the democratic form of government, working in combination with democratic social mobility, is eminently favorable to religious, social, and industrial progress. Into the immense

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

material development of the period since the civil war there has gone a deal of sound moral force as well as of mental and physical activity. The census teaches us that the proportion of the urban to the rural population has rapidly increased during the last thirty years; but these new city people have all come in from the country. During this same period, rural town governments have fully maintained their excellence, and have in many States exhibited a new efficiency and enterprise; as, for example, in the development of primary and secondary education, the maintenance of free libraries, the restriction of the liquor traffic, and the improvement of bridges and highways. I submit, therefore, that there is no good reason to believe in any wide-spread and progressive demoralization of the mass of the population, whether urban or rural. I would not be understood, however, to maintain that there have not been particular spots or particular occasions, some of them conspicuous, where failure and disgrace have resulted from moral causes; such as indifference on the part of voters to the bad character of the men they voted for; the corrupt procuring of votes in return for appointments, licenses, or tariffs; or the importation into municipal affairs of passions aroused in national party strife. My contention is, that, in spite of these manifestations, there is no good reason to believe that American constituencies, whether large or small, have frequently been dishonest or corrupt at heart, although they have sometimes chosen dishonest or corrupt agents.

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

The theory that the immigration of a few millions of foreigners within thirty years is the true cause of municipal evils in the United States must also be rejected, although the too quick admission to the suffrage of men who have had no acquaintance with free institutions has doubtless increased the evils of city government in a few localities. The great majority of the immigrants have been serviceable people; and of late years many of them — particularly the Germans, English, Scotch, Scandinavians, and Swiss — have had a better education than the average rural American can obtain. The experienced voters of the country cannot shelter themselves behind the comparatively small contingent of the inexperienced, particularly when the former are wholly responsible for admitting the latter to the suffrage.

I venture to suggest in this paper another explanation (a partial one, to be sure) of the comparative failure of municipal government in the United States — an explanation which points to a remedy.

It is observable that the failures of the democratic form of government have occurred chiefly in those matters of municipal administration which present many novelties, and belong to the domain of applied science: such as the levying of taxes; the management of water-supplies and drainage systems; the paving, lighting, and cleaning of highways; the control of companies which sell in city streets light, heat, power, transportation for persons, and communication by electricity; the care of the public health; and the provision of

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

proper means of public enjoyment, such as open squares, gardens, and parks. All these matters require for their comprehension and proper management a high degree of scientific training, and all of them require the continuous execution, through many years, of far-reaching plans. I proceed to consider each of the topics I have mentioned, with the intention of showing that antiquated methods of municipal administration, and particularly short and insecure tenures for the heads of departments, are responsible for the greater part of the municipal evils which are bringing discredit on free institutions, and that the altered nature and conditions of municipal business require that these old methods, which answered very well in earlier times, be fundamentally reformed.

In the course of this rapid sketch it will appear at various points that the monarchical and aristocratic governments of Europe have grappled with modern municipal problems much more successfully than our democratic government. The discussion will, I think, suggest that explanations of this result, so unsatisfactory to lovers of liberty, are to be found in the slowness of a democracy to change governmental methods, and in the comparatively small and temporary influence of political and administrative leaders under a form of government which makes frequent appeal to universal suffrage.

I begin with the levying of municipal taxes. One of the greatest mischiefs in American municipal government is the system of local taxation;

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

for this system is, in many places, an effective school in evasion and perjury, and, as a rule, an agency of stinging injustice. The trouble is twofold.

In the first place, the incidence of taxes is one of the most difficult subjects in political economy, and very few American legislators know anything about it. More than that, very few Americans in any profession or walk of life know anything about it. The colleges and universities of the country are greatly to blame for this condition of things. They never began to teach political science in any serious way till about twenty years ago. The generation of men now in their prime either never studied any political economy at all, or studied it in one small text-book for a few hours a week for perhaps half a year, at school or college; or they picked up a few notions about it in the intervals of professional or business occupation after they had entered upon their life-work. The number of living Americans who have any thorough and systematic knowledge of the principles of political economy, including the incidence of taxes, is absolutely insignificant; and these few are mostly either professors, or business-men who have been also life-long students. The average business-man and the average professional man have never given any attention to the science, except perhaps to some little scrap of it, like the doctrine of protection, which has temporarily had some political interest.

Secondly, the forms of property have changed so

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

prodigiously within forty years, that a theory of assessment which worked reasonably well before 1850 has become thoroughly mischievous in 1890. The old theory of taxation was, that every man should be assessed at his home on all his property. It was all there, or it returned thither periodically, like his ox-cart or his vessel. If, by rare chance, a man had property out of the town where he lived, it was a piece of real estate, which was to be assessed for taxes in the town where it lay, and there only. Nowadays in cities this is all changed. In the country and in remote communities by the sea, the lakes, and the rivers, the old forms of property—namely, lands, buildings, implements, live-stock, carriages, and vessels—remain the same that they were fifty years ago, and in such communities there is no difficulty about the assessment and incidence of taxes; but in all the urban populations there are innumerable forms of property which are of very recent creation. The various bonds of railroad, telegraph, telephone, land and bridge companies—which are a kind of preferred stock, without any liability or any voting-power—have been almost entirely created within thirty years. The English statute which provides for incorporation with limited liability dates only from the year 1855. The innumerable stocks of transportation, financial, and manufacturing companies have almost all been created since the present type of American municipality was established. The history of Harvard University, like that of any old institution, illustrates the newness of these forms

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

of property which have become so common. In 1860 only two per cent. of the quick capital of Harvard University was in railroad stocks and bonds; now fifty per cent. is so invested. If we go back in the history of the university thirty years more, to the year 1830, we find that the university owned neither stock nor bond, except fifty-two shares in a Boston bank, one share in a local canal, and certain interests in three wooden bridges leading out of Boston. Legislators, assessors, and voters have been quite unable to grasp the new situation so suddenly created. They have been unable to master quickly enough the new conditions. The conservatism of a democracy is intense, partly because the average voter is afraid of administrative novelties, and partly because inexperienced officials necessarily follow precedent. The more rapid the change of officials, the more surely will this unreasoning following of precedent prevail. A new official is afraid to depart from custom, lest he fall into some dangerous or absurd difficulty. Yet to follow precedent when conditions have changed is the surest way to fall into both absurdity and danger. Clinging to the old theory that a man was to be taxed at the place of his residence on all of his property,—a perfectly good theory under former conditions, and, indeed, under present conditions among a rural population,—American legislators and assessors have endeavored to tax at the place of residence property which did not lie there, never returned thither, and was wholly invisible there. Hence all the inquisi-



## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

torial methods of assessment which disgrace the American cities.

At present, in many States of the Union the attempt is made to tax the house and the mortgage on it, the merchant's stock and the note he gave for the money with which he bought it, a railroad and the bonds which built it. So far as this method is successful, it falsifies the total valuation of the country, and produces inequality and injustice in the distribution of the public burdens. So far as it is unsuccessful, it causes another kind of injustice, excites suspicions and enmities among neighbors, and dulls the public conscience. These grave evils take effect, for the most part, in urban communities, and there work their most serious mischiefs. Yet they result from popular persistence in a theory which was perfectly good no long time ago, and from the inability of ill-trained and often-changed officials to adapt public policy quickly to new conditions of finance and trade very suddenly created. To deal wisely with public taxation in the face of rapid and progressive changes in business and social conditions requires on the part of the tax officials exact knowledge, sound judgment, wide experience, and continuous service: in short, it requires highly trained experts, serving the public on independent tenures, for long terms.

The management of water-supplies and drainage systems is another municipal function which is of recent growth and of a highly scientific character. As a regular part of city business it has all been

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

created within fifty years. I was brought up in one of the best built houses in Boston, situated near the top of Beacon Hill. The house-drainage was discharged into a cesspool in the rear of the lot, and the whole family drank the water from a deep well which was not more than fifty feet from the cesspool. Moreover, five private stables stood near the rear of the lot, all of them but a short distance from the well; and the natural slope of the land was from the stables and the cesspool toward the well. There was at that time no sewerage system in the city of Boston and no public water-supply.

The mayor of Boston is elected to-day in the same way and for the same term as in those not remote times; but his functions and the whole municipal business which he superintends have utterly changed. I need not say that the provision of adequate supplies of wholesome water in a large city is a work of great and increasing difficulty, which can be successfully managed only by men who have received an elaborate training, and have labored for years continuously in that one field. The difficult subjects of average annual precipitation, natural watersheds, prevention of pollution, and effective distribution, will always task the full powers of gifted men who have received the best possible training. Continuity of policy is of great importance in regard to the water-supply of any large population. The same may be said of the related problem of sewerage. The disposition of the fluid and semi-fluid refuse of cities

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

is an engineering problem which presents great variety in different localities, and almost always great difficulty. In our expanding cities the moment one difficulty or danger is overcome, another presents itself. The planning of sewerage works preëminently requires foresight; and durability is always a primary merit in their construction. That the water-works and sewerage system of a great municipality should be under the charge of constantly shifting officials is irrational to the last degree. The forms and methods of our city governments were determined when no such problems were to be solved by city agents.

I turn next to the care of highways, including paving, lighting, and cleaning. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the intelligence and skill which are needed in modern cities for the right conduct of this department of the public work. The services of engineers of the highest intelligence and skill, and of the highest professional honor and business capacity, are constantly required. In the great European capitals, these departments of municipal service are admirably managed by men trained, in schools long famous, expressly for the planning and direction of such public works, and kept in service, like officers of the army and navy, during good behavior and efficiency. There is not a great capital in Europe—I had almost said there is not even a small city—which does not immeasurably excel in the care of its highways the best governed of American cities. The monarchical and bureaucratic governments of Europe see to it that city

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

streets and country highways are smooth, hard, and clean. The streets of European capitals, and their public squares, are incessantly swept and washed, and all rubbish, manure, and offal are promptly removed; but in most American cities the manure of animals, the sputa of human beings, and much other vegetable and animal refuse are suffered to dry up, and blow about as dust. The footways in American cities are as inferior to those of foreign cities as the carriage-ways, in respect to convenience and cleanliness, except, indeed, that there are some portions of the oldest European cities in which originally no footways were provided. Spain is not considered a particularly clean country; but I remember sitting down in a small public square in Seville to eat an orange, and so absolutely tidy was the inclosure that I could see no place where it was possible to leave the skin of the orange, and I had to carry it away with me. The inferiority of American cities in this respect is not due to lack of sufficient expenditure on the highways: it is due primarily to the fact that competent experts are not steadily employed to direct this important branch of municipal business, and, secondarily, to a flood of abuses which become possible in the absence of competent and honest supervision. There is no point at which municipal government in the United States has been so complete a failure as here. It has disastrously failed to provide for the convenience and comfort of the people in a matter which seriously affects the daily well-being of every inhabitant.

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

I speak next of an important municipal function which is of very recent origin, which, indeed, has hardly as yet been developed at all; namely, the control in the public interest of the companies which sell light, heat, power, transportation, and telegraphic or telephonic communication. The value of these franchises has only recently been demonstrated; and the many ways in which these companies may affect the business interests, and the comfort, health, and pleasure of a compact community, are not yet fully developed. The introduction of electricity for all these purposes, except heating, has very recently greatly modified the methods of the purveying corporations. Not a single American city has succeeded in dealing with these serviceable monopolies justly and at the same time to the public advantage; and, so long as the present modes of electing and organizing a municipal government continue in this country, we may well despair of seeing any effective control over these corporations exercised in the public interest. They are controlled in Europe by skilful engineers whose duty is to the public, and whose authority is exercised steadily and independently. This grave municipal problem is, however, very new. It is only about forty years since the first street-railways were built in the United States; the telephone seems to many of us a thing of yesterday; and the introduction of electric lights and electric cars is quite within the memory of children still in school. Within five years a wholly new class of municipal difficulties has arisen from the

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

multiplication of overhead wires, for all sorts of purposes, along and across the public highways. How absurd it is to expect an effective discharge of supervisory functions over these novel and enterprising corporations, which are eagerly pursuing their private interests, from city officials who are elected by universal suffrage once a year or once in two years, or who depend for their positions on the single will of an official so elected!

One would imagine, *a priori*, that a "government by the people, for the people," would always have been careful of the people's health; but here we come upon one of the most conspicuous failures of free institutions in urban populations. Democratic government is at present at a serious disadvantage, in comparison with aristocratic and monarchical governments, as regards the care of the public health. The evidence of that disadvantage is of two sorts. In the first place, there are several cities in the United States which already, in spite of their comparative newness, have a death-rate absolutely higher than that of the best conducted cities of Europe. London, with its six millions of people, has habitually a lower death-rate than Boston, New York, Brooklyn, or Chicago. A few facts must suffice to illustrate this point. In the third quarter of 1889, the summer quarter, Chicago, Boston, and New York had a higher death-rate than Rome, Milan, and Turin, in hot Italy. In the fourth quarter, Chicago had a higher death-rate than Copenhagen, Christiania, Prague, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, Lyons,

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

Amsterdam, Edinburgh, Sheffield, Birmingham, Liverpool, or London. In the first quarter of 1890, the death-rate in New York was a little higher than the mean rate in the twenty-eight great English towns, including London, some of those great towns being confessedly in habitually bad sanitary condition. The population of New York is about equal to that of Berlin. In the first quarter of 1890, the deaths in New York were at the annual rate of 28.8 persons in every 1000, against 23.3 in Berlin—a fact which means that in those three months 2600 persons more died in New York than in Berlin, although New York has great advantages over Berlin as regards both climate and situation. In the fourth quarter of 1890, the death-rate in New York and Brooklyn was higher than in Berlin by more than 3 in 1000. In the second place, in those American cities which have made some effort to preserve the public health and to lower the death-rate, no such success has rewarded the effort as in many European cities, although the newness of most American cities should give them a great advantage over the European. London, which is supposed to contain in East London the largest mass of human misery in the civilized world, is the best example in the world of sanitary success. Berlin is another striking example of sanitary success under extremely unfavorable conditions. Before 1871 the annual death-rate in Berlin had for thirty years been from 37 to 39 per 1000. Of late years, 21 to 23 per 1000 have been common rates—an immense annual saving of life, which is

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

chiefly due to the construction of a good water-supply and a good sewerage system. The worst district of Glasgow — No. 14, a physical and moral plague-spot — had in 1871 a population of 14,000 and a death-rate of 42.3 per 1000; in 1881 a population of about 8000 and a death-rate of 38.3; in 1888 a population of about 7000 and a death-rate of 32.45. No American city has obtained sanitary successes like these. Boston among cities, and Massachusetts among States, have taken as much pains in sanitary matters as any American communities, yet the death-rate has not been reduced during the past twenty-five years, either in the city or in the State at large. How much saving of life is possible under favorable conditions may be inferred from two comparisons. In the year 1888, the death-rate in Boston was 24.57 per 1000: in the adjoining, or rather interjected, town of Brookline, it was 11.43. In urban England, the death-rate during the last quarter of 1890 was 21.2 per 1000: among the remaining population, it was 17.5 per 1000.

What are the reasons of the comparative inefficiency of democratic government in the care of the public health? I maintain that they are not vice and criminal negligence, but ignorance and unwisdom. Is it not obvious that the care of the public health requires a high degree of intelligence and of scientific training in the officers who have charge of it, and that our system of municipal administration almost precludes the employment of such competent officers? Preventive medicine is



### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

a comparatively new science, and it has been more effectively cultivated in Europe than in this country, partly because the methods of municipal administration which there prevail give a chance for putting its principles into practice which American methods have not given. In its respect for personal liberty and the rights of the individual, democracy lets ignorance and selfishness poison water-supplies with fecal matter, distribute milk infected with diphtheria, scarlet-fever, or tuberculosis, and spread contagious diseases by omitting the precautions of isolation and disinfection. Clearly, this feebleness of democracy is largely due to ignorance. Aristocratic and autocratic governments have learned quicker than democracies the economic and humane value of sanitary science, and have applied that science more promptly and efficiently. If the sufferings inflicted on the poorer and less intelligent portions of the community, and the economic losses inflicted on the whole community, by incompetent practitioners of medicine and surgery, could be brought home to American legislators, the quacks and charlatans would have short shrift, in spite of the inevitable interference with so-called private rights. Registration acts for practitioners of medicine would then be promptly passed, and vigorously enforced. In like manner, if a democracy were only persuaded that contagious diseases — like yellow fever, small-pox, and diphtheria — might be closely restricted by isolation, the present careless methods of dealing with these scourges would soon be as obsolete as surgery and

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

midwifery without antiseptics. The multitude does not know how typhoid fever lurks in contaminated water; it does not comprehend either the suffering or the economic loss which inevitably falls on any population breathing polluted air, or drinking polluted water; it does not realize that public health is only the sum-total of the individual healths, and that every avoidable injury to the public health means individual sufferings and losses which need not have been incurred. A few American States and cities have made some progress in the care of the public health; but the good work has been done chiefly by educated physicians and engineers serving gratuitously on boards of health. Such an organization is vastly better than none; but, as the results show, it is less efficient than the steady, paid service of such competent health-officers as all large European communities nowadays employ. Again, we see that this recently created but important municipal function requires experts for its satisfactory performance.

Another matter in which democratic government manifests, in comparison with aristocratic and autocratic governments, a curious neglect of the interests of the masses is the provision, or rather lack of provision, of parks, gardens, open-air parlors, and forests for the enjoyment of the populace. This subject is closely connected with the last to which I referred — the public health. One would have supposed that, before the urban populations began to feel keenly their deprivation of fresh air and rural beauty, liberal reservations of unoccupied

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

land would have been made in our country for the use of the public. The fact is, however, that European towns and cities, both large and small, are much better provided with parks, gardens, small squares, and popular open-air resorts of all kinds, than American towns and cities. The gardens, parks, and game-preserves of royalty and nobility have there been converted, in many cases, to popular uses, with the happiest results. The largest and densest European cities—London, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris—are greatly better off in this respect than any American city. Even the least progressive parts of Europe, like Spain and Sicily, surpass the United States in making provision for the out-of-door enjoyments of crowded populations. All about our large cities and towns the building-up of neighborhoods once rural is going on with marvelous rapidity, and the city population is progressively excluded from private properties long unoccupied, but now converted into brick blocks and wooden villages, mostly offensive to the eye. Meantime the municipalities take no measures to provide either small squares or broad areas for the future use of the people.<sup>1</sup> Some of the smaller New England cities have actually hesitated to accept, or have even declined, the gift of valuable tracts which public-spirited citizens have offered them. A notion has been spread abroad by assessors and frugal citizens who prefer industrial or commercial values to spiritual and æsthetic or joy-giving values, that any area exempt from tax-

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that this paper was written in 1891.

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

ation is an incubus on the community; the fact being that the exempted areas in most towns and cities represent, as a rule, just those things which make a dense community worth having at all, namely, the churches, museums, libraries, hospitals, colleges, schools, parks, squares, and commons. One would infer, from democratic practice, that in democratic theory public parks and gardens were made for the rich or the idle, whereas they are most needed by the laborious and the poor. The richer classes can provide their own enjoyments; they can go to the country or the sea when they please. It is the laboring masses that need the open-air parlor, the city boulevard, and the country park. The urban population in the United States have not yet grasped these principles; and herein lies one great difficulty in regard to good municipal administration in this matter. But there is another serious difficulty: the satisfactory construction and maintenance of public works of this nature require many years of steady work upon one plan, and they require both artistic and engineering skill in the officials who devise, execute, and maintain such works. Again, we see that good municipal administration must, in this department also, be in the hands of competent experts, and that not for a year at a time, but for long periods.

I have now touched, I believe, on the chief municipal functions which have a distinctly scientific quality. There remain the administration of justice, the protection of the city against fire, disorder, and crime, and the conduct of the public schools.

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

Experience has abundantly proved that independent and permanent tenures, after proper periods of probationary or subordinate service, are indispensable for the heads of all these departments of municipal administration; but these functions are less novel than those with which I have chiefly dealt, although even in these departments many new questions present themselves nowadays which never troubled at all the men of the last generation.

Of the judicial and legal departments of a great municipality it is perhaps unnecessary to say more than this — that their efficiency depends on the steady employment of learned, independent, and honorable lawyers and judges. Of the education department I can say, with confidence, that the welfare of the schools will always be best promoted by superintendents and teachers who have been selected by a professional appointing body, proved in actual service under the observation of competent inspectors, and then appointed to permanent places. Academies, endowed schools, and colleges often have better modes of selecting teachers than the public schools, and more secure tenures of office. Hence, in part, the greater comparative success of these institutions, their relative resources being considered. It is interesting to notice that, under stress of great disasters, the fire department has become the best-managed public organization in an American city. In that department are often found all the features of an efficient service — careful selection of the members of the force, steady employment, advancement for merit, compensation

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

for injury, and a pension on retirement after faithful service.

I believe it is no exaggeration to say that good municipal administration has now become absolutely impossible without the employment, on permanent tenures, of a large number of highly trained and highly paid experts in various arts and sciences as directors of the chief city departments, and that the whole question of municipal reform is covered by the inquiry, How can a city government be organized so as to secure the services of these experts? Without attempting to go into the details of municipal organization, I venture to indicate the direction in which reform must be sought. Of late years the direction of reform movements has been toward increasing the responsibility of the mayor, by freeing him from the control of municipal elective bodies, and giving him larger rights of appointing and dismissing his subordinates. This method will succeed only so far as it procures for the city independent and highly trained expert service. I do not see that it tends to secure such service, unless the tenure of the mayoralty itself is prolonged and the heads of departments are made safe from arbitrary dismissal. On the whole, there is but slight tendency in the American cities to prolong the period of service of mayors. To give the mayor, who is himself a short-term official, larger powers of appointment and dismissal, does not tend to secure to the heads of departments long terms of service. Competent men will not leave their own business or the service of the numerous

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

corporations which give useful men secure positions, to accept municipal positions the tenure of which is no longer, to say the least, than the tenure of the mayor. The inevitable result will be that the city will secure only second-, third-, or fourth-rate servants. As a rule, only incompetent people, or people out of work, or adventurers, will accept casual employment. I believe that all reform efforts ought to be primarily directed to the means of procuring, under democratic government as under aristocratic or autocratic government, honest, highly trained, and well-paid permanent officials. The intelligent American closely resembles the intelligent European in preferring an independent and permanent position. He will always accept lower pay for a steady job. He will always prefer, when he has passed the speculative and adventurous age, a moderately paid position with which go public consideration and a prospect of steady usefulness, to higher paid but insecure positions. The method of employing competent persons in permanent positions is also more economical than any other: it procures more service, and more faithful and interested service, than any other method. The experience of many American corporations illustrates this fact. In the service of banks, trust companies, insurance companies, railroads, factories, shops, colleges, and hospitals, it is the almost universal practice to retain as long as possible well-proved managers, trained clerks, and skilled workmen. This policy is, indeed, the only profitable policy. In many towns and coun-

## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

ties, also, the tenure of elective offices is practically a tenure during efficiency. For a cure of the evils which now attend democratic government in cities, it is of the utmost consequence that the methods of municipal service should be assimilated to the methods of the great private and corporate services which require intelligence, high training, and long experience. The doctrine of rotation in office when applied to such functions as I have been describing is simply silly.

I adverted at the opening of this paper to the fact that town governments in the United States have remained good, down to the present day, through all the deterioration of city governments. The principal reason for this fact seems to be that the best men in a rural town can undertake the service of the town without interfering with their regular occupation or business, and may derive from that service a convenient addition to their ordinary earnings. A selectman, road commissioner, or school commissioner in a New England town has a position of respectability and local influence, with perhaps some small emolument; and he holds it without suffering any loss in his private business. In large cities, on the other hand, it is quite impossible for the chief officials to attend to their private business and at the same time fulfil their municipal functions. Moreover, city men of capacity and character are sure to be absorbed in their own affairs so completely that they give but a reluctant and spasmodic attention to the business of the public. Democratic freedom inevitably



## *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

tends to produce this devotion to their own affairs on the part of intelligent and industrious citizens. An able professional man, merchant, or manufacturer cannot abandon his regular vocation to take municipal service, until his success in his profession or business has been so great that he can afford to impair, or dispense with, his ordinary annual earnings. Aside from persons of fortune and leisure, there are but two classes of competent and desirable men in this country who can, as a rule, enter the public service at all without sacrificing their individual and family interests. These two classes are lawyers, and business-men whose business is already so well organized that they can temporarily abandon it without incurring any loss which they care about. Of the Fifty-first Congress of the United States, nearly three quarters are lawyers—fully three quarters of the Senate, and nearly three quarters of the House. Of the other quarter, the majority are business-men of the kind I have described. A lawyer returning from public service to his profession generally finds, if he is a man of ability, that his private practice has been increased. A manufacturer or merchant who is already rich can of course run the risks of the public service. If the voters abandon him, or his superior discharge him, he can return to his private business. As a rule, no other persons in the American community can really afford to enter the public service, either municipal or national, as it is at present conducted.

Before municipal government can be set right in

### *One Remedy for Municipal Misgovernment*

the United States, municipal service must be made a life-career for intelligent and self-respecting young Americans; that is, it must be made attractive to well-trained young men to enter it,—as they enter any other profession or business,—meaning to stay in it, learn it thoroughly, and win advancement in it by fidelity and ability. To enforce this principle, to indicate this one necessary direction of all reform movements, has been my modest object in this paper. To say that this reform is impracticable is equivalent to saying that American cities cannot be well conducted; and that, again, is equivalent to saying that the democratic form of government is going to be a failure for more than half the total population. Free institutions themselves are valuable only as a means of public well-being. They will ultimately be judged by their fruits; and therefore they must be made to minister fairly well to the public comfort, health, and pleasure, and to conform in their administrative methods to the standards of intelligence and morality which are maintained by other trustees and large business agencies in the same communities.

WHEREIN POPULAR EDUCATION  
HAS FAILED

PUBLISHED IN THE "FORUM," DECEMBER, 1892

## WHEREIN POPULAR EDUCATION HAS FAILED

---

IT cannot be denied that there is serious and general disappointment at the results of popular education up to this date. Elementary instruction for all children and more advanced instruction for some children have been systematically provided in many countries for more than two generations at great cost and with a good deal of enthusiasm, though not always on wise plans. Many of the inventions of the same rich period of seventy years have greatly promoted the diffusion of education by cheapening the means of communicating knowledge. Cheap books, newspapers, and magazines, cheap postage, cheap means of transportation, and free libraries have all contributed to the general cultivation of intelligence, or at least to the wide use of reading matter and the spread of information. In spite, however, of all these efforts to make education universal, all classes complain more than ever before of the general conditions of society.

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

Now, if general education does not promote general contentment, it does not promote public happiness; for a rational contentment is an essential element in happiness, private or public. To this extent universal education must be admitted to have failed at the end of two generations of sincere and strenuous, if sometimes misdirected, effort. Perhaps it is too soon to expect from public education any visible increase of public contentment and happiness. It may be that general discontent is a necessary antecedent to social improvement and a preliminary manifestation of increased knowledge and wisdom in all classes of the community. Yet after two whole generations it seems as if some increase of genuine reasonableness of thought and action in all classes of the population ought to be discernible. Many persons, however, fail to see in the actual conduct of the various classes of society the evidence of increasing rationality. These sceptical observers complain that people in general, taken in masses with proper exclusion of exceptional individuals, are hardly more reasonable in the conduct of life than they were before free schools, popular colleges, and the cheap printing-press existed. They point out that when the vulgar learn to read they want to read trivial or degrading literature, such as the common newspapers and periodicals which are mainly devoted to accidents, crimes, criminal trials, scandals, gossip, sports, prize-fights, and low politics. Is it not the common school and the arts of cheap illustration, they say, that have made obscene books, photo-

## *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

graphs, and pictures, low novels, and all the literature which incites to vice and crime, profitable, and therefore abundant and dangerous to society? They complain that in spite of every effort to enlighten the whole body of the people, all sorts of quacks and impostors thrive, and that one popular delusion or sophism succeeds another, the best-educated classes contributing their full proportion of the deluded. Thus the astrologer in the Middle Ages was a rare personage and usually a dependent of princes; but now he advertises in the popular newspapers and flourishes as never before. Men and women of all classes, no matter what their education, seek advice on grave matters from clairvoyants, seers, Christian scientists, mind-cure practitioners, bone-setters, Indian doctors, and fortune-tellers. The ship of state barely escapes from one cyclone of popular folly, like the fiat-money delusion or the granger legislation of the seventies, when another blast of ill-informed opinion comes down on it, like the actual legislation which compels the buying and storing of silver by Government, or the projected legislation which would compel Government to buy cotton, wheat, or corn, and issue paper money against the stock.

The educated critics of the practical results of public education further complain that lawless violence continues to break out just as it did before common schools were thought of, that lynch law is familiar in the United States, riots common from Berlin to Seattle, and assassination an avowed means of social and industrial regeneration. Even

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

religious persecution, these critics say, is rife. The Jews are ostracized in educated Germany and metropolitan New York, and in Russia are robbed and driven into exile by thousands. Furthermore, in spite of the constant inculcation of the principles of civil and religious liberty, new tyrannies are constantly arising. The tyrant, to be sure, is no longer an emperor, a king, or a feudal lord, but a contagious public opinion, a majority of voters inclined to despotism, or an oppressive combination of owners, contractors, or workmen. From time to time the walking delegate seems to be a formidable kind of tyrant, all the more formidable because his authority is but brief and his responsibility elusive. Popular elections and political conventions and caucuses provide another set of arguments for the sceptics about the results of universal education. Have these not been carried on with combined shoutings, prolonged, competitive howlings, banners, torches, uniforms, parades, misrepresentations, suppressions of truth, slanders and vituperation, rather than with arguments and appeals to enlightened self-interest, benevolence, patriotism, and the sense of public duty? Are votes less purchasable now than they were before the urban graded school and the State university were known? How irrational is the preparation made by the average voter for the exercise of the function of voting! He reads steadily one intensely partizan newspaper, closes his mind to all information and argument which proceed from political opponents, distrusts independent newspapers and

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

independent men, and is afraid of joint debates. Such are some of the allegations and doubts of the educated critics with regard to the results of popular education.

On the other hand, the least-educated and most laborious classes complain that in spite of universal elementary education, society does not tend toward a greater equality of condition; that the distinctions between rich and poor are not diminished, but intensified; and that elementary education does not necessarily procure for the wage-earner any exemption from incessant and exhausting toil. They recognize indeed that machine labor has in many cases been substituted for hand labor; but they insist that the direction of machines is more exacting than old-fashioned hand work, and that the extreme division of labor in modern industries is apt to make the life of the operative or mechanic monotonous and narrowing. They complain that the rich, though elaborately instructed in school and church, accept no responsibilities with their wealth, but insist on being free to break up their domestic or industrial establishments at their pleasure, or in other words, to give or withhold employment as they find it most convenient or profitable. They allege that the rich man in modern society does not bear, either in peace or in war, the grave responsibilities which the rich man of former centuries, who was a great land-owner, a soldier, and a magistrate, was compelled to bear; and that education, whether simple or elaborate, has not made the modern rich



### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

man less selfish and luxurious than his predecessor in earlier centuries who could barely sign his name. They admit that the progress of science has made mankind safer from famine and pestilence than it used to be, but they point out that wars are more destructive than ever, this century being the bloodiest of all the centuries; that European armies are larger and more expensively equipped than ever before, and hence are more burdensome to the laboring populations which support them; while in the American republic the annual burden of paying the military and naval pensions which result from a single great war is heavier, twenty-seven years after the war ended, than the annual burden of maintaining the largest standing army in Europe. Clearly, the spread of education has not enabled the nations to avoid war or to diminish its cost either in blood or treasure. If universal education cannot abolish, or even abate, in seventy years, the horrible waste and cruelty of war, can anything great be hoped from it for the laboring classes?

They complain also that the education of the employer and the employed has not made the conditions of employment more humane and comfortable; that almost all services and industries — agricultural, domestic, and manufacturing — are organized on the brutal principle of dismissal on the instant or with briefest notice, and that assured employment during good behavior and efficiency, which is almost a prerequisite of happiness for a reasonable and provident person, remains the priv-

## *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

ilege of an insignificant minority of well-to-do people, like judges, professors, and officers of financial and industrial corporations. How much has all this boasted education increased the intelligence and insight of even the best-educated and most capable people, if they still cannot devise just and satisfying conditions of employment in their own households, shops, ships, and factories? It is much more important that fidelity, constancy, loyalty, and mutual respect and affection between employer and employed should be fostered by the prevailing terms of employment than that more yards of cotton cloth or more tons of steel should be produced, more miles of railroad maintained, or more bushels of wheat raised. Those fine human qualities are the ultimate product to be desired. Have they been developed and fostered during the two generations of popular education? Or have dishonesty in labor, disloyalty, mutual jealousy and distrust between employer and employed, and general discontent increased?

These indictments against universal education as a cure for ancient wrongs and evils are certainly formidable; but they exaggerate existing evils and leave out of sight great improvements in social conditions which the last two generations have seen. It is only necessary for us to call to mind a few of the beneficent changes which the past seventy years have wrought, to assure ourselves that some powerful influences for good have been at work in the best-educated nations. Consider, for example, the mitigation of human miseries which the refor-

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

mation of penal codes and of prisons, the institution of reformatories, the building of hospitals, asylums, and infirmaries, and the abolition of piracy and slavery have brought about. Consider the positive influence toward the formation of habits of industry and frugality exerted by such institutions as savings-banks, mutual-benefit societies, and life-insurance corporations. Unanswerable statistics show that during the past seventy years there has been a steady improvement in the condition of the most laborious classes in modern society, the wage-earners, and this improvement touches their earnings, their hours of labor, their lodgings, their food and clothing, and the means of education for their children. Consider how step by step terrors have been disarmed, superstitions abolished, the average duration of human life lengthened, and civil order extended over regions once desolate or dangerous. Think how family and school discipline have been mitigated within two generations, and how all sorts of abuses and cruelties are checked and prevented by the publicity of modern life, a publicity which depends on the universal capacity to read.

Let us remember that almost all business is nowadays conducted on trust, trust that the seller will deliver his goods according to sample and promise, and trust that the buyer will pay at the time appointed. Now, this general trustworthiness is of course based on moral qualities which inhere in the race, but these qualities are effectively reinforced and protected by the publicity which gen-

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

eral education has made possible. Consider how freedom of intercourse between man and man, tribe and tribe, nation and nation has been developed even within a single generation; how the United States have spread across the continent, how Italy has been made one nation, and Germany one, and the Austrian Empire confederated from three distinct nationalities. Every one of these great expansions or consolidations has resulted in greater freedom of intercourse, and in the removal of barriers and of causes of strife and ill-will. Moreover, on taking a broad view of the changes in civilized society since 1830, do we not see that there has been great progress toward unity,—not indeed toward uniformity, but toward a genuine unity? The different classes of society and the different nations are still far from realizing the literal truth of the New Testament saying, “We are members one of another”; but they have lately made some approach to realizing that truth. Now, unity of spirit with diversity of gifts is the real end to be attained in social organization. It would not be just to contend that popular education has brought to pass all these improvements and ameliorations; but it has undoubtedly contributed to them all. Moreover, we find on every hand evidences of increased intelligence in large masses of people. If war has not ceased, soldiers are certainly more intelligent than they used to be, else they could not use the arms of precision with which armies are now supplied. The same is true of all industries and trades—they require more intelli-

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

gence than formerly in all the work-people. While, therefore, we must admit that education has not accomplished all that might fairly have been expected of it, we may believe that it has had some share in bringing about many of the ameliorations of the social state in the past two generations.

It is somewhat comforting to recall, as we confess to disappointment with the results of universal education, that modern society has had several disappointments before of a nature similar to that it now experiences. There was a time when it was held that a true and universally accepted religious belief would bring with it an ideal state of society; but this conviction resulted in sanguinary persecutions and desolating wars, for to attain the ideal state of society through one true religion was an end so lofty as to justify punishing, and even exterminating, all who did not accept the religion. Again, when modern representative institutions were first put into practice it seemed as if the millennium were near—popular government seemed of infinite promise for the happiness of mankind. Were not all despotisms to be done away with? Were not all men to enjoy liberty, equality, and fraternity? It was a painful surprise to discover that under a *régime* of general liberty a few could so use their freedom as to gain undue advantages over the many. It was a disappointment to find that superior shrewdness and alertness could secure, under public freedom and public law, a lordship such as superior force could hardly win when there were little freedom and little law. How high were

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

the expectations based on universal suffrage—that exaltation of man as man without regard to his social condition, that strong expression of the equality of all men in political power! Yet all these successive hopes have proved in a measure delusive. On the whole, the most precious and stable result of the civilized world's experience during the past three hundred years is the doctrine of universal toleration, or liberty for all religious opinions under the protection of the state, there being as yet no such thing in Christian society as one true and universal religion. We have all had to learn that representative institutions do not at present necessarily produce good government,—in many American cities they coexist with bad government,—and that universal suffrage is not a panacea for social ills, but simply the most expedient way to enlist the interest and support of us all in the government of us all. Never yet has society succeeded in embodying in actual institutions a just liberty, a real equality, or a true fraternity.

It was reasonable, however, to expect more from universal education than from any of the other inventions to which I have alluded. Public education should mean the systematic training of all children for the duties of life; and it seems as if this systematic training could work almost a revolution in human society in two or three generations, if wisely and faithfully conducted. Why has it not? It seems to provide directly for a general increase of power to reason, and, therefore, of actual reasonableness in the conduct of life. Why is it

## *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

possible to doubt whether any appreciable gain has thus far been made in these respects? I think I perceive in popular education, as generally conducted until recently, an inadequacy and a misdirection which supply a partial answer to these disquieting questions.

The right method of developing in the mass of the population the reasoning power and general rationality which are needed for the wise conduct of life must closely resemble the method by which the intelligence and reasoning power of an individual are developed. Let me next, therefore, present here in some detail the main processes or operations of the mind which systematic education should develop and improve in an individual in order to increase his general intelligence and train his reasoning power. The first of these processes or operations is observation; that is to say, the alert, intent, and accurate use of all the senses. Whoever wishes to ascertain a present fact must do it through the exercise of this power of observation, whether the fact lie in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom; whether it be a fact of physics, physiology, sociology, or politics. Facts, diligently sought for and firmly established, are the only foundations of sound reasoning. The savage has abundant practice in observation; for he gets his daily food only by the keenest exercise of this power. The civilized man, whose food is brought to him by the railroad, is not forced by these elementary necessities to keep his observational powers keen and quick, and many of his occupations

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

call for only a limited use of the observing organs; so that systematic education must provide in his case against the atrophy of these faculties. For the training of this power of observation it does not matter what subject the child studies, so that he study something thoroughly by an observational method. If the method be right, it does not matter, among the numerous subjects well fitted to develop this important faculty, which he choose, or which be chosen for him. The study of any branch of natural history, chemistry, or physics, any well-conducted work with tools or machines, and many of the sports of children and adults, such as sailing, fishing, and hunting, will develop this power, provided thorough exercise of the observational powers be secured. For the purpose we have now in view, it is vastly better that he study one subject thoroughly than several superficially. The field within which the power is exercised may be narrow or special; but these words do not apply to the power. During this training in accurate observation, the youth should learn how hard it is to determine with certainty even an apparently simple fact. He should learn to distrust the evidence of his own senses, to repeat, corroborate, and verify his observations, and to mark the profound distinction between the fact and any inference, however obvious, from the fact.

The next function, process, or operation which education should develop in the individual is the function of making a correct record of things observed. The record may be either mental only,



### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

that is, stamped on the memory, or it may be reduced to writing or print. The savage transmits orally to his children or his tribe such records as his brain contains of nature's lore and of his experience in war and the chase; but civilized man makes continuous and cumulative records of sifted, sorted, and grouped facts of observation and experience, and on these records the progress of the race depends. Hence the supreme importance that every child be instructed and drilled at every stage of his education in the art of making an accurate and vivid record of things seen, heard, felt, done, or suffered. This power of accurate description or recording is identical in all fields of inquiry. The child may describe what it sees in a columbine, or in the constellation of Orion, or on the wharves, or in the market, or in the Children's Hospital, and its power of description may be exercised in speech or in writing; but for the benefit of the community, as distinguished from the satisfaction of the individual and the benefit of his family or associates, the faculty should be abundantly exercised in writing as well as speech. In this constant drill the conscience cannot fail to be refined and instructed; for to make a scrupulously accurate statement of a fact observed, with all needed qualifications and limitations, is as good a training of the conscience as secular education can furnish.

The next mental function which education should develop, if it is to increase reasoning power and general intelligence, is the faculty of drawing correct inferences from recorded observations. This

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

faculty is almost identical with the faculty of grouping or coördinating kindred facts, comparing one group with another or with all the others, and then drawing an inference which is sure, in proportion to the number of cases, instances, or experiences on which it is based. This power is developed by practice in induction. It is often a long way from the patent fact to the just inference. For centuries the Phœnician and Roman navigators had seen the hulls of vessels disappearing below the blue horizon of the Mediterranean while their sails were visible; but they never drew the inference that the earth was round. On any particular subject it may take generations or centuries to accumulate facts enough to establish a just inference or generalization. The earlier accumulations may be insufficient, the first grouping wrong, the first samplings deceptive; and so the first general inference may be incorrect; but the method, rightly practised, leads straight to truth. It is the patient, candid, impartial, universal method of modern science.

Fourthly, education should cultivate the power of expressing one's thoughts clearly, concisely, and cogently. This power is to be procured only by much practice in the mother tongue, and this practice should make part of every child's education from beginning to end. So far as a good style can be said to be formed or created at all, it is ordinarily formed by constant practice under judicious criticism. If this practice and criticism are supplied, it is unimportant whether the student write an historical narrative, or a translation from

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

Xenophon, or a laboratory note-book, or an account of a case of hypnotism or typhoid fever, or a law-brief, or a thesis on comparative religion; the subject-matter is comparatively indifferent, so far as the cultivation of accurate and forcible speech or writing is concerned. In cultivating any field of knowledge this power of expression can be won if the right means be used, and if these means be neglected it will not be won in any field. For cultivating the habit of reasoning justly, however, there is one kind of practice in expressing one's thoughts which has special importance, namely, practice in argumentative composition—in the logical and persuasive development of an argument, starting from well-selected premises and brought to a just conclusion.

Let no one imagine that I am omitting poetry from systematic education. In that highest of all arts of expression, the art of poetry, the four mental functions or operations we have now considered—observing, recording, comparing and inferring, and expressing—may be seen in combination, each often exhibited to high degree. The poet's power of observation often supplies him with his most charming verses. Tennyson noticed that the ash put out its leaves in spring much later than the other trees, and this is the exquisite use he made of that botanical observation:

“Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,  
Delaying, as the tender ash delays  
To clothe herself, when all the woods are green?”

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

The poet's power of describing, and of stirring and inspiring by his descriptions, depends on the combination in him of keen observation, rare susceptibility to beauty and grandeur, spiritual insight, and faculty of inferential suggestion. In four lines Emerson puts before us the natural and spiritual scene at the Concord River on the 19th of April, 1775:

“By the rude bridge that arched the flood,  
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,  
Here once the embattl'd farmers stood,  
And fired the shot heard round the world.”

In twenty-eight words here are the whole scene and all the essential circumstances — the place and season, the stout actors, their rustic social state, the heroic deed, and its infinite reverberation. What an accurate, moving, immortal description is this! Even for logical and convincing argument poetry is often the finest vehicle. If anybody doubts this let him read again the twenty-third Psalm, from its opening premise, “The Lord is my shepherd,” to its happy conclusion, “Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life”; or let him follow the reasoning of God with Job, from the inquiry, “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?” to Job's conclusion, “Wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes.”

These, then, are the four things in which the individual youth should be thoroughly trained, if his judgment and reasoning power are to be systemat-

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

ically developed: observing accurately; recording correctly; comparing, grouping, and inferring justly; and expressing cogently the results of these mental operations. These are the things in which the population as a mass must be trained in youth, if its judgment and reasoning power are to be systematically developed.

Let us now consider whether the bulk of the work done in free public schools for the mass of the children contributes materially to the development of the mental capacities just described. More than ninety per cent. of the school-children do not get beyond the "grades," or the grammar school, as we say in New England. Now, what are the staples of instruction in the "grades," or in the primary and grammar schools of New England? They are reading, spelling, writing, geography, and arithmetic. In very recent years there has been added to these subjects some practice in observation, through drawing, manual training, kindergarten work in general, and lessons in elementary science; but these additions to the staple subjects are all recent, and have not taken full effect on any generation now at work in the world. Moreover, it is but a small proportion of the total school-time which is even now devoted to these observational subjects. The acquisition of the art of reading is mostly a matter of memory. It is of course not without effect on the development of the intelligence; but it does not answer well any one of the four fundamental objects in an education directed to the development of reasoning power.

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

The same must be said of writing, which is in the main a manual exercise and one by no means so well adapted to cultivate the powers of observation, the sense of form, and the habit of accuracy as many other sorts of manual work, such as carpentering, turning, forging, and modeling. As to English spelling, it is altogether a matter of memory. We have heretofore put too much confidence in the mere acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. After these arts are acquired there is much to be done to make them effective for the development of the child's intelligence. If his reasoning power is to be developed through reading, he must be guided to the right sort of reading. The school must teach not only how to read, but what to read, and it must develop a taste for wholesome reading. Geography, as commonly taught, means committing to memory a mass of curiously uninteresting and unimportant facts.

There remains arithmetic, the school subject most relied on to train the reasoning faculty. From one sixth to one fourth, or even one third, of the whole school-time of American children is given to the subject of arithmetic—a subject which does not train a single one of the four faculties to develop which should be the fundamental object of education. It has nothing to do with observing correctly, or with recording accurately the results of observation, or with collating facts and drawing just inferences therefrom, or with expressing clearly and forcibly logical thought. Its reasoning has little application in the great sphere of the

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

moral sciences, because it is necessary and not probable reasoning. In spite of the common impression that arithmetic is a practical subject, it is of very limited application in common life, except in its simplest elements—the addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of small numbers. It indeed demands of the pupil mental effort; but all subjects that deserve any place in education do that. On the whole, therefore, it is the least remunerative subject in elementary education as now conducted.

But let us look somewhat higher in the hierarchy of educational institutions. It has been roughly computed that about five per cent. of the school-children in the United States go on to the secondary schools. In these schools is attention chiefly devoted to the development and training of the reasoning faculty? By no means. In most secondary schools of a high class a large part of the whole time is given to the study of languages. Thus in the Cambridge Public Latin School twenty-eight hundred and twenty lessons are devoted in the course of six years to the languages; to all other subjects ten hundred and seventy. At the Ann Arbor High School, in the seven distinct courses all taken together, there are twenty-seven hundred and forty-six lessons in languages, against forty-one hundred and eighty-four in all other subjects—and this although many options are allowed to the pupils of the school, and the variety of subjects not linguistic is large. In the Lawrenceville School, a well-endowed preparatory school in New

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

Jersey, twenty hundred and thirty-three lessons are devoted to languages, against nineteen hundred and seventeen devoted to all other subjects. Now, the teaching of a language may be made the vehicle of admirable discipline in discriminating thinking; but it is a rare language-teacher who makes it the vehicle of such thinking. The ordinary teaching of a foreign language, living or dead, cultivates in the pupil little besides memory and a curious faculty of assigning the formation of a word or the construction of a phrase to the right rule in the grammar — a rule which the pupil may or may not understand. The preponderance of language-lessons in many secondary schools presents, therefore, great dangers. Moreover, in most secondary schools, among the subjects other than languages, there will generally be found several which seem to be taught for the purpose of giving information rather than of imparting power. Such are the common high-school and academy topics in history, natural history, psychology, astronomy, political economy, civil government, mechanics, constitutional law, and commercial law. These subjects, as they are now taught, seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler a high school or academy is, the more these information subjects figure in its programme; and when a strong school offers several distinct courses, the shorter and weaker courses are sure to exhibit an undue number of these subjects. I need not say that these subjects are in themselves grand fields of knowledge, and that any one of them might



### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

furnish a solid mental training. It is the way they are used that condemns them. The pupil is practically required to commit to memory a primer or a small elementary manual for the sake of the information it contains. There can be no training of the reason in such a process.

If now we rise to the course which succeeds that of the high school or academy, the college course, we find essentially the same condition of things in most American institutions. The cultivation of the memory predominates; that of the observing, inferring, and reasoning faculties is subordinated. Strangest of all, from bottom to top of the educational system, the art of expressing one's thought clearly and vigorously in the mother tongue receives comparatively little attention.

When one reviews the course of instruction in schools and colleges with the intention of discovering how much of it contributes directly to the development of reasoning power, one cannot but be struck with the very small portion of time expressly devoted to this all-important object. No amount of *memoriter* study of languages or of the natural sciences, and no attainments in arithmetic, will protect a man or woman—except, imperfectly, through a certain indirect cultivation of general intelligence—from succumbing to the first plausible delusion or sophism he or she may encounter. No amount of such studies will protect one from believing in astrology, or theosophy, or free silver, or strikes, or boycotts, or in the persecution of Jews or of Mormons, or in the violent exclusion of

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

non-union men from employment. One is fortified against the acceptance of unreasonable propositions only by skill in determining facts through observation and experience, by practice in comparing facts or groups of facts, and by the unvarying habit of questioning and verifying allegations, and of distinguishing between facts and inferences from facts, and between a true cause and an antecedent event. One must have direct training and practice in logical speech and writing before he can be quite safe against specious rhetoric and imaginative oratory. Many popular delusions are founded on the commonest of fallacies—this preceded that, therefore this caused that; or, in shorter phrase, what preceded, caused. For example: I was sick; I took such and such a medicine and became well; therefore the medicine cured me. During the civil war the Government issued many millions of paper-money, and some men became very rich; therefore the way to make all men richer must be to issue from the Government presses an indefinite amount of paper-money. The wages of American workingmen are higher than those of English in the same trades; protection has been the policy of the United States and approximate free trade the policy of England; therefore high tariffs cause high wages. Bessemer steel is much cheaper now than it was twenty years ago; there has been a tariff tax on Bessemer steel in the United States for the past twenty years; therefore the tax cheapened the steel. England, France, and Germany are civilized and prosperous nations; they have

## *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

enormous public debts; therefore a public debt is a public blessing. He must carry Ithuriel's spear and wear stout armor who can always expose and resist this fallacy. It is not only the uneducated or the little educated who are vanquished by it. There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated; for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborate, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers.

Again, very few persons scrutinize with sufficient care the premises on which a well-formed argument is constructed. Hence a plausible argument may have strong influence for many years with great bodies of people, when the facts on which alone the argument could be securely based have never been thoroughly and accurately determined. The great public discussion now going on throughout the country affords a convenient illustration. For generations it has been alleged that high tariffs are necessary in this country in order to protect American workmen from the competition of European workmen, whose scales of living and of wages are lower than those of the American; but until within four years no serious attempt has been made to ascertain precisely what the difference really is between the cost of English labor and of American labor on a given unit of manufactured product in the several protected industries. Such inquiries are complicated and difficult, and demand exten-

## *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

sive and painstaking research, with all the advantages governmental authority can give.

The publication made in 1891 by the Commissioner of Labor at Washington concerning the cost of producing iron and steel is the first real attempt to determine the facts upon which the theory of a single group of important items in our tariff might have been based. One of Mr. Wright's carefully-stated conclusions in this huge, statistical volume is that the difference between the direct labor-cost of one ton of steel rails in the United States and in England is three dollars and seventy-eight cents. If we allow the large margin of fifty per cent. each way for possible error in these figures, we arrive at the conclusion that the excess of the direct labor-cost of producing from the assembled materials one ton of steel rails in this country lies somewhere between one dollar and eighty-nine cents and five dollars and sixty-seven cents, with the probability in favor of three dollars and seventy-eight cents. Now, the duty on one ton of steel rails is thirteen dollars and forty-four cents; so that it is obvious that the amount of this tax stands in no close relation to the difference between the cost of the American and English labor, and that some other motive than the protection of American *labor* determined the amount of the tax. Yet the argument that the high-tariff taxes exist for the protection of American wage-earners has long had great weight in the minds of millions of Americans who can read, write, and

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

cipher. For my present purpose it is a matter of indifference whether the assumption which underlies this argument, namely, that workmen are not productive and valuable in proportion to their scale of wages and standard of living, be true or false. What I want to point out is that the argument has no right to much influence in determining the amount of taxes which burden the entire population, inasmuch as the facts on which alone it can be securely based are as yet wanting for a great majority of the protected industries. Is it not quite clear that the people, as a whole, have not been taught to scrutinize severely the premises of an argument to which they are inclined to give weight, and that popular education has never afforded, and does not now afford, any adequate defense against this kind of unreason?

Let me further observe that throughout all education, both public and private, both in the school and in the family, there has been too much reliance on the principle of authority, too little on the progressive and persistent appeal to reason. By commands, or by the authoritative imposition of opinions, it is possible for a time to protect a child, or a generation or nation of childish men, from some dangers and errors; but the habit of obedience to authority and of the passive reception of imposed opinions is almost inconsistent with an effective development of reasoning power and of independence of thought.

What, then, are the changes in the course of popular education which we must strive after if

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

we would develop for the future more successfully than in the past the rationality of the population? In the first place, we must make practice in thinking, or in other words, the strengthening of reasoning power, the constant object of all teaching, from infancy to adult age, no matter what may be the subject of instruction. After the most necessary manual and mental arts have been acquired, those subjects should be taught most which each individual teacher is best fitted to utilize for making his pupils think, or which develop best in the individual pupil his own power to reason. For this purpose the same subject will not be equally good for all teachers or for all pupils. One teacher can make her pupils think most eagerly and consecutively in the subject of geography, another in zoölogy, and another in Latin. One pupil can be induced most easily to exercise strenuously his powers of observation and discrimination on the facts of a language new to him, another on the phenomena of plant life, and another on the events of some historical period. If only this training could be everywhere recognized in daily practice as the supreme and ultimate object in all teaching, a great improvement would soon be wrought in the results of public instruction.

Besides recognizing in practice this prime object of all education, we can make certain specific changes in the common subjects or methods of instruction which will greatly further this object, and we can promote such useful changes as have already been introduced. Thus we can give wise

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

extension to the true observation studies already introduced into the earlier years of the school system. Again, we can give much more time than is now given to the practice of accurate description and argumentative composition in writing. This practice should begin in the kindergarten and be pursued through the university. We expect to teach children to write English with a very small part of the practice they get in speaking English. With all the practice and criticism of their speech that school-children get every day, correct speech is by no means common. Should we expect to get correct writing with much less attention than we give to speech?

We must also teach elaborately in schools those subjects which give practice in classification and induction. The natural sciences all lend themselves to this branch of school work; but they must be taught in such a way as to extract from them the peculiar discipline they are fitted to yield. It is of no use to commit to memory books on science. A little information may be gained in this way, but no power. They must be taught by the laboratory method, with constant use of the laboratory note-book, and with careful study of trains of experimentation and reasoning which in times past actually led to great discoveries. Yet to study the natural sciences is not a sure way to develop reasoning power. It is just as easy to teach natural science, even by laboratory methods, without ever making the pupils reason closely about their work, as to teach Latin or German without cultivating

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

the pupils' powers of comparison and discrimination. Effective training of the reasoning powers cannot be secured simply by choosing this subject or that for study. The method of study and the aim in studying are the all-important things.

For the older pupils, the time devoted to historical studies ought to be much increased; not that they may learn the story of dynasties or of wars, but that they may learn how, as a matter of fact, arts came into being, commerce was developed by one city or nation after another, great literatures originated and grew up, new industries arose, fresh discoveries were made, and social conditions were ameliorated. They should discover through what imagining, desiring, contriving, and planning, whether of individual leaders or of masses of men, these great steps in human progress came to be taken. They should study the thinking and feeling of past generations for guidance to right thoughts and sentiments in the present and future. It is a disgrace to organized education that any nation should refuse, as our own people are so apt to do, to learn from the experience of other nations; the schools must have failed to teach history as they should have done. As Benjamin Franklin said, "Experience keeps a dear school; but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that."

In the higher part of the system of public instruction two difficult subjects deserve to receive a much larger share of attention than they now obtain — political economy and sociology. They should be studied, however, not as information



### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

subjects, but as training or disciplinary subjects; for during the past thirty years the means of using them as disciplinary subjects have been accumulated in liberal measure. They can now be studied in their elements on broad foundations of fact, the results of scientific research; and many of their fundamental principles can be placed within the reach of minds not yet adult.

Finally, argumentation needs to be taught systematically in schools; not in the form of a theoretical logic, but in concrete form through the study of arguments which have had weight in determining the course of trade, industries, or public affairs, or have made epochs, in discovery, invention, or the progress of science. The actual arguments used by the participants in great debates should be studied, and not the arguments attributed to or invented for the actors long after the event. Books preserve many such epoch-making arguments; and during the present century many which were only spoken have been preserved by stenography and the daily press. For these uses, arguments which can be compared with the ultimate event, and proved true or false by the issue, have great advantages. The issue actually establishes, or disproves, the conclusion the argument sought to establish. As examples of instructive arguments I may cite Burke's argument on conciliation with the American colonies, and Webster's, on the nature and value of the Federal Union; the debate between Lincoln and Douglas on the extension of slavery into the Territories; the demonstration by

### *Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*

Sir Charles Lyell that the ancient and the present systems of terrestrial changes are identical; the proofs contrived and set forth by Sir John Lubbock that the ant exhibits memory, affection, morality, and coöperative power; the prophetic argument of Mill that industries conducted on a great scale will ultimately make liberty of competition illusory, and will form extensive combinations to maintain or advance prices; and that well-reasoned prophecy of disturbance and disaster in the trade of the United States written by Cairnes in September, 1873, and so dramatically fulfilled in the commercial crisis of that month. Such arguments are treasures of instruction for the rising generation, for they furnish safe materials for thorough instruction in sound reasoning. We have expected to teach sound reasoning incidentally and indirectly, just as we have expected to teach young people to write good English by teaching them foreign languages. It is high time that we taught the young by direct practice and high examples to reason justly and effectively.

Such are some of the measures which we may reasonably hope will make popular education in the future more successful than it has been in the past in developing universal reasonableness.

THREE RESULTS OF THE  
SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF NATURE

ADDRESS • •

AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF  
NATURAL HISTORY, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 22, 1877.

## THREE RESULTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF NATURE

---

**I**N whose honor are the chief personages of the nation, State, and city here assembled? Whose palace is this? What divinity is worshiped in this place? We are assembled here to own with gratitude the beneficent power of natural science; to praise and thank its votaries; and to dedicate this splendid structure to its service. The power to which we here do homage is the accumulated intelligence of our race applied, generation after generation, to the study of nature; and this palace is the storehouse of the elaborated materials which that intelligence has garnered, ordered, and illuminated. What has natural science done for mankind that it should be thus honored? In the brief moments allotted to me I can but mention three pregnant results of the scientific study of nature.

In the first place, natural science has engendered a peculiar kind of human mind — the searching, open, humble mind, which, knowing that it cannot attain unto all truth, or even to much new truth,

### *Three Results of the Scientific Study of Nature*

is yet patiently and enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of such little new truth as is within its grasp, having no other end than to learn, prizing above all things accuracy, thoroughness, and candor in research, proud and happy, not in its own single strength, but in the might of that host of students, whose past conquests make up the wondrous sum of present knowledge, whose sure future triumphs are shared in imagination by each humblest worker. Within the last four hundred years this typical scientific mind has gradually come to be the kind of philosophic mind most admired by the educated class; indeed, it has come to be the only kind of mind, except the poetic, which commands the respect of scholars, whatever their department of learning. In every field of study, in history, philosophy, and theology, as well as in natural history and physics, it is now the scientific spirit, the scientific method, which prevails. The substitution in the esteem of reasonable men of this receptive, forereaching mind for the dogmatic, overbearing, closed mind, which assumes that it already possesses all essential truth and is entitled to the exclusive interpretation of it, is a most beneficent result of the study of natural history and physics. It is an achievement which has had much to do with the modern increase of liberty in human society, liberty individual, political, and religious; it is an achievement of the highest promise for the future of the race.

The second result which I wish to specify is the stupendous doctrine of hereditary transmission,

### *Three Results of the Scientific Study of Nature*

which, during the past thirty years, or within the lifetime of most of those who hear me, natural science has developed and enforced by observations and comparisons covering the whole field of organized life. This conception is far from being a new one. Our race has long practised, though fitfully and empirically, upon some crude and fragmentary forms of this idea. Tribes, clans, castes, orders of nobility, and reigning families, are familiar illustrations of the sway of this idea; in killing, banishing, and confining criminals, mankind has in all ages been defending itself — blindly, to be sure, but with effect — against evils which incidentally flow from hereditary transmission; but it has been reserved for natural science in this generation to demonstrate the universality of this principle, and its controlling influence upon the families, nations, and races of men, as well as upon all lower orders of animate beings. It is fitting that natural history should have given this demonstration to the world; for the basis of systematic natural history is the idea of species, and the idea of species is itself founded upon the sureness of hereditary transmission — upon the ultimate fact that individual characteristics are inheritable. As the knowledge of heredity, recently acquired by science, permeates society, it will profoundly affect social customs, public legislation, and governmental action. It will throw additional safeguards around the domestic relations; enhance the natural interest in vigorous family stocks; guide wisely the charitable action of the community; give a rational basis for penal

### *Three Results of the Scientific Study of Nature*

legislation; and promote both the occasional production of illustrious men and the gradual improvement of the masses of mankind. These moral benefits will surely flow from our generation's study of heredity.

Finally, modern science has discovered and set forth the magnificent idea of the continuity of creation. It has proved that the development of the universe has been a progress from good to better—a progress not without reactions and catastrophes, but still a benign advance toward ever higher forms of life with ever greater capacities for ever finer enjoyments. It has laid a firm foundation for man's instinctive faith in his own future. From the sight and touch of what the eternal past has wrought, it deduces a sure trust in what the eternal future has in store.

And present gratitude  
Insures the future's good;  
And for the things I see  
I trust the things to be.

It has thus exalted the idea of God—the greatest service which can be rendered to humanity. “Each age must worship its own thought of God,” and each age may be judged by the worthiness of that thought. In displaying the uniform, continuous action of unrepenting nature in its march from good to better, science has inevitably directed the attention of men to the most glorious attributes of that divine intelligence which acts through nature with the patience of eternity and the fixity of all-

### *Three Results of the Scientific Study of Nature*

foreseeing wisdom. Verily, the infinite, present Creator is worshiped in this place. A hundred lifetimes ago a Hebrew seer gave utterance to one of the grandest thoughts that ever mind of man conceived; but applied it only to his own little nation, and coupled it with barbarous denunciation of that nation's enemies. This thought, tender and consoling toward human weakness and insignificance as a mother's embrace, but sublime also as the starry heights, and majestic as the onward-sweep of ages, science utters as the sum of all its teachings, as the supreme result of all its searching and its meditation, and applies alike to the whole universe and to its least atom: "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms."



# THE HAPPY LIFE

ADDRESS • •

AT THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF BALTIMORE, NOV. 7, 1895

## THE HAPPY LIFE

---

**M**Y subject is, "The Happy Life." I address here especially young people who have passed the period of childhood, with its unreflecting gaiety, passing shadows, gusty griefs, and brief despairs, and have entered, under conditions of singular privilege, upon rational and responsible living. For you, happiness must be conscious, considerate, and consistent with habits of observing, reading, and reflecting. Now reflecting has always been a grave business,

"Where but to think is to be full of sorrow  
And leaden-eyed despairs,"

and it must be confessed that our times present some new obstacles to a life of considerate happiness for people who observe and read. A few generations ago the misery of the many did not much mar the happiness of the few; for wide diversities of human condition seemed natural not artificial, and fellow-feeling was comparatively undeveloped. Until this century the masses of mankind were almost dumb; but now their moans and complaints have become audible through telephone, telegraph,

## *The Happy Life*

and rotary press. The millions are now saying what the moody poets have always said:

“The flower that smiles to-day  
To-morrow dies.  
All that we wish to stay  
Tempt, and then flies.  
What is this world's delight?  
Lightning that mocks the night,  
Brief even as bright.”

The gloomy moralist is still repeating, “I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold! all is vanity and vexation of spirit.”

The manual laborers of to-day, who are much better off than the same classes of laborers have been in any earlier times, are saying just what Shelley said to the men of England in 1819:

“The seed ye sow another reaps,  
The wealth ye find another keeps,  
The robes ye weave another wears,  
The arms ye forge another bears.”

They would adopt without change the words in which that eminent moralist, Robinson Crusoe, a century earlier, described the condition of the laboring classes: “The men of labor spent their strength in daily struggling for bread to maintain the vital strength they labored with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.”

## *The Happy Life*

Matthew Arnold calls his love to come to the window and listen to the "melancholy, long-withdrawing roar" of the sea upon the moonlit beach at Dover; and these are his dismal words to her:

"Ah, love, let us be true  
To one another! for the world, which seems  
To lie before us like a land of dreams,  
So various, so beautiful, so new,  
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,  
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;  
And we are here as on a darkling plain,  
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,  
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

The poets are by no means the only offenders; the novelists and scientists take their turn. The fiction of this century deals much with the lives of the wretched, dissolute, and vicious, and with the most unjust and disastrous conditions of modern society.

A fresh difficulty in the way of natural happiness is the highly speculative opinion lately put forward by men of science and promptly popularized, to the effect that external nature offsets every good with an evil, and that the visible universe is unmoral, or indifferent as regards right and wrong, revealing no high purpose or intelligent trend. This is indeed a melancholy notion; but that it should find acceptance at this day, and really make people miserable, only illustrates the curious liability of the human intelligence to sudden collapse. The great solid conviction, which

## *The Happy Life*

science within the past three centuries has enabled thinking men and women to settle down on, is that all discovered and systematized knowledge is as nothing compared with the undiscovered, and that a boundless universe of unimagined facts and forces interpenetrates and encompasses what seems the universe to us. In spite of this impregnable conviction, people distress themselves because, forsooth, they cannot discern the moral purpose, or complete spiritual intent, of this dimly seen, fractional universe which is all we know. Why should they discern it?

It is, then, in spite of many old and some new discouragements that we are all seeking the happy life. We know that education spreads, knowledge grows, and public liberty develops; but can we be sure that public and private happiness increase? What the means and sources of happiness are in this actual world, with our present surroundings, and with no reference to joys or sorrows in any other world, is a natural, timely, and wholesome inquiry. We may be sure that one principle will hold throughout the whole pursuit of considerate happiness—the principle that the best way to secure future happiness is to be as happy as is rightfully possible to-day. To secure any desirable capacity for the future, near or remote, cultivate it to-day. What is the use of immortality for a person who cannot use well half an hour? asks Emerson.

In trying to enumerate the positive satisfactions which an average man may reasonably expect to

## *The Happy Life*

enjoy in this world, I, of course, take no account of those too common objects of human pursuit, wealth, power, and fame; first, because they do not, as a rule, contribute to happiness; and secondly, because they are unattainable by mankind in general. I invite you to consider only those means of happiness which the humble and obscure millions may possess. The rich and famous are too few to affect appreciably the sum of human happiness. I begin with the satisfactions of sense.

Sensuous pleasures, like eating and drinking, are sometimes described as animal, and therefore unworthy. It must be confessed, however, that men are, in this life, animals all through,—whatever else they may be,—and that they have a right to enjoy without reproach those pleasures of animal existence which maintain health, strength, and life itself. Familiar ascetic and pessimistic dogmas to the contrary notwithstanding, these pleasures, taken naturally and in moderation, are all pure, honorable, and wholesome. Moreover, all attempts to draw a line between bodily satisfactions on the one hand, and mental or spiritual satisfactions on the other, and to distinguish the first as beastly indulgences and the second as the only pleasures worthy of a rational being, have failed and must fail; for it is manifestly impossible to draw a sharp line of division between pleasures, and to say that these are bodily, and those are intellectual or moral. Are the pleasures of sight and hearing bodily or mental? Is delight in harmony, or in color, a pleasure of the sense, or of the imagination? What

## *The Happy Life*

sort of a joy is a thing of beauty? Is it an animal or a spiritual joy? Is the delight of a mother in fondling her smiling baby a physical or a moral delight? But though we cannot divide pleasures into animal and moral, unworthy and worthy, we can nevertheless divide them into lower and higher pleasures; the lower those which, like eating and drinking, prompt to the maintenance and reproduction of life, and which can be impaired or destroyed by prolongation or repetition; the higher those which, like the pleasures of the eye or ear, seem to be ends in themselves; in the lower there can be destructive excess, in the higher excess is impossible.

Recognizing then that there are higher pleasures than eating and drinking, let us clearly perceive that three meals a day all one's life not only give in themselves a constantly renewed innocent satisfaction, but provide the necessary foundation for all other satisfactions. Taking food and drink is a great enjoyment for healthy people, and those who do not enjoy eating seldom have much capacity for enjoyment or usefulness of any sort. Under ordinary circumstances it is by no means a purely bodily pleasure. We do not eat alone, but in families, or sets of friends and comrades, and the table is the best center of friendships and of the domestic affections. When, therefore, a workingman says that he has worked all his life to procure a subsistence for himself and his family, he states that he has secured some fundamental satisfactions, namely, food, productive employment, and family

## *The Happy Life*

life. The satisfaction of eating is so completely a matter of appetite that such distinction as there is between the luxurious and the hardy in regard to this enjoyment is altogether in favor of the hardy. Who does not remember some rough and perhaps scanty meal in camp, or on the march, or at sea, or in the woods, which was infinitely more delicious than the most luxurious dinner during indoor or sedentary life? But that appetite depends on health. Take good care, then, of your teeth and your stomachs, and be ashamed, not of enjoying your food, but of not enjoying it. There was a good deal of sound human nature in the unexpected reply of the dying, old woman to her minister's leading question: "Here at the end of a long life, which of the Lord's mercies are you most thankful for?" Her eye brightened as she answered, after a moment's consideration: "My victuals."

Let us count next pleasures through the eye. Unlike the other senses, the eye is always at work except when we sleep, and may consequently be the vehicle of far more enjoyment than any other organ of sense. It has given our race its ideas of infinity, symmetry, grace, and splendor; it is a chief source of childhood's joys, and throughout life the guide to almost all pleasurable activities. The pleasure it gives us, however, depends largely upon the amount of attention we pay to the pictures which it incessantly sets before the brain. Two men walk along the same road — one notices the blue depths of the sky, the floating clouds, the



## *The Happy Life*

opening leaves upon the trees, the green grass, the yellow buttercups, and the far stretch of the open fields — the other has precisely the same pictures on his retina, but pays no attention to them. One sees, and the other does not see; one enjoys an unspeakable pleasure, and the other loses that pleasure which is as free to him as the air. The beauties which the eye reveals are infinitely various in quality and scale; one mind prefers the minute, another the vast; one the delicate and tender, another the coarse and rough; one the inanimate things, another the animate creation. The whole outward world is the kingdom of the observant eye. He who enters into any part of that kingdom to possess it has a store of pure enjoyment in life which is literally inexhaustible and immeasurable. His eyes alone will give him a life worth living.

Next comes the ear as a minister of enjoyment, but next at a great interval. The average man probably does not recognize that he gets much pleasure through hearing. He thinks that his ears are to him chiefly a convenient means of human intercourse. But let him experience a temporary deafness, and he will learn that many a keen delight came to him through the ear. He will miss the beloved voice, the merry laugh, the hum of the city, the distant chime, the song of birds, the running brook, the breeze in the trees, the lapping wavelets, and the thundering beach; and he will learn that familiar sounds have been to him sources of pure delight — an important element in his well-being.

## *The Happy Life*

Old Isaac Walton found in the lovely sounds of earth a hint of heaven —

How joyed my heart in the rich melodies  
That overhead and round me did arise!  
The moving leaves — the water's gentle flow —  
Delicious music hung on every bough.  
Then said I in my heart, If that the Lord  
Such lovely music on the earth accord;  
If to weak, sinful man such sounds are given,  
Oh! what must be the melody of Heaven!

A high degree of that fine pleasure which music gives is not within the reach of all; yet there are few to whom the pleasure is wholly denied. To take part in producing harmony, as in part-singing, gives the singers an intense pleasure which is, doubtless, partly physical and partly mental. I am told that to play good music at sight, as one of several performers playing different instruments, is as keen a sensuous and intellectual enjoyment as the world affords. These pleasures through the eye and ear are open in civilized society to all who have the will to seek them, and the intelligence to cultivate the faculties through which they are enjoyed. They are quite as likely to bless him who works with hand or brain all day for a living, as him who lives inactive on his own savings or on those of other people. The outward world yields them spontaneously to every healthy body and alert mind; but the active mind is as essential to the winning of them as the sound body.

There is one great field of knowledge, too much neglected in our schools and colleges, which offers

## *The Happy Life*

to the student endless pleasures and occupations through the trained and quickened senses of sight, hearing, and touch—I mean the wide field called natural history, which comprehends geography, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, mineralogy, and geology. Charles Darwin, the greatest naturalist of this century, said that with natural history and the domestic affections a man might be truly happy. Not long ago I was urging a young naturalist of twenty-six to spend the next summer in Europe. He thought it was hardly right for him to allow himself that indulgence; and when I urged that the journey would be very enjoyable as well as profitable, he replied, “Yes, but you know I can be happy anywhere in the months when things are growing.” He meant that the pleasures of observation were enough for him, when he could be out of doors. That young man was poor, delicate in health, and of a retiring and diffident disposition, yet life was full of keenest interest to him.

Our century is distinguished by an ardent return of civilized man to that love of nature from which books and urban life had temporarily diverted him. The poetry and the science of our times alike foster this love, and add to the delights which come to lovers of Nature through the senses the delights of the soaring imagination, and the far-reaching reason. In many of our mental moods the contemplation of Nature brings peace and joy. Her patient ways shame hasty little man; her vastnesses calm and elevate his troubled mind; her terrors fill him with awe; her inexplicable and infinite beauties

## *The Happy Life*

with delight. Her equal care for the least things and the greatest corrects his scale of values. He cannot but believe that the vast material frame of things is informed and directed by an infinite Intelligence and Will, just as his little animal body is informed by his own conscious mind and will.

It is apparent from what I have said of pleasures through the eye and ear, and from contact with nature, that a good measure of out-of-door life is desirable for him who would secure the elements of a happy life. The urban tendency of our population militates against free access to out-of-door delights. The farmer works all day in the fields, and his children wander at will in the open air; the sailor can see at any moment the whole hemisphere of the heavens and the broad plain of the sea; but the city resident may not see a tree or a shrub for weeks together, and can barely discern a narrow strip of sky, as he walks at the bottom of the deep ditches we call streets. The wise man, whose work is in the city and in-doors at that, will take every possible opportunity to escape into the fresh air and the open country. Certain good tendencies in this respect have appeared within recent years. Hundreds of thousands of people, who must work daily in compact cities, now live in open suburbs; cities provide parks and decorated avenues of approach to parks; out-of-door sports and exercises become popular; safe country boarding-schools for city children are multiplied; and public holidays and half-holidays increase in number. These are appreciable compensations for the disad-

## *The Happy Life*

vantages of city life. The urban population which really utilizes these facilities may win a keener enjoyment from nature than the rural population, to whom natural beauty is at every moment accessible. The cultivation of mind and the increased sensibility which city life develops heighten the delight in natural beauty. Moreover, though man destroys much natural loveliness in occupying any territory for purposes of residence or business, he also creates much loveliness of grassy fields and banks, mirroring waters, perfectly developed trees, graceful shrubs, and brilliant flowers. In these days no intelligent city population need lack the means and opportunities of frequent out-of-door enjoyment. Our climate is indeed rough and changeable, but on the whole produces scenes of much more various beauty than any monotonous climate; while against the occasional severity of our weather artificial protection is more and more provided. What we may wisely ask of our tailors and our landscape architects is protection in the open air from the extremes of heat, cold, and wind. The provision of an equable climate in-doors is by no means sufficient to secure either the health or the happiness of the people.

From the love of nature we turn to family love. The domestic affections are the principal source of human happiness and well-being. The mutual loves of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, are not only the chief sources of happiness, but the chief springs of action, and the chief safeguards from evil. The

ONE REASON WHY  
HOME

The Poorest Country—The Dearest  
Government

LALA LAJPAT RAI, in the *Modern Review*, takes the annual income of an Indian—the official figure in Lord Curzon's time—as Rs. 30. He estimates the purchasing power of the rupee in India, going by his own experience in the three countries, as equal to that of a dollar in the United States, and of a yen in Japan. He then proceeds to compare the salaries paid by the poorest country in the world with those paid by Japan and America, the latter probably the richest country in the world. The result is startling.

**HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS**

President of U. S.	...	...	...	...	\$75,000
Prime Minister, Japan	...	...	...	...	Yen 12,000
Viceroy, India	...	...	...	...	Rs. 250,800
plus large allowances.					

**CABINET MINISTERS**

Cabinet, U. S.	...	...	...	...	\$12,000
" Japan	...	...	...	...	Yen 8,000
Viceroy's Council, India	...	...	...	...	Rs. 80,000

**DEPARTMENTS**

**UNITED STATES**

President, Naval Board	...	...	...	...	\$13,500
Solicitor-General	...	...	...	...	\$10,000
Asst. Sol. Gen.	...	...	...	...	\$9,000
Treasurer	...	...	...	...	\$8,000
Chief of Staff	...	...	...	...	\$8,000
Quartermaster-General	...	...	...	...	\$8,000
President N. E. Board	...	...	...	...	\$8,000
Commandant Marine Corps	...	...	...	...	\$8,000
Rest from 2,100 to 6,000.					

**JAPAN**

Imperial Household	...	...	...	...	Yen 5,500 to 8,000
President, Railway Board	...	...	...	...	" 7,500
" Board of Audit	...	...	...	...	" 6,000
" Adm. Litigation	...	...	...	...	" 6,000
Court	...	...	...	...	" 6,000
" Privy Council	...	...	...	...	" 6,000
Others from	Yen 3,700 to 5,500				

**INDIA**

President, Railway Board	...	...	Rs. 60,000 or 72,000.
Two Members	...	...	48,000 (each)
Secretaries in 5 Depts.	...	...	48,000 "
Secretary, Education	...	...	36,000 "
Controller Auditor-General	...	...	42,000 "
D. G. Post and Telegraph Rs. 36,000 to 42,000			

**PROVINCES**

One U. S. State pays its Governor \$12,000 a year; five pay \$10,000; one \$8,000; one \$7,000; three \$6,000; the rest (43) \$ 5,000 or less.

In Japan, Governors of Provinces have *Yen* 3,700 to *Yen* 4,500 and allowances of *Yen* 400 to *Yen* 600.

The Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, each Rs. 120,000; Lieutenant-Governors, Rs. 100,000; Chief Commissioners, Assam and Central Provinces (with Berar) Rs. 62,000 each; Delhi, Rs. 36,000. All have large extra allowances.

**OTHER POSTS**

The rates run in about similar proportions for the higher offices, but in India there is a striking and painful peculiarity, the huge gap between the higher offices and the lower. Lala Lajpat Rai illustrates by the Police. The New York Chief Inspector receives \$3,500 a year, and a Patrolman, our Constable, receives \$1,400. (The Chief Commissioner has \$7,500.) In India the Inspectors-General have from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 36,000; their Deputies from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 21,600; District Superintendents from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 14,000 and so downwards to constables, who have only from Rs.120 to Rs.144 a year. It is this miserable pay which is the cause of the low type of man found in the ranks, and he is scarcely to be blamed for being open to petty bribes, and resorting to petty extortions.

**HIGH AND LOW PAY**

Lala Lajpat Rai concludes :

We do not believe there is a single country in the world where the difference between the remunerations allowed to the highest and the lowest State servants is so disproportionate as in India; yet there is a tendency still further to increase the salaries of the high officials, European and Indian, while even very insignificant increases to the salaries of the lowest servants of the State are very grudgingly allowed. . . The fact is that the Government in India does not attach sufficient importance to the ordinary man. His needs are often overlooked in the desire to please the higher services, and to keep them contented. Considering that every man in India is supposed to have a family, the condition of the lowest official is extremely miserable, and justifies corruption in their ranks.

Price

100 Copies Annas 8.

1,000 Copies Rs. 4.

Printed and Published by Annie Besant at the Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras.