

system, ignorance has increased and is increasing among us. The foreign boss of Tammany Hall, who rules the city of New York, who has assumed the garb of civilization and sits at rich men's feasts, is still a semi-barbarian. The free school has not educated him, nor the hordes of his tribal followers. It is not only the ignorance of the foreign immigrant which is a danger to the commonwealth, but that also of the native-born who are on the outskirts or outside the pale of civilization.

And thus we are brought face to face with the grave problem which the next century is to solve,—whether our civilization can maintain itself, and make advance, against the pressure of ignorant and barbaric multitudes; whether the civilized part of the community is eventually to master the barbaric, or whether it is to be overcome in the struggle. The signs are dubious. The average American is unquestionably good natured; the easy conditions of life tend to promote his good humor and self-satisfaction; he is generally kind hearted, and not indisposed to render service to others when it can be done without much personal trouble. But such manners as have their root in genuine unselfishness; in principles of conduct strong enough to control temper and to resist the wear and tear of familiar fretting circumstance; in the desire to be pleasant,—such manners as are considerate of minor needs, and give sweetness, elegance, and grace to life, can hardly be said to be characteristic of the American people. The deficiency does not exist in the lower classes alone. It is conspicuous among those favored by fortune.

The open and abundant bribery of voters in New Hampshire, Con-

necticut, and Rhode Island is matched by the "floaters" and "blocks of five" in the West, by the corruption and intimidation of voters and the false returns of the polls in the South. The spectacle of the control of public affairs in New York passing from the hands of a man like Governor Hill to another like Platt, and of Pennsylvania stowed in the pocket of a man like Quay,—all three of them men of a low order of ability and without a single trait that would justify popular regard; not statesmen or orators, not educated men or gentlemen; this spectacle is but the most conspicuous among a thousand of similar order in other States and upon a more limited stage. The members of Congress—alike in the Senate and in the House—very fairly represent the body of their constituents. It is not so much a lack of native talent and individual capacity which is observable in Congress to-day, as it is a lack of the trained intelligence requisite for dealing with complex public interests, and still more of the moral character which is superior to motives of mean personal ambition and partisan advantage. Even in the most civilized parts of the country the sentiment of the independence of the individual is often misdirected and depraved, while in the vast half-civilized and half-settled regions it becomes the very manifestation of barbarism and of a relapse toward savagery.

The first need is that we clear our minds from illusion, in order that the peril may be distinctly recognized and fairly estimated. To deny or to undervalue the forces ranged against civilization is to increase their power. An intelligent understanding of them is required to direct the effort to subdue