

pert, and we are carrying the government by amateurs.

The United States is an empire. The problem of the government of the United States is at least as complicated as that of Rome ever was, and much more complicated than the government of Rome was when Rome broke down under the weight of her system.

Can we meet that difficulty? Can we develop a system of government by experts, controlled and directed by people who represent the public opinion at large? If we cannot, our system of government is inevitably doomed.

Now, as Governor Baldwin says, we have copied from England her system of examination. What was her system of examination? Governor Baldwin has very properly pointed out the difficulty which comes in a pure system of examinations. What was the system which we copied from England,—which was the system invented by Lord Macaulay for recruiting the civil service in India? It was that the examination should be solely for the purpose of testing the candidate's capacity as a man, and should have nothing at all to do with the special problems that he would meet when he got into his position. You were to examine him solely to see if he knew Greek, Latin, mathematics, or anything else. In other words, you were to make a rough test of his capacity. You simply took the Oxford and Cambridge graduates and selected the man who, on the whole, proved himself to be the best, and sent him to India to learn his job. That system was afterwards adopted for filling vacancies in all the first-class clerkships in England.

It would be absurd for us for a moment to try to get anything paralleling the examinations which selected the men from Oxford and Cambridge. We must do something else for it.

Then take the lower examinations

for the civil service in England; the examinations for the second division clerkships. Those to some extent used to test the man's capacity for clerical work; that has been given up. That merely tests the capacity of the boy from the public school, to see whether he is a bright boy, and not to see whether he has learned those things which he will require in his office.

Any intelligent business man will approve this method. He will say to you: "Give me some process for picking out the brightest boys, and I will teach them the business after I get them."

What we need, and what we have not got, is not a system for regulating entrance to the lower grades of the service. We have systems providing for entrance; we have tried them and they have worked admirably well. We want to emphasize the importance of having permanent officials in the higher grades of the service,—those positions in which there are discretionary powers to be exercised.

The public want a change of officials on a change of administration from Republican to Democratic. Do they? No, the public do not want that, but those people who have pulled all the wires, and can speak in the name of the public, want it. What the public want is the sound administration.

Do the public care what the political opinions of the postmaster at Boston are? No. But they do care whether the letters that they put in the mail are delivered promptly or not. All the public care for is that that duty shall be carried on well. They may or may not care for a parcel post; that is a question which shall be determined by the political power; but the question of whether that parcel post shall be efficiently carried out is the public fact. They do not care whether the letters are delivered in a Republican form or a