

and even surpass the high-flown style and stately courtesy of a Spaniard, but our Minister to the Argentine Republic, Mr. Bayless W. Hanna, appears to have beaten the Hispano-Americans on their own ground. Proof of this is found in a letter addressed by Mr. Hanna to ex-President Roca, and given to the Buenos Ayres press. Gen. Roca, it seems, had invited the Diplomatic Corps to a farewell reception, at which the American representative could not be present, for reasons set forth below. But he more than made good his absence by the note of explanation which he sent to the ex-President, and which, it is not too much to say, left the Argentinos completely stunned. We give a few extracts:

"An untoward accident prevented me yesterday from joining the Diplomatic Corps in their farewell call. It was a source of much annoyance and disappointment to me. . . . You have been exceedingly considerate in our official relations, which fact, coupled with your undisguised admiration of the civilization and government of my country, has invested your name with a charm time cannot obliterate. I have watched the progress of your administration with more than a passing interest. How well you have repaid the public confidence at your disposal, and, by so doing, placed another laurel leaf on the anointed head of our political divinity! . . . The dignity, power, and humanity of the Argentine Government have been suddenly advanced beyond their years. . . . You put on the robes of office on a field of battle, and you put them off in the applauding presence of the beauty and chivalry of a united, prosperous, brave nation, exulting in its deliverance, and impatient to render the homage justly due, that it has been so happily achieved. . . . The United States and the Argentine Republic are the twin daughters of a common destiny—both born of what now seems in the light of history to have been a righteous revolution—both consecrated with the baptism of fire. More than a hundred years ago the sneering dynasties of the Old World said the American idea was meteoric; but it has proved to be a heavenly body, as fixed, and we believe as enduring, as the divine law of its attraction. . . . Your place here in your country's development corresponds to that of Mr. Jefferson in mine. He and you have both adhered to the inviolable prerogatives of the States, bound up securely in the superior authority and domination of a Federal Constitution. It is a grand thought, and in your passing years, I trust, like our illustrious statesman of Montecello [sic], you will live to see the golden fruit of the selected tree you have so wisely planted. I am very happy that I have thus had the opportunity to write what the disparity of our language has hitherto prevented me from saying in person, an occasion I now value all the more, because of the relaxed restraints of official propriety."

The comments of *La Nacion* of Buenos Ayres on this production display a spirit of petty jealousy and spite which we will not undertake to characterize. It even pretends not to know what Mr. Hanna meant by "the anointed head of our political divinity." But we can best show its malice by translating a few of its remarks on the literary ability and the political knowledge of the American Ambassador:

"Were it not that the extreme exaggeration of a eulogy detracts somewhat from its value, no one could fail to be pleased with the good will shown in the judgments of the Minister of the United States, as they have been given in the press. A few days ago, when the city of La Plata was being discussed, that distinguished diplomat seized his pen and wrote a note in which he declared it the 'miracle of the century.' Here are some of his enthusiastic words: 'La Plata, the enchanting city of the pampas, is the miracle of the century. I have already advised the Department of State of the United States of its great importance as the capital of this flourishing province, and of its remarkable spirit of enterprise.' However progressive La Plata may be supposed to be, it seems a little hasty to say that, during the past eighty-six years, the world has seen no event

equal to the founding of this city. However, this praise of a city harms no one. But the same cannot be said of other eulogies, clothed in the same epic language, and addressed to persons, with evident depreciation of things and persons far more important. Thus, for example; the American Minister, who was unable to be present with the Diplomatic Corps to bid farewell to the ex-President, availed himself of the opportunity to write a note to Gen. Roca, in which he declared that the General holds the same place in our history as that which the illustrious Thomas Jefferson fills in the history of the United States. If this were true, it would be unfortunate for the latter; but, happily, the reasons which the Minister gives for his opinion seem as if advanced precisely to discredit it. As there is not a single inhabitant of the Argentine Republic who does not know that the only mission of Gen. Roca has been to put his will in the place of the voice of the nation, thus suppressing the national Constitution, and as to accomplish this the first requisite was that he should control the provincial governments, that is, destroy 'the inviolable prerogatives of the States,' it is easy to see the beautiful analogy which exists between the Presidency of Gen. Roca and that of Jefferson."

We are sure that we do no wrong to Mr. Hanna, but, on the contrary, are giving him an increased popularity with his Indiana constituents, when we explain the "untoward accident" which gave him so much "annoyance and disappointment." Gen. Roca's invitation stated that his guests would be expected to present themselves *en fraque*. Mr. Hanna, owing to the "disparity of language" to which he refers, took this to mean "in a frock coat," and proceeded to array himself in a gorgeous blue garment of that variety. We can hardly regret the occurrence, as his inability to obtain admission in such a costume was the occasion of the revelation to the world of his unsuspected literary powers. It seems clear to us that Mr. Hanna made the mistake of his life in declining the Persian mission. Nature evidently meant him for a life in the midst of the elaborate ceremonial and lofty politeness of an Oriental court.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COÖPERATION.

A CONSIDERABLE body of writers in this country, possessing greater or less pretensions to an acquaintance with political economy, have for some years been engaged in attempts to reconstruct that science. Their purpose is, to use their own language, to effect a "reunion of ethics with political economy." They maintain that the great English economists who formed what has come to be known as the orthodox school, taught doctrines that were not only dismal, but also heathenish. Two cardinal principles seem to have had an especially exasperating influence upon this class of "thinkers"; one, the fundamental principle upon which the whole fabric of the science rests, namely, that men in their industrial operations are governed in the main by considerations of self-interest; the other, a principle less distinctly formulated but not less fundamental, that natural selection operates upon men as well as upon inferior animals. To discredit these doctrines seems to be the aim, more or less clearly understood, of much of the so-called economic writing of the time. It is hardly necessary to say that there is a difference between an economist and a professor of economics, and that these writers have generally confounded what is, with what, in their view, ought to be. Whether they have effected a reunion of ethics with political economy or not, they have at

least succeeded in injecting a large amount of emotion into the discussion of scientific problems, with results that are not salutary for either the minds or the morals of the public.

It is true that this school of writers has encountered a serious difficulty, in that the older political economy corresponds very closely with the actual facts of our industrial system. They have courageously met this obstacle, however, by asserting that it was so much the worse for the facts; that the industrial system ought to be so modified as to conform to a Christian system of economics. And with this end in view they—or the saner and honester portion of them—have busied themselves with the exploitation of various schemes for the renovation of society. Coöperation especially has found favor in their eyes, and altogether the most useful part of their labors, it may well be thought, has consisted in directing the attention of the public at large, and working people in particular, to this form of enterprise.

A recent publication of the American Economic Association describes the remarkable success of the coopers of Minneapolis in setting their business upon a co-operative basis. The emotional economists can hardly do otherwise than exult in this transformation; but what is, after all, the most instructive thing about it is the striking illustration it presents of the play of the very principles which have aroused so much hostility. In fact, coöperation tends not to revolutionize the present industrial system, but to develop it upon the old lines. The truth of the detested doctrines is proved by the very means which have been employed to discredit them. Coöperation being called upon, to curse the older economists, like the prophet Balaam, turns around and blesses them altogether. Its success as a form of productive industry is due in part to the clearness and intensity with which it appeals to the self-interest of the workmen, and in part to the free play it gives to the principle of natural selection. The workmen are made to see that their prosperity depends upon their doing faithful work, and it is the hope of attaining this prosperity that stimulates them. The truth of this is so obvious upon *a priori* grounds that it hardly needs verification, but the account to which we have referred affords confirmation in ample measure.

As to the principle of natural selection, its application in these coöperative shops seems to be complete. Not only does the system of piece-work prevail, but incapable, lazy, drunken, and dishonest workmen are either not admitted or are very soon extruded. Every man is an inspector in his own interest, and supervision is much more effective than is possible under ordinary circumstances. The inferior men are sometimes employed as laborers in the coöperative shops, but they are generally driven to the "boss" shops, where their wages are very low and their employment very precarious. The tendency to classify and reward men according to their abilities is, to say the least, much more pronounced than under the ordinary system of production, and what the Darwinians would call advantageous variations in individuals are much more likely to be laid hold of.

Of course it is unnecessary to say that the

orthodox economists are just as much interested in the success of coöperation as other people. No economist of note can be named who would not have sympathized most heartily with these Minnesota coopers. But it would have been upon the ground that their enterprises were in conformity with laws that are natural and irresistible, and not in opposition to them. There is only one way to end the strife between capital and labor, and that is to make the labore's capitalists. This end can be promoted by coöperative schemes, not only because, as we have seen, these schemes appeal to an enlightened self-interest, but because they stimulate saving, the mother of capital. The law of the survival of the fittest, although its operation requires to be modified by human charity, is the law under which the human race must exist. The suffering arising from physical or even mental deficiency appeals properly to benevolence; but to attempt by social or political devices to do away with the punishment that falls upon moral weakness, is to engage in a mischievous struggle against a beneficent law of Providence. Until our philanthropists learn this distinction, they may as well abandon the effort to unite a sound political economy with a false and feeble ethics.

A POSSIBLE "ISSUE."

The bulky volume in which Commissioner Frank A. Flower makes the second biennial report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, contains, among much other matter of great interest to all students of our social problems, a chapter which must command the thoughtful attention of politicians in search of an "issue." One of the questions to which Mr. Flower invited replies from employers of labor was as to the desirability of restricting immigration to this country, with a view to keeping out disturbers and undesirable characters, and in part ix. of the report he summarizes the results of this inquiry. It was discovered not only that there was an overwhelming sentiment in favor of measures which would hereafter bar out paupers, criminals, and Anarchists, but an unexpectedly strong feeling in favor of stopping immigration of all sorts, for a while at least.

The opinions of 484 persons engaged in all sorts of industries were secured, and only sixty-three opposed restriction, while seventy were for total prohibition, and all the rest would establish obstacles of some sort. Ninety-eight of the replies, which are fairly representative of the whole number, are printed. They are for the most part admirably clear and concise, and constitute five pages of uncommonly interesting reading. Only ten answer no to the question, and of these ten one qualifies his negative by adding that he does not think "honest labor" should be prohibited from this country, and another proposes a long term of residence before foreigners should be allowed to vote.

Among the nine-tenths who sent affirmative replies to the Commissioner's question there was naturally a wide range of opinion as to how far interference should go. Some came out unqualifiedly in favor of absolute prohibition for an indefinite period. "Pull in our latch-string totally until we Americanize what we have

here," said one. "No more foreigners of any stamp; we have now a good start, and can populate our land fast enough," declared another. "We can produce enough loafers, as well as desirable people, ourselves," was the verdict of a third. Others recommended a trial of the prohibitive policy for a certain period, as three, five, seven, or ten years, "and then," as an advocate of the latter period says, "ten years longer if needed." Another class would have a rigid inspection of all applicants for admission, either at the ports where they arrive in this country or by our consuls in the countries which they leave, and would send back, or refuse consular certificates, to those who cannot meet the requirements, which range all the way from a voucher of "good moral character," or the ability to read, to a tax per capita of \$500 or a property qualification of \$300, \$1,000, \$2,000, or even \$5,000. A number of persons suggest a refusal of suffrage to the foreigner until after a residence of five, ten, or even twenty one years.

So general a consensus of opinion in favor of a new departure in the matter of immigration would be noteworthy in any commonwealth, but there are special reasons which give it a peculiar significance in the case of Wisconsin. Of all the States in the Union that one contains the largest proportion of foreign-born to the whole population, the census of 1880 showing that the foreign-born voters outnumbered the native by no less than 40,000. Moreover, Mr. Flower points out that of his hundreds of correspondents "a very large percentage of even those demanding total prohibition for longer or shorter periods are foreign-born, and some mention this circumstance as a reason why they know better than others the necessity of taking the question thoroughly in hand." It is worth while to quote the words of two or three such writers:

A trunk-maker—Yes. I would require all immigrants to be able to read and write their own language. I am a foreigner, but had a good education when I arrived here at the age of fifteen, and worked my way up with no help but my education and kind Providence.

A vinegar manufacturer—Yes. I think it would be well if immigration were prohibited entirely for a few years. I am foreign-born, but see that the thing is overdone.

Rev. F. S. Stein of Kenosha—Indiscriminate labor immigration should be limited, if not prohibited. Not merely the number, but the character of immigrants should be taken into account. One-eighth of the population of the country and one-third of the insane are of foreign birth, making the number of insane of foreign birth three times as great as it should be. One-fourth of the population of New York State and two-thirds of the paupers are of foreign birth, making the proportion of paupers of foreign birth nearly three times as great as it should be. Truly, these are the most suggestive figures, and call for active legislation, proving that Europe systematically exports her paupers and the scum of the country to our shores. Why should our legislators discriminate against a few helpful and industrious Chinese, while they make no effort to stay this polluting tide? I am myself of foreign birth, and I thank God, who brought me to this land, yet I am none the less able to discern the dangerous tendencies of the wholesale influx of foreign laborers.

The opinions given above, with the exception of the last, are those of employers. A similar canvass of the employees, would have been extremely valuable, but is lacking. Despite the absence of such a showing, we find elsewhere in the report reason to suppose that op-

position to immigration would find as much support among that class. Part x. of the report presents a "symposium" of the views and wishes of Wisconsin workingmen upon different phases of the labor problem. Four expressions are given upon the immigration question, and they agree in favoring some action. A Milwaukee tanner says that he and his shopmates do not want any more European labor at present, but could spare several thousands in Milwaukee and not miss them at all; "there should be laws passed to put a stop to or at least restrict immigration." A Marinette carpenter complains that "we poor native-born citizens are just pulled around same as dogs by foreign people; we do not stand any show, and it seems as though everything is coming to the very worst in the near future unless free immigration is stopped." A laborer of the same town recommends the stopping of immigration for four or five years, "so as to give us time to have everything settled quietly and without strikes or any other trouble," since there are too many men in the country now for the work to be done, working even on the ten-hour system. A lumber laborer of Peshtigo thinks that immigration ought to be stopped, for a while, at any rate, except the immigrant brings a certain amount of money or property with him, as "the supply of labor is now largely in excess of the demand."

It has long been evident that a large proportion of our native stock would gladly support measures of severe restriction upon immigration in future, believing that the national stomach has already received as much as it can digest. But little attempt to formulate any such rules has been made, because the managers who control party policies have supposed that a step of this sort would offend the "foreign vote." The investigation of the Wisconsin Commissioner of Labor Statistics shows an unexpected sentiment against further immigration among foreign-born citizens. It really looks as though the most popular thing a politician in that State could do would be to come out against further immigration except under severe restrictions. A test will soon be afforded. Wisconsin has for some years put a premium upon immigration by supporting a State Board to set the attractions of the commonwealth before Europeans, and more than one of Mr. Flower's correspondents calls for its abolition by the Legislature at the approaching session. If there should be a ready adoption of this suggestion, and thus a clear proof that public sentiment in one State is pronounced upon this question, we may look to see the politicians throughout the country who are now so eagerly seeking an "issue," decide to try an experiment with the immigration question.

ENGLISH AFFAIRS.

LONDON, December 16.

THE probability of the Government lasting through the coming session is anxiously canvassed among their followers and antagonists. Ministries seldom trip over obvious obstacles. They are not usually wounded in their most vulnerable point. It is not likely that the Irish question will be fatal to Lord Salisbury. Lord Hartington and he are, indeed, supposed to have decided that