SOME NEW BOOKS.

Letters About the Formation of the German Empire.

It would be difficult to find finer examples of correspondence on its highest level, whether regarded from the diplomatic, the social or the family aspect, than those presented to us in *The Correspondence of Priscilla Countess of Westmorland* (E. P. Dutton and Company). Her daughter, Lady ROSE WEIGALL, who has edited this volume, explains in a brief preface that she has consented to the publication in the hope that in adding to the already large amount of information made public by letters and biographies of the period it may also help to throw a new and true light on much that has been misconceived, especially in regard to the formation of the German Empire. The letters, chiefly those that were written between intimate friends and relatives, are free from the restraint necessary to official letters, while at the same time they reflect the official mind during some of the most important episodes of the Victorian era. A small volume of "Letters of Lady Burghersh During the Campaign 1813-14," which was published in 1893, has already introduced Lady Westmorland to the public. As she was strongly averse to publicity concerning herself her daughter refrains from giving any detailed account of her private life, and she merely repeats the necessary personal details from the former volume.

Priscilla Ann Wellesley Pole, born in 1793, was the youngest daughter of William Wellesley Pole (afterward created Lord Maryborough), second son of the fourth Earl of Mornington, whom he eventually succeeded, and brother of the Duke of Wellington and Marquis of Wellesley. Her mother was the daughter of Admiral Forbes, whose wife was the daughter of Lord Essex. From earliest childhood she had the advantage of living among wide interests and in a brilliant political society. Her father, as well as his celebrated brothers, was constantly in high office, and his house was one of the meeting places of the high official people of the day, many foreigners, especially many of the French émigrés, being also frequent visitors. A careful education, joined to her natural abilities and these advantages, fitted her for the important posts which were held by her husband, whom she married at the age of 18 while he was Lord Burghersh. His father, the tenth Earl of Westmorland, to whose title he succeeded in 1841, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. After accompanying his uncle the Duke of Wellington through the Peninsular campaign as his aide-de-camp he was invalided home, and shortly after his marriage in 1811 he went through the campaign of the allied armies, being attached to the headquarters of the Austrian army in 1813 as English commissioner.

Lady Burghersh, who accompanied him in this campaign, had an exciting time, which is not touched upon, however, in this volume, although the first letter, from Count di Pozzo di Borgo, is dated 1812. This Corsican nobleman had from early years been an enemy of the Bonaparte family, and when the French revolutionary troops entered Corsica in 1796 he was exiled. During the next three years, partly passed in England, he became intimate with the family of Lady Westmorland, whom we shall designate thus throughout to avoid confusion. Eventually he entered the Russian service and for many years was the Russian Ambassador at Paris. In a letter dated from Stockholm in 1812 on the eve of his departure for Russia he gives an account of a meeting with Mme. de Staël, who after giving him an embrace "fit to stifle a giant" told him that the Emperor Napoleon had talked about him at Erfurt and had been more violent against him than any one else there. At last, not knowing what more to say, he had asked if Pozzo pretended to belong to a better family than himself! Pozzo's comment upon this is racy. There is a little Italian book, he says, called "The Prejudices of Small States"—the nobility are assembled to decide what arms they shall take; a shoemaker, Acibotte, wishes an expressive design and suggests "an ass surmounting a pair of boots." "This absurd farce is really recalled to my memory by Napoleon's pride of birth—the master of the whole world disturbed by the possibility that one might have come from a little better family than himself in the tiny country where he and I were born!"

Later on he writes that Mme. de Staël had importuned him for letters to his friends in London, but he refused to give Lady Westmorland's name because the latter is too young and delicate to become intimate with a "female giant." Later still he says that he expected Mme. de Staël would excite much curiosity in London. "She belongs neither to the sex one loves nor to that one esteems; she talks and writes like a man and has all her life acted like a woman, which of course means great egoism. The good qualities, the faults, the weaknesses, the cleverness and the talents of Mme de. Staël subdivided and distributed might have formed a whole population of amiable and attractive women, but all united in one have produced a sort of monster; when one considers her in her entirety she really confounds the strongest imagination and frightens the boldest people, but if one can catch her on the side on which she really shines she is wonderful! * * * The fact is one judges her more than one cares for her, although she has all her life desired the reverse." And in this strain, intermingled with discussion of European politics, descriptions of scenery and all the concomitants of a delightful correspondence, Pozzo runs on. When Lady Westmorland came to know Mme. de Staël a great friendship ensued, and the "monster" sends extremely sympathetic and clever letters. Her husband (acknowledged as such only in her will), A. G. de Rocca, describes Lord Byron as they saw him at their house at Coppet, just after he had written "Childe Harold," and says: "He affects in his manner, his looks and his way of speaking a sort of sweetness and sadness, melancholy and depression. He greatly praises his wife whenever she is mentioned to him, and whenever he meets little children he stops to caress them and says with a sigh: 'Mine is prettier than that!' If he was all that he tries to seem now he would really be very fascinating."

From 1814 to 1820 Lord Burghersh (Westmorland) was Minister at Florence, and for the next ten years he and his wife lived in London, going a good deal with the Diplomatic Corps there, becoming great friends of Prince Talleyrand and his niece among others. Lack of means caused them to live very quietly, but their retired life and the absence of all pretensions to a social or political rôle made Lady Westmorland all the more welcome to her uncle the Duke of Wellington, and to Lord Melbourne as a perfectly safe confidante, and the considerable part she played in their confidence was absolutely unknown to the world at large. In fact she was often entrusted with negotiations which were too delicate for less sure hands. "It is curious," she remarks, "how I, living so retired a life in my chimney corner, should somehow get mixed up with many important secrets. I suppose because, thank God! I keep out of tracasseries." Sometimes she had to act as hostess when the Duke entertained royalty, like the King and Queen of the Belgians, and it appears to have been sufficient for her to meet such exalted personages or famous men in the front rank of diplomacy to make them her friends and assiduous correspondents for life.

After all this training Lord Westmorland, as he had now become, was sent to Berlin as Minister and there remained for nine years. In Prussia King William IV. on his accession (1840) had promised a constitution to the country, but there were many difficulties in carrying out this project, owing to the strong conservative instincts of the aristocracy. The King of Hanover writes to Lady Westmorland about his Governmental difficulties; during her yearly visits to England she keeps her husband informed as to politics, public and private, in masterly fashion; Queen Victoria entrusts to her the delicate mission of arranging a meeting for her with the Princess of Prussia, later the Empress Augusta, on the occasion of her first visit to Germany, and Lady Westmorland, after consulting King Leopold, undertakes to upset the King of Prussia's arrangements and etiquette. Baron Bunsen, the Prussian Minister in London, inquires of her on what terms the King of Prussia and the Prince of Prussia, afterward Emperor William I., were, knowing her intimacy with them. He had been urging the King in the direction of advanced liberalism, to which the Prince and most of the court party were opposed. He then denies that he had originated the idea and incited the King to give a constitution, but admits that the King had consulted him on the matter (he was a great favorite) and recounts to Lady Westmorland his decidedly slashing reply, which somehow he does not regard as "inciting" and upon which the lady comments to her husband: "I have no doubt he drove the poor King half wild." But he certainly did give sound advice, judging from his detailed statement to Lady Westmorland, and she felt it her duty to sin against etiquette sufficiently to inform him that he was entirely mistaken in assuming that the Prince of Prussia had been influenced since his return to Berlin by his bad entourage, and was now opposed to the project of Bunsen, which he had approved of in London; if any change were to take place, she had heard the Prince say, then Bunsen's project was far the best. Whereupon "Bunsen jumped up, caught her hand and—burst into tears!"

The next year (1848) she writes to her husband from London about a dinner at Lord Brougham's, where she sat next to Lord Ellenborough and was "astounded at his foolish and absurd talk." Among other things he said he was sorry for the termination of the Oregon (boundary) question and should have been much more so had he continued in office, for that all he wished and hoped was to settle that affair not with pen and ink but with the sword! "This in a mixed company from a Cabinet Minister hardly out of office!" is her judicious comment.

Berlin was a most congenial residence to Lord and Lady Westmorland, who cared more for cultivated than for "smart" society. The King was devoted to arts, science and literature; the opera was one of the best in Europe; the Prussian aristocracy were not rich, so that there was little luxury, but intellectual people abounded. Among the intimate friends whose letters are given were Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn, Rauch the sculptor and Alexander Humboldt, the great naturalist. Another very dear friend whose diligent correspondence to the end of her life kept Lady Westmorland thoroughly informed as to events and sentiments at the Prussian court was Countess Pauline Néale, of Irish extraction through her father and in her youth a maid of honor to Queen Louise of Prussia, with whom and the rest of the royal family she had fled to Memel in 1806, at the time of Napoleon's invasion. When the revolution of 1848 lashed Europe the hottest fighting in Berlin was opposite the British Embassy. The Prince of Prussia (later Emperor William I.) was forced to take refuge in England, starting secretly from Lord Westmorland's house.

A couple of months later Lady Westmorland had a curious conversation in London with Bunsen. This Ambassador's extreme views were dreaded by the more responsible politicians of that day, especially as he was known to intrigue secretly and to work on the King in a contrary sense to his public instructions. The great difference between the united Germany advocates of 1848 and the men by whom the idea was carried out in 1870 was that in the former case it was the extreme Democratic party which wished to rule with a nominal constitutional head only. In 1870, under Bismarck, the imperial crown which Frederick William IV. had refused to accept from an extreme Democratic Assembly was offered to William I. by the Princes of Germany themselves. So that the German Empire of the present day is a totally different thing from that contemplated by the professors and Democrats of 1848. Lady Westmorland writes a description of the fighting in 1848 to her sons' tutor, Mr. Hood, declaring that the newspaper accounts were all wrong and that beyond doubt the whole affair was got up by paid emissaries, chiefly from France and Poland, assisted by the Jews of Prussia. In view of the questions at stake throughout Europe during this revolution and the high character of the men engaged in it the impression is unavoidable that the lady's usually keen political sense was led astray on this occasion by her devotion to her Prussian royalties. The same can confidently be said of her statement to her son that in her opinion the monarchy could not long survive. This was when the Ministers announced their intention to recall the Prince of Prussia from England, which resulted in turbulent popular meetings of protest, atrocious placards and violent speeches.

But even these troublous days of the Frankfort Parliament were lightened by touches of unconscious humor. Lady Westmorland writes to her son that Prince Lichnowsky lost his election to the Assembly and a *butcher* was elected in his stead, while "one of the members returned for Breslau was a *beggar* [the talks of horror are here] who lived on the parish there, and a number of the citizens agreed to elect him, as he would get $3 a day while the Assembly sat and his journey there and back paid, on the understanding that he will never trouble the parish again." Her deduction from these incidents is that the people were not fit to be trusted with popular representation, universal suffrage and the rest of it. Her letter to her husband reporting Bunsen's extraordinary conversation with her cannot be reproduced in full, important as it is. He was jubilant over the idea that with an Austrian Archduke as Emperor and a Prussian Field Marshal to command all the armies of Germany, Austria and Prussia might laugh at the rest of Germany and rule Europe. The palaces were to be inhabited by merchants, the capitals converted into manufacturing towns, the sovereigns forced to occupy themselves with ameliorating the condition of their people and encouraging arts and sciences. Frankfort, as the seat of Government, was too near the French frontier, but that defect could be remedied by getting hold of Alsace. Then the whole of Denmark was to be incorporated, unless a Scandinavian kingdom were formed under King Oscar; and if he offered any difficulties Schleswig must be taken and the King of Denmark must be done away with. "He seems quite mad with this idea of a great nation that is to rule Europe," comments Lady Westmorland. She inquired whether Bunsen thought Bavaria would be satisfied with this arrangement. He said, "Oh, if there is any difficulty there we must settle that when the young Prince of Prussia becomes Emperor. A Bavarian Prince shall be his successor." What would Russia say? "Russia wants peace and won't interfere with us; but if she should we are not afraid of her. She could do nothing against united Germany." "If this is not all madness I know not what is!" concludes Lady Westmorland.

In July, 1848, she writes to her husband about a conversation with Queen Victoria. The Queen said: "I know some people are entirely against all idea of German unity and I do not agree with those. I think it very proper and very necessary that there should be a bond of union between all the Governments of Germany stronger than has hitherto united them, but I can never conceive that it is necessary or possible to mediatize the sovereigns and to reduce all the capitals to provincial towns and so forth, or that the different armies can be amalgamated. I am glad the Archduke John has been elected because I think under the circumstances it may have saved a much worse election, and at all events it is a check to the Republicans." Prince Albert, it appears, talked of Bunsen as an oracle to Frederick Lamb and the latter gave his opinion openly—Bunsen then being cleverly intent on securing the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs to the new empire, or at least retaining his diplomatic post in case of failure. "Sir," said Lamb to the Prince, "I like men to have a decided principle and to act upon it. Now if Bunsen's principles are monarchical all his actions and words are those of a fool; if he is a Republican then he is a traitor." And the Prince appeared nettled. Six months later Lady Westmorland writes to her son from Berlin: "If the King remains firm and has no vagaries all will go well and Prussia will have a free constitution. Neither the King nor the Prince of Prussia has the least idea of returning to absolutism." Curiously enough, alluding immediately after to one of the commonest manifestations of absolutism, the proclamation of "a state of siege," she quotes the opinion of a furrier in Unter den Linden, a superior sort of person as she describes him, who said to her: "The state of siege is what has restored to us the only liberty we have enjoyed since the month of March" (the outbreak of the Revolution), adding that now he could feel himself sure that his windows would not be smashed, his shop invaded by troops of beggars demanding money and threatening if refused to send the mob, and often executing the threat, and so forth.

A revelation of Lady Westmorland's quality is furnished by her account to her son of Meyerbeer's coming to thank her for inviting his daughter to a ball, but he said she was afraid that among those great lords she would be out of her place. She told him to tell the girl she might be proud of her parentage before any grand seigneur of the earth, as her father was great by the gift of God and the sacred fire wherewith God had endowed him was worth all terrestrial grandeur. "Don't you agree with me?" she adds. Then, reviewing the trial of the men who had murdered Prince Lichnowsky and Gen. Auerswald as the result of an unpopular vote in the Assembly, she declares that it affords "a striking proof of the total unfitness at present of Germans for trial by jury as well as other Liberal institutions"—which, in truth, it did. But the fact that people must be trained in the exercise of liberal rights and institutions, even at great cost, does not appear to have occurred to her usually keen and judicious mind.

In 1851 Lord Westmorland was moved to Vienna, where they already had many friends. They arrived there at an embarrassing moment, for just about the same time Kossuth appeared in England and the reception accorded him there made the Austrian Government very sore. Lady Westmorland's daughter, who supplies a historical summary for each chapter or period, remarks: "Kossuth was well known by all who had the means of ascertaining the truth to be a cowardly adventurer (though at the same time a very clever talker) whose political career had done nothing to redeem his previous character, which was that of a not very scrupulous lawyer." In Vienna the Westmorlands were far from being as happy as at Berlin. Society was far more wealthy and luxurious than in the Prussian capital, but in the rigid and absurd exclusiveness which held sway no talent, genius or distinction of any kind was recognized unless furnished with the requisite number of ancestors and quarterings. The Emperor Francis Joseph was a young man of one-and-twenty whose shyness gave the impression of stiffness and formality, but when this was broken through he was genial, kind, wit schoolboy spirits that were especially apparent at balls, as he had a passionate love for dancing.

Prince Metternich, a devoted friend of the Westmorlands, who had been driven into exile by the Revolution after being Prime Minister of Austria for thirty-five years, had returned to Vienna but took no further part in public affairs. His letters to Lady Westmorland are among the most delightful in the book; and about this time Lord Brougham's letters to her from his house in Cannes become frequent and the Emperor Louis Napoleon is much discussed between them. Presently they were all plunged in the anxieties and apprehensions preceding the Crimean War, and Vienna naturally was in the very vortex of the rumors and negotiations. Lady Westmorland's opinion was that the war was iniquitous. As her brother-in-law Lord Raglan was appointed commander in chief of the troops, and her son Lord Burghersh accompanied him as aide-de-camp, her expressions of grief and foreboding are vivid and numerous. The war, she declares, was brought about by personal spite, weakness and blunderers and the cowardly giving in to the cries of the press. A strong Government, statesmen courageous and consistent, would easily have managed an affair which had been allowed to grow until it had got beyond their control. She even asserts in a letter to her sons' tutor, Mr. Hood, that not only had all the newspapers exaggerated and falsified statements but the Blue Book itself had been concocted so as entirely to conceal the real history of the transactions, and so a general and vehement enthusiasm had been created in England which had no foundation in truth. Altogether she had very little heart for the festivities connected with the marriage of the Emperor, but she bestows fervent eulogiums upon the grace, beauty, sweetness and intelligence of the bride, who captivated every one in her new home.

When Lady Westmorland's health forces her to return to England for a while her husband entrusts her with delicate commissions for Lord Clarendon, which she appears to have executed to perfection. Lord Clarendon, driven by Louis Napoleon, so Lord Westmorland writes, was desirous of making wild engagements for the ultimate settlement of affairs before the allies in the war had obtained a single advantage, and the programme of the Emperor of the French included settling Schleswig, Holstein, Switzerland, Piedmont and the Frankfort Diet before he returned to quiet. The Westmorlands did not like Louis Napoleon from any point of view, while admitting his cleverness and resenting his mastery of Europe, but Lord Brougham, enabled to judge matters in France from his residence there, occasionally tries to modify their opinions. Later in 1853, when her son Lord Burghersh falls seriously ill while visiting the Emperor, Lady Westmorland passed a week at Compiègne, and she writes to Countess Pauline Néale, who showed her detestation, that she brought away a much more favorable impression than she had ever had before. While the Empress is not at all grande dame but very nice, the Emperor is a very grand seigneur and always a perfect gentleman, endowed with much charm in spite of his awkward figure and absolute lack of a single good feature. Lord Westmorland resigned from the diplomatic service in 1855 and settled down to live quietly on his estate in England. "I have never liked living in this country" (England), writes his wife, "even when I had so many dear relations. I have always felt that to be comfortable here you needed health of iron and a much larger fortune than ours without diplomatic appointments."

But her correspondence with her royal and diplomatic friends continued, and we read how enthusiastic an impression the Princess Royal made on the Prussians when she married Prince Frederick, the anxieties and difficulties connected with the illness and mental failure of the King and the Prince of Prussia's regency; the marriage of Princess Charlotte to Archduke Maximilian and the happy auspices under which they set out for their ill fated empire in Mexico, told in letters from the King and Queen of the Belgians, the Princess's parents. Baron Humboldt writes that "one who becomes an object of curiosity and what is called a celebrity generally owes it to the patience with which one endures life so long," and that "young ladies from the country who think to cheer him by offering to establish themselves near him in order to be at hand to close his eyes always begin their letters, 'Noble young Patriarch.'"

In 1857 Lady Westmorland visited Prince Metternich, then 85 years old, at his country seat on the Rhine, Johannesberg, and sent to her husband an account of her conversations with him. In England in 1814, he said, the Emperor Alexander I. and the Prince Regent hated each other. Metternich was the confidant of both and found Alexander was always most to blame. The Grand Duchess Catherine fomented the quarrel. Lord Grey came to Metternich to tell him that Alexander had sent for him "to submit to him a project for organizing an opposition in Russia. Is he thinking of creating a parliament? In case he is determined to do it (and I took good care not to advise it), he is dispensed in advance of the necessity for creating an opposition. He does not lack one."

As to French affairs Metternich remarked: "Thiers is most anxious for the success and stability of Napoleon III. as long as it can be assured. He would not serve him, but 'would do his best' to be of use to him, 'but that cannot last. Even if he lives he will fall. He has no backing which can uphold him. After him there will be a republic. No King is possible.' * * * All Paris is Republican, France is Liberal-Monarchical, but Paris will carry the day. A civil republic is impossible. There will be a military dictator, and we shall behold the same sort of thing that is going on in Spain, minus the court. Louis Napoleon is a man of capacity and will, but his mind is not of great range." Metternich also repeats to Lady Westmorland a conversation with Count Nesselrode, the Russian Prime Minister, who declared that the Emperor Nicholas "died of grief at having been deceived. He had never wanted the [Crimean] war. He had always wanted to get out of it and had thought he would be able to do so. He had never had the ambitious designs attributed to him. He had never dreamed of the possession of Constantinople. Religious ideas and the disgust he cherished for the name of Bonaparte and everything which emanated from Paris had been the strongest causes of the attitude he had adopted. * * * Now Louis Napoleon has made himself the protector of Russia, which grovels at his feet and pays base court to him." Countess Pauline Néale writes to Lady Westmorland in 1859 that "Monsieur de Bismarck Schonhausen on the strength of his sudden and ephemeral great reputation is going to try to turn everything upside down at St. Petersburg (where he had been appointed Prussian Minister), having perfected himself in that art at Frankfort," and a little later she says he is following his own policy at the Russian capital, and so is more agreeable to that country than useful to his own. The politics of the war between Prussia and Austria and of that between France and Sardinia are the subject of many letters from Continental correspondents, about equally mingled with details concerning the babies and home life of the future Emperor and Empress Frederick and other Prussian royalties.

After her husband's death in 1859 Lady Westmorland lived almost entirely in London and spent the summers at Wimbledon, where her friends sought her out, quiet as was her life. Her letters in 1864 to her son Julian Fane, then secretary of embassy at Vienna, contain many details regarding Garibaldi's visit to London. It was well known there that the refugees in England, headed by Mazzini, were from the safe refuge they had found in England taking advantage of the difficulties in Austria caused by the Schleswig-Holstein war to foment revolutionary plots against the Austrian and Italian Governments. It was thought Garibaldi would be utilized as the tool of these dangerous and unscrupulous men, and the Government found itself in a difficult position between enthusiasm of the ignorant and credulous public on the one hand and the natural resentments of the foreign Governments who while nominally in alliance with England were threatened in their very existence by the machinations of these outlaws who were tolerated in England. Under such circumstances Lady Westmorland was an invaluable reporter of public and Government sentiment to her son at his important post. The book closes with a letter written in August, 1870, from Countess Pauline Néale's sister, who alludes to "this horrible war." And so we are brought to the point where United Germany was created on a different basis from that projected in 1848, as we have shown.

One point about this volume of model letters must not pass unnoticed. Their absolute unaffected simplicity and naturalness, the genuine, faithful affection, the tender sentiment which is grateful for every little attention and kindness but never degenerates into bathos—all produce an atmosphere of rain washed violets in the forest that refreshes and reposes from many tomes of more superficial cleverness, more demonstrative analysis, more studied attempts at setting forth life and affairs in high social and diplomatic quarters.

An excellent index and four illustrations of Lady Westmorland and her country place adorn the book, which certainly meets the requirements anticipated by Lady Westmorland's daughter.

All About the Police.

Most timely, with reference to the municipality of New York, is the appearance of the volume entitled *Police Administration; a Critical Study of Police Organizations in the United States and Abroad* (G. P. Putnam's Sons), by LEONHARD FELIX FULD, Ph.D., sometime university scholar in administrative law in Columbia University and examiner of the New York Municipal Civil Service Commission. Reform in police methods just now interests the whole country; the strike in Philadelphia has emphasized the peculiar efficiency of a State constabulary in certain grave contingencies; the new Mayor of New York is about to change the entire attitude of the local police toward the enforcement of the excise law, and there has never been a period in our history when the general reader was more desirous of accurate information from a trustworthy source concerning the systems of police organization and government of the world.

This information may readily be obtained from Dr. Fuld's book, where it is set forth with a freshness of style quite exceptional in a work of this character and in a spirit of judicial fairness and impartiality equally rare in professional experts in sociological subjects. Singularly enough we find no trace of the doctrinaire or the faddist in this interesting monograph. The author sees abundant room for reform, yet he does not think that everything is hopelessly bad even now. While he asserts that police commissioners are seldom interested in giving to the municipality an efficient administration of the police department, we find him declaring that most of the policemen and superior officers of the police departments in our cities are self-respecting, honest, industrious and efficient members of the community and that "the number of disreputable or dishonest police officers is very much smaller than the critics of our police departments would have us believe."

From the historian's point of view the police is the child of the military branch of all Governments of a monarchical character, in which the sovereign was originally the warlord and all officials of whatever rank were his servitors. The first organized police force in the world, according to our author, was a body of officers formed in France early in the fourteenth century, under the name of the maréchaussée, to arrest and punish deserters from the army. Its jurisdiction was gradually extended so as to comprehend all crimes committed upon the public highways of the kingdom, and it developed into the celebrated French gendarmerie, by which title it has been known since 1720, being the type of similar national police organizations in all the states of Continental Europe. "The principal duties of the gendarmerie are to maintain order on the public highways and give prompt notice to the central authorities of any serious crimes or accidents coming to their notice. They preserve order at public pageants and official ceremonial observances; they arrest deserters from the army and navy and other fugitives from justice; they serve the process issuing out of the higher tribunals, summon jurors and assist in maintaining order in the superior courts. Their functions, however, are national rather than local, and are such as would be exercised by a centralized Federal police force organized under an act of Congress if such a thing were conceivable under our system of government. In this country the national Government maintains only three police organizations: (1) the secret service of the Treasury Department for the prevention and detection of counterfeiting; (2) the immigration inspectors, exercising similar functions under the immigration laws, and (3) the post office inspectors, whose police duty it is to detect and arrest offenders against the postal laws, but who are also administrative inspecting officers, as their title indicates.

The custom has grown up on the part of other branches of the Government of drafting secret service officers of the Treasury to perform duties wholly outside of the enforcement of the laws against counterfeiting. They are constantly employed to guard the President of the United States and their aid is frequently sought for the investigation of crimes which are the subject of inquiry by the War Department and the Department of Justice. For this procedure there has been no statutory authorization, and in the appropriation act of 1909 Congress expressly forbade the use of any moneys thereby appropriated for the payment of persons who had been transferred to another department from the secret service division of the Treasury. Such legislation is expressive of the general sentiment of our people, which is unmistakably hostile to the establishment of any national or State police organization except of a most specialized character for distinctive and exceptional purposes. "No English speaking people," says Dr. Fuld, "has ever had a State constabulary, a police force appointed and controlled by the central authorities and operating as the sole police force throughout the entire State, and the establishment of such a State constabulary could be justified only on the ground that American cities have shown an utter incapacity for self-government in the department of police administration." We are not so incapable as this, for Dr. Fuld expressly asserts that the American municipal police is fairly efficient in maintaining order in the city. While thus opposed to a State police in the broadest sense he does not deny the usefulness of such an organization with limited jurisdiction or for particular purposes.

One of the most interesting modern excavations in the neighborhood of the Roman Forum is a building which is described to the foreign visitor as the station of a company of firemen. The firemen of ancient Rome were also the policemen of the city. They were about 7,000 in number and they were obliged to perform regular tours of duty under a system which is believed to have been quite similar to that which prevails in England and America to-day. Ancient Greece, on the other hand, possessed no institution analogous to the police organizations of modern times. The French police system dates back to 1327, when Philippe de Valois appointed a body of commissaires of police for Paris with civil jurisdiction, while the gendarmerie constituted the military police of the country, as they do up to the present day. "These commissaires are a very efficient police agency peculiar to the French system. Appointed directly by the central administrative authorities and not subject to the administrative control of the prefect of police, they combine duties somewhat similar to those of the American police magistrate with very important police duties. * * * But their most important service is rendered when one of these commissaires prevents the commission of a crime or settles a quarrel without making an arrest; in other words, when he acts as a peacemaker, respected and obeyed by every one." The maintenance of a brigade of reserves at the central office for emergency service is a notable part of the Paris police system, in which the specialization of functions is also developed to an extent unknown in this country, there being a special sanitary squad, a special squad for the surveillance of prostitutes, a traffic squad, a squad for the supervision of pawnbrokers' shops, and many others. In Germany, as might be expected, the military element is paramount in the urban police systems. "The patrolmen must all be trained soldiers, the inferior officers must be non-commissioned army officers of at least twelve years standing, and all the other officers of the uniformed force are quite generally army officers. Only the police commissioner and his assistants need not be soldiers, and even in the case of these men it is provided that they must either have served in the army or prove that they are physically disqualified for service." The garrison was the only police force in garrisoned towns in Prussia up to 1850.

The London police is the model of the police system which prevails in most of the cities of the United States. In Saxon times the citizens of the several counties and hundreds into which the county was divided were obligated by law to pursue and arrest any neighbor who might be charged with crime, and hence under this system of mutual suretyship, as Dr. Fuld calls it, every freeman was liable on occasion to become a policeman. As the population increased and crime with it this method proved inadequate and the police functions were vested in justices of the peace and parish constables. "Later the duty of watching was attended to in the towns by ruffians engaged by the citizens to act as their personal substitutes and in the rural districts by paupers and other social derelicts." The appointment of salaried police magistrates in London under an act of Parliament passed in 1792 is regarded by the author of the present work as the first formal step in the reformation of police administration in England. The modern policeman came into existence in 1829 by virtue of the statute establishing the Metropolitan Police of London framed by Sir Robert Peel, then Home Secretary. It was the first purely professional, paid and uniformed police force ever organized in England. Although the new system demonstrated its efficiency from the very outset, the officers were at first very unpopular and were derisively termed "Bobbies" and "Peelers," as expressive of dislike for the Minister who was responsible for intruding them into the body politic. Similar police organizations were gradually established in all the large cities and towns in England. These are subject to inspection from time to time by a bureau in the office of the Home Secretary, and if the condition of the local force is found to be satisfactory the central Government defrays a moiety of the cost of maintenance. "In this way is secured that self-government which is so dear to the heart of the Englishman, and so too is removed that dread of a centrally appointed police force which an Englishman scents from afar as tyrannical and oppressive."

A municipal police force resembling that of London, the members of which were appointed by the local authorities, had been established in the larger American cities by the middle of the nineteenth century. The requirement to wear a uniform excited considerable opposition at first, it being regarded as a degrading badge of servitude. A sentiment in favor of centralization to some extent at least began to manifest itself in 1857, when New York and Brooklyn with some adjacent territory were constituted a metropolitan police district under a commission designed to afford partisan advantages to the political party then in power in the State. Metropolitan police districts of a similar character were subsequently established in Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis and many other cities, but the method of local appointment has long since been resumed in New York.

After the historical review which we have outlined Dr. Fuld proceeds to consider the officers of a police department. In American cities the control over the police force is usually non-professional, whether it is exercised by a single commissioner or by a board of police; that is to say the control is not in the hands of those who previously have been policemen by profession. The author has no doubt that the individual liberty of the citizen has been more carefully safeguarded by a non-professional head of department than by a professional chief of police; "the professional chief, for example, has little sympathy for the citizen who complains of having been clubbed by an officer." He believes that the non-professional head of department is certainly better educated than the officers of the uniformed force, but when it comes to a comparison in the matter of character Dr. Fuld is by no means sure that the non-professional has the advantage. As to the relative merits of the board system and the single commissioner system, the tendency is now strongly toward placing police administration in the greater American cities in the hands of a single commissioner. Partisan police boards have proved unsatisfactory and bi-partisan police boards still more so, the latter being usually too dilatory in their action to be effective in emergencies, even if they are honest, which is the exception and not the rule. "No civilized nation would send an army into a single battle under the command of a board of generals, and yet in many American cities the police force, which is daily engaged in active service, is by a historical accident under the command of a board of commissioners." Since 1897 the police force of the city of New York, like the Metropolitan Police of London, has been governed by an individual commissioner.

The public spirited citizen who desires to discharge his political and civic duties intelligently will find a whole mine of profitable reading in the chapters of this work in which the author discusses the methods of selecting police officers and patrolmen, the equipment of the police force and its records, the general and special duties of the police and the great question of police problems, with particular reference to the enforcement of the laws against gambling and prostitution and the regulation of the liquor traffic. Gambling, prostitution and liquor selling are the principal sources of pecuniary corruption now commonly known as "graft" in the police department, and whoever can reform the relations of the police to these three pursuits will be entitled to rank as a public benefactor indeed.

The facilities which the police enjoy for collecting hush money from prostitutes, gamblers and those who violate the excise law are largely due to the fact that patrolmen are authorized and encouraged to arrest without warrant persons whose misconduct is committed in private and is not characterized by any public manifestation of vice whatever. The police are thus enabled to threaten an offender with summary apprehension unless he pays for silence and non-action, and in this way there has grown up a system of police license for crime which is most pernicious in its effect upon the police and oppressive toward their victims, albeit they are criminals. The author would deal with the problems presented by gambling, prostitution and violations of the excise law by restricting the direct interference of the police to cases in which the law is publicly violated. The public gambler, the public prostitute, the liquor seller who openly disregards the prohibitions of the liquor tax law, should be liable to summary arrest at the hands of the police; but all other offenders in these classes should be prosecuted by the ordinary methods which prevail in the administration of the criminal law, whether their delinquencies are discovered by the police or by private citizens. This view of the author's is in singular accord with the idea which is evidently the basis of Mayor Gaynor's recent reform in the police methods of enforcing the liquor tax law in this city.

We cordially commend this volume to the attentive perusal of those whose duty or interest impels them to acquire a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of police administration in the United States. It is pleasant in spite of the criticisms with which the work abounds to be able to quote the author as declaring that "the large majority of the patrolmen are undoubtedly upright and honest men." As we have already pointed out, he deems an exclusively State police organization to be incompatible with the free spirit of American institutions, but he commends the establishment of a State constabulary like that in Pennsylvania to assist the police of the municipalities in times of storm and stress. The treatment of every topic is eminently fair and judicial, the tone is vigorous but good natured and never cynical, and every page impresses the reader with the author's mastery of a somewhat difficult subject.

ENORMOUS TOBACCO EXPORTS.

Last Year We Supplied Almost a Third of the World's Total.

The United States leads the world as an exporter of tobacco, having supplied over $41,000,000 worth of tobacco and manufactures of tobacco which entered international markets last year.

In the exportation of manufactured tobacco Cuba is at the head of the list with a total of $13,000,000, compared with $6,000,000 for the United Kingdom, $4,750,000 for the United States, $2,500,000 for Netherlands, $2,250,000 for Egypt, $1,500,000 each for Germany and Brazil, $1,250,000 for France, $1,000,000 for Japan. Of the tobacco exported from the United States about 11 per cent. is in the manufactured form, and from Cuba about 45 per cent.

The tobacco crop of the United States in 1908 was 718,000,000 pounds, valued at $74,000,000; the value of domestic manufactures, according to the census of 1905, $331,000,000; the revenue derived from domestic tobacco in 1908, $50,000,000, and the total duties collected on imported tobacco in the fiscal year 1909, $23,250,000.

Germany and the United States are the world's leading markets for tobacco, says the *Exporters' Review*, Germany being credited with $35,000,000 worth of imports and the United States with $20,000,000 worth of imports of that article, compared with $25,000,000 worth imported into the United Kingdom and $10,000,000 into Austria-Hungary. Countries importing between $4,000,000 and $10,000,000 worth of tobacco annually include France, Belgium, Netherlands and Canada.

NEW YORK'S BIG GRANGE.

90,000 Members, 8,000 of Whom Joined Last Year.

City folks who think that "the Grange" and "the Grangers" are obsolete expressions ought to have attended the thirty-seventh annual convention of the New York State Grange recently held up in Watertown.

Organized in 1873 with twenty-one subordinate granges and a small membership, the State Grange has in this brief period increased to 729 granges with nearly 90,000 members. The granges are now established in fifty-four of the sixty-one counties of the State, including practically every agricultural county.

During the last year over 8,000 new names were added to the roll. At the Watertown convention nearly 1,500 out of town delegates were present for at least some sessions.

"The grange is uniquely democratic in its organization," says the *Survey*. "Practically any farmer or farmer's wife, whether owning a farm or working on a farm, is eligible to membership. About one-third of the delegates at the State meeting were women, and not infrequently they brought their husbands as associate delegates, the women voting and the husbands merely participating in the discussions. Sometimes this was reversed.

"Among other activities the grange is preeminently interested in the improvement of agricultural education and urges the enlargement of the State Agricultural College and a liberal appropriation therefor as well for the maintenance of the agricultural schools already established. The grange has established six scholarships at fifty dollars each at Cornell University.