

The Columbian.

GEORGE H. MOORE, EDITOR.

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS VICE-PRESIDENT, MARCH 4, 1865.

This address, as published in the *Congressional Globe* shortly after its delivery, is now valuable evidence in vindication of President Johnson against the attacks of his Radical opponents; for it proves that at the time of its delivery, and before he became President, he held the same views which he now holds and advocates regarding the status of the Southern States and their relations to the Union.

Two prominent ideas appear in this inaugural address, characteristic of the man and consistent with his whole course in public life. The first one which he chose then to announce in entering upon the duties of a high station was that he was one of the people, having sympathies with the mass of mankind, desiring their welfare, and determined to contribute to it, wherever placed, to the utmost of his power. He remembered "the rock from which he was hewn, and the pit from which he was dug." In the august presence of great public functionaries, and of the representatives of foreign powers, he remained the man of the people, owing allegiance to them, and to no other power under Heaven. He thought of himself as a son of American free institutions, to whose elevation his high office neither birth, nor rank, nor wealth were necessary; to whom garters, and stars, and decorations, the imposition of a monarch's hands, and heraldic titles, were nothing, and less than nothing. "Behold! here, how free institutions open up the road of distinction and the seats of power to all men, however obscure of birth or unblest by fortune!" And this was said, or indicated, in no spirit of vain-glorying, or of selfish and insolent pride, but in behalf of and in honor of the people and institutions of his native land.

But this was not all. Not only was he there, elevated to that place by the votes of the people, and true to them in all his sympathies and convictions, but his State was there also in his person as the second official in the Republic. Tennessee was there as a State in the Union, faithful to her duties, and with all her rights as a member of the Union unimpaired by secession and war. Bad men, wicked men, had attempted to carry her out of the Union and to place her in a Southern and hostile confederacy. But her loyal sons had resisted the iniquitous scheme, and had upheld, through terrific trials, the cause of the Union within her borders. Through fire and blood, and trials and suffering almost unexampled, they "fought the good fight," and kept faith with their brethren of the adhering States. And now they rejoiced that their efforts, and labors, and sufferings had not been in vain. They had scouted secession ordinances and stood by the ancient laws, and held as null and void, and abominable, all pretended authority and all law and regulation founded on rebellion, or intended to provoke its objects. Tennessee claimed her place in the Union as of right and not of favor; she was entitled to that place in virtue of constitutional law and in just reason. Her sons were not outlaws, nor enemies, but citizens of the United States, and entitled as such to all the benefits of the Union established by our fathers.

How all this sounds in contradiction to the impudent assertion of Thaddeus Stevens in the Baltimore Convention, that Andrew Johnson was an alien enemy, and ineligible to the Vice-Presidency! The then Vice-President then gave the same answer to Thaddeus Stevens which now he gives as President; and that answer was: "The ordinances of secession were unlawful and void; Tennessee remains in the Union, and holds her proud place among the States which compose it; and her brave and patriotic sons, instead of being aliens, are citizens of the United States, and in full communion with their brethren North and West, with whom they made common cause, and underwent more than common sacrifice during the war."

This was the inaugural address which the patriot of Tennessee delivered upon the occasion of assuming his duties as Vice-President. It had pith and substance; it was appropriate to the time; and it came with significance and force from one who had just been elevated, against the impudent protest of Stevens, to the second office in the gift of the American people. We will add that the address, as published in the *Globe*, was written out and published by the reporter without any revision or change by the Vice-President or any other person. We mention this upon the direct authority of the reporter himself, a man of character and veracity, only because the contrary has been sometimes asserted without the slightest foundation in truth.

Turning now, with this address in hand, to the recent message and discourses of the President, we can see what perfect consistency he maintains in his public conduct. His present policy appears in strict conformity with the sentiments of the inaugural address, and neither friend nor foe can impute to him any departure from those principles which he proclaimed as the chosen man of the people, in March, 1865.

MEXICAN correspondence states that the French war steamer *Empireur* was wrecked while going to Guadaluajara. It is likewise stated that Methuella was assaulted on the morning of the 1st instant by twelve hundred Juaristas under Escobedo. The Liberals were permitted to retire, losing thirty officers and seventeen men. The guerrillas of Perez were defeated by Colonel Trevens at Soledad on the 23d ultimo, losing twenty-eight killed and nine wounded.

A FEW QUESTIONS.

READER, when you hear some enthusiastic individual declaiming against the President, try the experiment of asking him to point out the particular doctrine or measure of the Union party of 1861, as announced in the Baltimore platform or elsewhere by party authority, which President Johnson has abandoned or betrayed. Ask him to put his finger on the specific point of complaint in respect to any such doctrine or measure. Was a huge and costly Freedman's Bureau system a proclaimed measure of the Union party? Was disunionism, in any of its protean forms, a feature of their platform of principles? Was the doctrine of Dead States a dogma of Union men, or countenanced, in any way whatever, by their chosen candidate, Mr. Lincoln? Was negro suffrage, indiscriminate and immediate, and to be enforced upon the people by Federal power, a doctrine of that great party upon which it achieved success and a renewal of its hold on public power? No; not one of these things can be asserted or pretended. By what obligation, then, is the President bound to sacrifice his deliberate convictions upon any one or all of these points when they are presented to him for his official action? Sworn to support the Constitution, can he disregard it upon demand of partisan leaders and agitators? Is he, in his high office, to submit himself to the dictation of unscrupulous and desperate men, who would sacrifice their country, if needs be, to gratify their passions and their will? Men who love fair dealing, and regard justice, and respect independence, and admire honesty in public station, will have no difficulty in choosing between the President and those who revile him; and between the man chosen by the people, and in all respects faithful to his high trust, and his disunion enemies, North or South, who would defeat his policy and blast his fame. On this, as on former notable occasions, a great and virtuous patriot, a leader of the people and a man of the people, will triumph over his enemies and the enemies of his country, and will send down an honored and illustrious name to future time.

THE COLUMBIAN is to be a newspaper, and not a hand organ of sect, party, clique, or interest. We propose to publish the proceedings of all party conventions and meetings, with more or less of fulness, and with fairness, assuming that our readers will be able to judge for themselves between what is good and what is objectionable in the sentiments or actions of public bodies and popular meetings, and do not expect to find it necessary to caution them against accepting all that we print as conveying our individual sentiments or convictions. These will be conveyed, from time to time, in our editorial columns.—From our first number.

AN ENGLISH OPINION.

IN the midst of the numerous unfriendly notices we received from the English press during the Rebellion, none were more outspoken in our defence than the London *Westminster Review*. Throughout the war it defended the cause of the Union with a consistency which is entitled to all praise. In view of this fact the annexed extract from its pages will be read with increased interest:

Many and bitter were the attacks which had been made on Abraham Lincoln. The like were now directed against his successor. Neither his origin nor his character was spared. His future policy was denounced beforehand as cruel and sanguinary. Andrew Johnson has given them the most complete of all replies—he has lived them down. He is now known to the world as one of the ablest men of the day. His views of public policy assimilated themselves more and more, as time went on, to those of Mr. President Lincoln, and finally came into perfect agreement with them. When the latter was elected President a second time Mr. Johnson was elected with him as Vice-President. It was a most wise choice, for he had shown a rare mixture of courage and ability. He had remained faithful to the Union, and being, as he was, a Southern Senator, the Northerners by such a selection clearly showed that it was not against the South, as such, that they were fighting, but against the violators of the law and the Constitution. Since his accession to the Presidency he has discharged the duties of his high office and directed the policy of the country with a firmness, moderation, and tact which prove him to be a man of no ordinary capacity. The work which Mr. Johnson and his Government have had to do has been of the most difficult and delicate kind. Dangers of the most opposite character beset the object to which all their efforts were directed—that of reconstructing the Union. If too great leniency were shown, there was danger of losing in point of fact one of the best fruits of the crisis through the work of reconstruction, which the United States Government and people earnestly wished to further; it would, moreover, have irritated the South, and indisposed it toward that party among its own citizens which desired to return to their old allegiance in all good faith.

The element policy of the Washington Government in the hour of victory was further manifested by the fact that no life was forfeited, excepting that of those who were proved to be accomplices in Mr. Lincoln's murder, and that of a certain Wirz, convicted of heinous cruelty toward Northern prisoners incarcerated at Andersonville. Such lenient conduct was right, yet rarely, if ever, has it marked the close of those civil strife which have desolated in turn every country of the Old World.

The reception of a numerous and important Southern deputation by Mr. Johnson at the White House brought out in all their force those noble sentiments of mercy and reconciliation. The deputation waited on him to make

known their views and hopes upon the vital question of reconstruction. Nothing could be more kindly, more dignified, or more truly Christian than the words and bearing of the President of the United States upon that occasion. In a speech, couched in noble and expressive language, he expressed the pleasure it gave him to hear the deputation acknowledge the errors of the past. He assured those present of his desire to give back to the South all its rights. He would adhere strictly to the Constitution, maintain it in all its integrity, and make it the means of restoring the Southern States to their former status. The noble feelings expressed by the President; his reiterated assurances of good-will; his treatment of the Southerners as brothers, as sons of a common country, who had erred, but were not enemies, and who were brothers touched all present, and produced a deep impression. More than once the Chief Magistrate was interrupted by the approbation and the hearty applause of the members of the deputation. They expressed their firm resolve to do all in their power toward the reconstruction of the Union. At length they retired, full of hope and confidence, heartily in the step of restoring harmony and peace throughout the length and breadth of their common country.

How great is the contrast offered by this brotherly reconciliation between the chief of a free nation, and the conduct of a time led astray, and those scenes of bloody repression which have marked the triumph of many a European despot over his own subjects, whom long years of oppression and misrule had rendered into rebellious.

The policy of Mr. Johnson may be summed up in these words: "The Constitution in all its integrity." He had been faithful to it in the hour of danger; he made it the rule of his conduct in the hour of victory. But he determined to apply it, even in the case of those who had taken up arms against it, with all the leniency consistent with its due maintenance. The members of the Government, when dealing with those who had ever been considered as erring brothers, and who were now completely at its mercy.

THE LOCAL PRESS.

We suppose no one who has given the matter intelligent investigation will deny the advantage of a Poor House to a county as a measure of practical economy. In this connection we publish the following from the *Democrat and Star*:

The editor of the *Berwick Gazette* is willing to come down a little, and confine his remarks to the County Poor House of Berwick; a nice way of acknowledging that he publishes a paper for the guidance and edification of the citizens of that particular county. In his first article on this subject he stated that in this case, as his strictures upon the Poor House question were too general, and not made applicable alone to any borough or township in the county, we do not do so, but we had the power, to force any district into this measure, but desire each and every one to think and act in the matter for themselves; and if that is the position of the *Gazette*, we shall better understand it in the future. And so far as calling upon the borough to pay taxes to keep any poor of "other townships," we can say that, from that information we have in the County, the County Poor House is a self-sustaining institution. At least this is the case in the Counties of Chester, Lohigh, Berks, Bucks, Schuylkill, Montour, Carbon, and others that we might mention several of the other counties. The Poor House farm creates, instead of a burden upon the tax-payers, quite a revenue to the county, and we fail to see why the same thing can't be done in Columbia County. It would be a high farm indeed, if properly managed, that would not produce sufficient to maintain the paupers of this county without taxing the people, when a large amount of the labor can be done by the paupers themselves.

In conversation with a gentleman from Schuylkill County, not long since, we were informed that for twelve years while he lived in that county he paid no poor taxes upon his property. At present he could not state whether or not the people of that county were subjected to any poor taxes, but rather thought they were, on account of there being so many children made orphans during the late war; besides, the population of that county is made up of a different class of people from those of our county. If Schuylkill could maintain her poor twelve years without levying and collecting taxes for that purpose, why should not Columbia be able, with her rich and well-producing farm land, to maintain her poor without burdening the people by taxation? She can do it, is our honest conviction.

The experience has been in Montour County that those townships not in the Poor House have had heavier taxes to pay in support of the poor than they had before the erection of the County Poor House, while the other townships had very light if any taxes to pay. Those not accepting have since seen their mistake, and the result has been that they have accepted of the Poor House, and procured an act for the erection of another Poor House in that county. They have been convinced that it is cheaper and better to keep their paupers in the County Poor House than have them promiscuously all over the county in fifth and ildness. These are facts, and can't be disputed. The people of this county should consider the matter well in all its bearings, and ere long we trust that in such a manner as not to be regretted in the future.

The subjoined article from the same paper speaks for itself:

In an article written by us (the senior) some time in February last, respecting the starting of a new paper in this place, we stated that it would be conducted by one Captain Moore, late of the *Chronicle Office*, Washington, D. C. This article was made up and published in the *Democrat and Star*. But in the first issue of the new paper we were corrected in words as follows: "Captain Moore is not late of the Washington *Chronicle Office*, never having been connected with that establishment." Not having "enlightened" his readers of his whereabouts previous to his coming to this county, we, in noticing the new paper on its first appearance, spoke of the editor as of "some other place besides this." This was the best we could do. But since, in his last issue, he states that "at the outbreak of the war we were editing a paper in New York, but abandoned it upon receiving notice that as a private in the Thirty-sixth Regiment of New York Volunteers, in the month of April, 1861," he served his full term of enlistment in said regiment during which time, he says, he received promotions.

As he would like to know of his contemporaries "whereabouts" during that time, for one we will state that, at the breaking out of the war, we were engaged publishing the *Star of the North*, in Bloomsburg, Pa., and continued that business until we called in the

Thirteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, for the purpose of repelling the invasion made into our State by the *Rebel army*, and a few weeks after our return home we were conscripted and served our time in the One Hundred and Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania Militia.

We simply make mention of these facts to show that Captain Moore is not the only editor in this place that soldiered in the late war; and in doing this we don't wish to be understood as claiming any credit to ourselves, or attempting to establish our loyalty, as we hold it to be no person's credit who took any part in the late war; and in doing this we would have none of it. Give it all to such men as Butler and Banks; private desire none, since the war has been prostituted to the purposes of disunion and abolitionism.

As to our partner, he remained at home like all good citizens, pursuing a legitimate business, doing more for the good of the country than many who claimed and seemed to be intensely loyal, and desirous of mobbing all Democrats who did not think, believe, and act with them.

VETO OF THE COLORADO BILL.

To the Senate of the United States:

I RETURN to the Senate, in which House it originated, the bill which has passed both Houses of Congress, entitled "An Act for the admission of the State of Colorado into the Union," with my objections to its becoming a law at this time.

First. From the best information which I have been able to obtain, I do not consider the establishment of a State government at present necessary for the welfare of the people in Colorado. Under the existing Territorial government all the rights, privileges, and interests of the citizens are protected and secured. The qualified voters choose their own legislators and their own local officers, and are represented in Congress by a delegate of their own selection. They make and execute their own municipal laws, subject only to revision by Congress—an authority not likely to be exercised unless in extreme or extraordinary cases. The population is small, some estimating it so low as twenty-five thousand, while advocates of the bill reckon the number at from thirty-five thousand to forty thousand souls. The people are principally recent settlers, many of whom are understood to be ready for removal to other mining districts, beyond the limits of the Territory, if circumstances shall render them more inviting. Such a population cannot but find relief from excessive taxation desirable. If the Territorial system, which devolves the expenses of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments upon the United States, is for the present continued, they cannot but find the security of person and property increased by their reliance upon the national Executive power for the maintenance of law and order, against the disturbances necessarily incident to all newly-organized communities.

Second. It is not satisfactorily established that a majority of the citizens of Colorado desire or are prepared for an exchange of a Territorial for a State government. In September, 1864, under the authority of Congress, an election was lawfully appointed and held for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the people upon this particular question; 6,192 votes were cast, and of this number a majority of 3,152 was given against the proposed change. In September, 1865, without any legal authority, the question was again presented to the people of the Territory, with the view of obtaining a reconsideration of the result of the election held in compliance with the act of Congress approved March 21, 1864. At this second election 5,965 votes were polled, and a majority of 155 was given in favor of a State organization. It does not seem to me entirely safe to receive this last-mentioned result, so irregularly obtained, as sufficient to outweigh the one which had been legally obtained in the first election. Regularity and conformity to law are essential to the preservation of order and a stable government, and should, as far as practicable, always be observed in the formation of new States.

Third. The admission of Colorado at this time as a State into the Federal Union appears to me to be incompatible with the public interests of the territory; and while it is desirable that Territories, when sufficiently matured, should be organized as States, yet the spirit of the Constitution seems to require that there should be an approximation toward equality among the several States composing the Union. No State can have less or more than two Senators in Congress. The largest State has a population of four millions; several of the States have a population exceeding two millions; and many others have a population exceeding one million.

If this bill should become a law, the people of Colorado, thirty thousand in number, would have in the House of Representatives one member, while New York, with a population of four millions, has but thirty-one. Colorado would have in the Electoral College three votes, while New York has only thirty-three. Colorado would have in the Senate two votes, while New York has no more.

Inequalities of this character have already occurred, but it is believed that none have happened where the inequality was so great.

When such inequality has been allowed, Congress is supposed to have permitted it on the ground of some high public necessity, and under circumstances which promised that it would rapidly disappear through the growth and development of the newly-admitted State. Thus, in regard to the several States which were formerly called the "North-west Territory," lying west of the Mississippi, their rapid advancement in population rendered it certain that States admitted with only one or two representatives in Congress would in a very short period be entitled to a great increase of representation. So, when California was admitted on the ground of commercial and political exigencies, it was well foreseen that that State was destined rapidly to become a great,

prosperous, and important mining and commercial community. In the case of Colorado I am not aware that any national exigency, either of a political or commercial nature, requires a departure from the law of equality which has been so generally adhered to in our history.

If information submitted in connection with this bill is reliable, Colorado, instead of increasing, has declined in population. At an election for members of a Territorial Legislature, held in 1861, 10,500 votes were cast. At the election before mentioned, in 1864, the number of votes cast was 6,192, while at the irregular election, held in 1865, which is assumed as a basis for legislative action at this time, the aggregate of votes cast was 5,965.

Sincerely anxious for the welfare and prosperity of every Territory and State, as well as for the prosperity and welfare of the whole Union, I regret this apparent decline of population in Colorado, but it is manifest that it is due to emigration, which is going on from that Territory into other regions within the United States, which either are in fact, or are believed by the inhabitants of Colorado to be, richer in mineral wealth and agricultural resources. If, however, Colorado has not really declined in population, another census, or another election under the authority of Congress, would place the question beyond a doubt, and cause but little delay in the ultimate admission of the Territory as a State if desired by the people.

The tenor of these objections furnishes the reply which may be expected to an argument in favor of the measure derived from the enabling act, which was passed by Congress on the 21st day of March, 1864, although Congress then supposed that the condition of the Territory was such as to warrant its admission as a State. The result of the two years' experience shows that every reason which existed for the institution of a Territorial instead of a State government in Colorado at its first organization still continues in force. The condition of the Union at the present moment is calculated to inspire caution in regard to the admission of new States. Eleven of the old States have been for some time and still remain unrepresented in Congress.

It is a common interest of all the States, as well as those represented as those unrepresented, that the integrity and harmony of the Union should be restored as completely as possible, so that all those who are expected to bear the burdens of the Federal Government shall be consulted concerning the admission of new States; that in the meantime no State shall be prematurely and unnecessarily admitted to participation in the political power which the Federal Government wields, not for the benefit of any individual, State or section, but for the common safety, welfare, and happiness of the whole country.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 16, 1866.

FOUR MISTAKES.

THE great obstacle to reconstruction in Church and State, in fact and in feeling, lies in mutual misunderstanding of the facts in regard to each other by the Northern and Southern people. If the truth were known at the North as to what is said, and done, and thought, and felt in those Southern States, we believe that a controlling number of the people there would be inclined to extend to us such treatment as we desire and as we think we deserve. There are four leading particulars in which we think their judgments of us are entirely wrong, and if they could be correctly informed on these points, we believe that a vast stride would be made toward real peace. With a sincere desire to do good to our fellow-men, and to glorify our Father in Heaven, we proceed to mention these four things, and to put on record our solemn testimony in regard to them.

First. It is believed at the North that the people here consider the late dispute still unsettled; that they are anxious for another opportunity to resort to arms; and that they are ready and ripe to avail themselves of the first occasion to make another effort for independence.

In all this our Northern friends are entirely mistaken. There is not a word of truth in it. There may be individuals of whom it is true; of course we cannot say there are none; but we can and do say that we know of none and have heard of none. The people here are not thinking about arms nor about independence; the ideas for which the war was fought are considered obsolete, and are seldom spoken of. The grand idea with almost every one is to take care of himself, and improve his own condition. Revolution is, of all things, the furthest from their wishes or thoughts.

Second. It is believed at the North that there is here a general disposition to oppress and persecute the negro race, and, if possible, to re-enslave them.

Nothing could be further from the truth. During the war the slaves for the most part stood by their masters, labored for them without overseers in thousands of instances, and sympathized with them and sustained them in every possible way to the last. Since the war they have conducted themselves with a degree of propriety which, under the circumstances, is a wonder to the world. These things have increased the kindness of feelings which were kind before, and the negro race is held in higher esteem at the South this day than it ever has been. The rights of suffrage, of holding office, and of sitting on juries are denied them by our laws, but in all other respects they are (in Georgia) precisely as a *farthing with the white people*, and so we think it is in most of the other States. The people of the North have so often told that the opposite of all this is true, that they may find it hard to believe what we tell them; but the facts are as we state.

Third. It is believed at the North that the moment the Southern people are clothed with political power they will use their influence for the repudiation of the national debt.

We have never heard this scheme pro-

posed by a Southern man, and it probably would never have been thought of here if we had not received the idea from Northern newspapers. We have never heard it spoken of except with condemnation. Most of us are wise enough to know that it is to our interest to sustain the Government under which we expect to live.

Fourth. It is believed at the North that the Southern people, if invested with political power, would endeavor to force upon the Government the assumption of the debt of the late Confederacy. We do not believe that this idea ever entered into the wildest dream of the most visionary man in those Southern States. We have never heard the subject mentioned except with ridicule, and, as in the preceding case, we believe it never would have been mentioned at all if it had not been thrust upon our attention by the Northern press.

If the people at the North could only know the truth in regard to the four points above spoken of, we believe that there would be an immense change in public opinion and in the state of public feeling there, and that the result would be a restoration of friendly relations and of material prosperity. Few of them, perhaps, will see these lines; if those who see them some, we have no doubt, will believe all we have said, for some of them know that our testimony can be relied on; some, we fear, will say that we willfully falsify; and others will probably say that we are mistaken as to the facts. We earnestly entreat those who doubt our evidence to tell us what evidence would be satisfactory; and if they demand evidence, which the nature of the case admits of, we think we can pledge ourselves, in advance, to produce it.

This article may be copied by Northern newspapers, and it is just possible that some of their readers would like to obtain more full information from the same source; if so, let them address a letter to the editor of the *Christian Index*, Atlanta, Ga., and they shall be promptly responded to, publicly or privately, as they may desire.

PRISONS AND PRISON DISCIPLINE.

ONE of society's adjourned but perpetually recurring questions is that referring to crime and criminals. Good men live in the hope of making all men good at some time or other—of discovering a system by which virtue will become the rule of human conduct. Half of our social problems depend upon this. If people only knew how good it was to be good, the world would be done. The pleasure of frankness; of saying yes or no; being able to look every man in the eye; of respecting the personal relations of labor, is far sweeter than the most attractive vice. This is commonplace philosophy, perhaps, but so is the constant repetition of every truth. We consider these social questions over and over again until our argument seems dead, and every illustration becomes as trite as the warnings against lying, and the incentives to industry, that we once found in our spelling-books.

Here is the twenty-first annual report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, 232 pp., part first only, and full of strange interest. It is the annual record of the efforts of a company of good men to see that if there is not some what among the tares of society, some hidden residue of gold in the alloy which "law" throws from its crucible. That justice shall be done to the destitute; that discharged prisoners shall receive a helping hand in their struggles toward an honest life; that evil associations shall be withheld from the punished criminal, is the purpose of these gentlemen. During the twenty-one years of the society's existence 72,564 persons have been visited in prison; 21,929 complaints have been examined; 5,930 complaints have been abandoned at the instance of the society; 6,632 prisoners have been discharged from custody through the interposition of the society; 11,281 discharged prisoners have been aided in various ways; 3,392 discharged convicts provided with situations. Twenty-one years well spent, and honest useful work well done!

Certain suggestive facts crop out of this report which should be well considered in our philosophy. We find that war greatly influences crime—that during the war the social bonds seem to loosen, and the vice of poor human nature predominates. Foreign immigration fosters crime, partly from the fact that some European nations make America, in a way, a place for criminal transportation, partly because our foreign born residents are very ignorant and irresponsible. Crime nestles in cities, and generally avoids the rural districts. Two-thirds of our criminals are under thirty years of age. Reformatory influences are used with good results. Twenty years ago three out of ten discharged convicts were re-committed; now scarcely more than one out of ten. The principle of labor is introduced into prison life with good results. Convict labor now exceeds by sixty thousand dollars a year the cost of convict living—the surplus going to pay the salaries of prison officers. It seems to us that when the convicts earn their living they have done their duty to the State, and should be allowed the residue of their time for education and self-improvement. The lash no longer exists in the prison. The food of the prisoner is improved. In other times punishment was the controlling element of prison discipline; now the poor wretches are stimulated by reward and hope. In other times (horrible thought, and not pleasant to think of in connection with our ancestors) every child born in prison died from bad air and unwholesome food; now the little creatures are taken and raised under free influence. The convict prison is no longer a school of vice, a moral Lazar-house, absorbing, increasing and distributing contagion. All this the society has done, and yet its field has scarcely been touched.

In addition to these labors, the society does much toward advancing the science of penology. Prison discipline is a practical art, and deserves careful study. The question is not how can we best keep a certain number of men locked up, chained—surrounded by bars and walls—and prevented from escaping. That is merely a vulgar problem in mathematics, and may be solved by reproducing the old bastille. Can we not so treat these criminals that they will forsake forever the path of crime? Can we not educate public opinion—up to the recognition of the manhood of man—so that when a poor sufferer falls by the wayside he is not to be thrown into a ditch like so much carrion? What can we expect of men who ask of their keepers "who is Jesus Christ, of whom we hear so much?" "Why," said a prison visitor to a profane convict, "why do you not have better thoughts?" "Better thoughts," was the forlorn response, "where shall I get them?" This question coming to us from the dungeon, from the heart of an outcast and felon, embraces the whole philosophy. The society in its narrow way is doing all it can to answer it. Let us do more.—*New York Tribune*.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

THE period of declaring semi-annual dividends having arrived, we have looked with some curiosity to see what sort of dividend the Pennsylvania Railroad managers would announce. This was done by the official advertisement is five per cent. If the company be as flourishing as is generally supposed, how is it that it cannot give better profits than this? The profits of the road are either squandered in corrupting the Legislature and officers of the State government who belong to the notorious "ring" combination, or else the managers are obliged to hold back the money in order to enable them to grasp more lines of road. They have just leased or bought a line in New York, another in Wisconsin, are building one in Illinois, and are kitting in the Pacific Railroad matter.

Perhaps our readers may think that ultimately the finances of the corporation may be improved by these investments. But even if they should, the managers must, from the mere necessity of fighting down competition, go on wasting money in new schemes. Just what we see now we may set down as the permanent policy of the company, and if the stockholders ever get any better dividends than they now receive, it will be only an occasional distribution of scrip. This expedient of "watering their stock" is a favorite one with the managers of the monopoly, and has been repeatedly resorted to by them. They never pay a large cash dividend, notwithstanding all that is said about the enormous business done by their line.

Now, either the road does not make an adequate profit in the trade, because it is done cheaply on New York account, to prevent it going on other lines, or else the money is wasted in unprofitable investments in Western roads, legislative corruption, etc. If this is not so, let us ask the company what becomes of the money? This is a question which thousands of stockholders in the company would like to have answered. We point our readers to this comparatively small dividend as affording the best possible evidence of all that we have been saying heretofore respecting the incapacity and absolute stupidity of the present managers of the road. They do not know how to make adequate profits on the working capital of their various lines; or if they make the money and do not pay proper dividends, they are wasting it, as we have said before, and therefore in either case their incapacity is established.

Our own belief is, then, that if a different management were in power in the company, such as would abandon the ruinous policy of attempting to monopolize the whole railroad business of Pennsylvania, and would give up railroad building to the projectors and advocates of new lines, and conduct its roads in the interest of its stockholders, the semi-annual dividends, instead of being five per cent., might easily reach fifteen per cent. It is therefore a question which appeals directly to the pocket of every stockholder of the company, and more especially to the city corporation, which is the greatest stockholder. Such a dividend as might be legitimately declared would naturally lessen the taxation of every citizen of Philadelphia. In this light it is a matter worthy of the attention of the City Councils, as well as of the tax-payers, and if we had Councils capable of lifting themselves above the reach of bribery or intimidation, we might with some degree of confidence depend upon their action.

of penology. Prison discipline is a practical art, and deserves careful study. The question is not how can we best keep a certain number of men locked up, chained—surrounded by bars and walls—and prevented from escaping. That is merely a vulgar problem in mathematics, and may be solved by reproducing the old bastille. Can we not so treat these criminals that they will forsake forever the path of crime? Can we not educate public opinion—up to the recognition of the manhood of man—so that when a poor sufferer falls by the wayside he is not to be thrown into a ditch like so much carrion? What can we expect of men who ask of their keepers "who is Jesus Christ, of whom we hear so much?" "Why," said a prison visitor to a profane convict, "why do you not have better thoughts?" "Better thoughts," was the forlorn response, "where shall I get them?" This question coming to us from the dungeon, from the heart of an outcast and felon, embraces the whole philosophy. The society in its narrow way is doing all it can to answer it. Let us do more.—*New York Tribune*.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

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Our own belief is, then, that if a different management were in power in the company, such as would abandon the ruinous policy of attempting to monopolize the whole railroad business of Pennsylvania, and would give up railroad building to the projectors and advocates of new lines, and conduct its roads in the interest of its stockholders, the semi-annual dividends, instead of being five per cent., might easily reach fifteen per cent. It is therefore a question which appeals directly to the pocket of every stockholder of the company, and more especially to the city corporation, which is the greatest stockholder. Such a dividend as might be legitimately declared would naturally lessen the taxation of every citizen of Philadelphia. In this light it is a matter worthy of the attention of the City Councils, as well as of the tax-payers, and if we had Councils capable of lifting themselves above the reach of bribery or intimidation, we might with some degree of confidence depend upon their action.

Since the commencement of the present controversy the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has spent not less than half a million of dollars in all sorts of discreditable ways in fighting down the competing line. Every dollar of this is taken from the fund available for dividends, and the stockholders now get five per cent. on this excuse. We allude to this now in order to show to our readers and the public that we are not hostile to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, but only to the men who are mismanaging it. We go farther and say the facts prove that the stockholders have really no better friends than ourselves, and that if they would only follow our advice and turn out the incapables from their managing body, they would get far better