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# The New Federal Administration

Thomas M. Cooley

*University of Michigan Law School*

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THE NEW FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER four months of feverish excitement and anxious and depressing expectancy, during which no one could anticipate what a day might bring forth, and the prophets of evil with general accord tuned their voices to disaster, the heart of the nation made a great leap for joy when President Hayes, on the steps of the Capitol, proclaimed his firm purpose to carry into practical operation the pledges contained in his letter of acceptance. The mists which hung over the political affairs of the nation at once disappeared, the depression gave way to cheerful confidence, and dangerous excitement was supplanted by general content, without even a momentary stage of uncertainty and doubt.

Why, during the long and anxious period which intervened between the election and the declaration of the result, should there have been any doubt whatever regarding the course which would be taken by Governor Hayes in the event of his being inducted into the Presidential office? As he had given formal assurances what his course would be before the people had tendered him their suffrages, why should not his fulfillment of the assurances have been looked upon as a matter of course, and relied upon with undoubting confidence?

The answer is to be sought, not in any distrust of the President's integrity, but in the inveterate corruption of American politics, and the firm control which party leaders had succeeded in obtaining of all the machinery of political action. The people had read with pleasure and satisfaction Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance, but

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though this was put forth as the chart by which he should be guided in his official action if he should be chosen, and it therefore constituted the proper and legitimate platform for the campaign; yet the managing men, the "shrewd wire-pullers," the "old war-horses," at once took charge of the campaign, laid a new platform of their own upon which they assumed to place their candidate, and conducted the canvass in all respects as if the principal nominee was a convenience they were necessarily making use of for the perpetuation of their own authority. Moreover, the control of the canvass passed at once into the hands of men who were prominently identified with one of the chief evils the letter of acceptance had promised to remove, and an ostentatious display seemed to be made of a fixed purpose to make Mr. Hayes owe his election to the very influences which, in that document, he had directly or by necessary implication condemned.

If, under these circumstances, the people asked themselves what reason they had to expect that after election the President would break loose from the influences which during the canvass had proved irresistible, and which seemed to have subordinated his pledges to a war-cry inconsistent with them, and brought to the front as more conspicuous figures than himself party leaders who specially represented a system he proposed to abolish, they were compelled to acknowledge that it seemed like hoping against hope. If they asked politicians what were the probabilities of his redeeming his pledges, the latter only smiled, and replied that practical men expected nothing of the kind, and Mr. Hayes would be too wise to attempt it. Theoretical men like Mr. Schurz might dream of some radical change in the civil service, but whoever attempted the overthrow of the existing system would have the Senate and the leading men of his party against him, and that meant that he would have the party as an organization against him; and what could any President do without a party? He must fail, as a matter of necessity; witness John Tyler and Andy Johnson. Grant was wiser, and he conformed his civil service reform to the ideas of Congress. So must Mr. Hayes do, for he was thoroughly practical. Such was the prevailing view among the politicians of both parties.

To refute these ideas the people had nothing but their confidence in a man of whom as yet they knew very little. They were therefore balancing their own hopes against the belief of those who during the preceding eight years had demonstrated their power to overcome all those influences in favor of reform which the new

President could expect to call to his aid. It therefore seemed more than probable that, if Mr. Hayes should make a faithful and vigorous attempt to redeem his pledges, he could only present to the country a living representation of such a struggle with fate as the artist of antiquity whose work has come down to us with such vividness in marble; he might perhaps prove

"A strong man struggling with the storms of fate,  
And greatly falling,"—

but fall he must, if he undertook to resist the influences which for twelve Presidential terms had possessed the public service, every term growing stronger, more pervading, and more inveterate.

But Mr. Hayes, to the astonishment of politicians and the delight of the country, repeated in his inaugural the pledge of his letter of acceptance, in terms so pronounced and unambiguous, that faint hope expanded into a confidence; and this required only the nomination, which speedily followed, of a cabinet known to favor his views, to ripen into certainty. He says:

"I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service—a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government, but a change in the system of appointment itself; a reform that shall be thorough, radical, and complete, a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government. They neither expected nor desired from public officers any partisan services. They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. They held that appointments to office were not to be made nor expected merely as rewards for partisan services, nor merely on the nomination of members of Congress as being entitled in any respect to the control of such appointments."

In this short paragraph is to be found indicated not only one of the principal evils now existing in our Government, but an evil by and for which others of a very disquieting and dangerous nature are fostered and kept alive. It therefore seems to us fitting that in endeavoring to forecast the general policy of Mr. Hayes and the particular measures likely to be adopted in advancing it, this reform should be brought to the front.

The country now expects and believes that Mr. Hayes will carry out this promised reform. He has called around him a body of advisers who are able and resolute, a majority of whom at least are

thoroughly in accord with his views, and are sufficiently versed in political strategy to encounter any other equal number of men in the country on equal terms. But the task he enters upon is one of great difficulty, and four years is a short time in which to accomplish it. The spoils system is a species of feudal tenure, of which the President is nominal head, the members of Congress the feudatory chiefs, and the other Federal officers the retainers of those chiefs, holding by a service the questioning of which, as in the case of military service, is a forfeiture of the estate. But the spoils feudatory differ from the military in this, that in a contest for the headship the estate of every inferior is at stake, and when the field is won, all are brought to punishment; neither pity for suffering, gratitude for faithful services to the state, considerations of policy or of justice, must be allowed to plead for one of them; their places were the prizes for which the contending forces fought, and to the victors they belong. A Tudor might strengthen his government by general pardon to those who had fought against him, but for opposition to the successful candidate for President there can be no forgiveness. It is the one deadly sin, by the side of which official delinquencies and personal corruption are venial.

Fine words and high-sounding phrases will not reach this evil; declamation respecting it will be thrown away, whether it comes from President or platform lecturer, or from Fourth-of-July orator. The men who profit by it are the men who control the machinery of Government, and to preach reform to them would be like Wolsey preaching temperance and policy to Henry VIII. To bring the Government back to the constitutional principles which the spoils system has displaced requires counteracting measures, boldly planned and fearlessly and persistently conducted. Men do not willingly resign power, especially when it carries with it personal consideration and profit for themselves or their dependents, and the men who now wield the power have ruled too long and too absolutely to yield to pressure without resistance.

1. The first and most obvious measure of reform is for the President as representative of the people, and head of the Government, to break the bonds of feudal subjection, and ignore and repudiate utterly all proprietorship of members of Congress in subordinate offices. This is the first requisite to a practical recognition of the fact that officers are the agents of the people, and owe faithful service to the Government, and not to this or that influential man who has named them for appointment. So long as this officer is Mr. Senator's

man, and that officer Mr. Representative's, it is vain to expect that either of them will perform faithful service to the country. Personal interest must always influence more or less the action of individuals, and while members of Congress are at liberty to withdraw the attention of officers from their official duties in aid of their own political fortunes, and so long as the incumbents understand that they owe their positions to the continued favor of the members, it is vain to expect that those who may select will do so with exclusive regard to the public interest, or that those selected will put aside other considerations and devote their attention to public duty. It is equally idle to expect that in those branches of the public service where the number of officials may be variable it will be limited to the actual demands of the public necessity; for when appointments are made in the interest of individuals—and those the law-makers—it is not the smallest number that is desired and that will be provided for, but the largest number for which an excuse can be framed. The present system therefore is vicious, not only because it subordinates the public interests to the interests of individuals in the case of necessary officers, but because it tends to multiply places to be filled at the public expense, which are made necessary only because officials are expected and are required to give that time and attention to the service of individuals, which duty requires they should give to the public.

2. The second step in substantial reform is the establishment of the principle, that tenure in non-political offices filled by appointment is held by no other favor than such as shall come from fitness, and be retained by a faithful discharge of duty; that officers are to serve the Government, which is the same to-day and forever, and not any party or individual which may be voted in or out as the public favor may change. This will relieve the officers from the necessity of getting out the voters to caucuses, managing the conventions, writing leaders for political organs, and, generally, from doing any thing degrading in itself, or that shall prevent them from minding their official business. And to enable the President to hold them to due accountability in that, the Tenure of Office Act ought to be repealed. That act was a nice arrangement to enable Senators, as between themselves and the members of the other House, to control the lion's share of the appointments; but it is destructive of responsibility, especially if the Senate happen at any time not to be in accord with the President. A divided responsibility for the action of subordinates is little better than none at all.

When claims for political services shall be repudiated, it will follow as of course that some other standard of selection for official position will be chosen. It will not, we take it, be relationship to the President, or favors to him or his family; for when the idea that those who control appointments have some sort of property in them is overthrown, the President can no more appoint on personal considerations than the members of Congress can recommend for like reasons. Fitness for the discharge of the duties can alone be the standard; and while we do not believe this can be determined by the Chinese sort of competitive examination, an inquiry that shall satisfactorily determine the personal fitness for the position will be a matter of course.

3. When Congressional control of offices is broken up, the people expect of Mr. Hayes that he will ignore the party and act for the country at large. We do not mean by this that he will ignore the principles of the party, so far as there are any which are distinctive, or that he will neglect on proper occasion to give his influence, official as well as personal, in their favor. This is implied in an election on a party platform. But the President no more than the Congressman is at liberty to select men for offices because of their ability to serve him or his party in office, nor to desire, expect, or permit such service after their appointment. The distinction between the Government in its official action, and party leaders in their action as such, ought under all circumstances to be kept clear and well marked. If the President recognizes this, we shall have no more running of campaigns by the Administration; and the race of official tramps who have lived on the plunder of the South, while having no interest in common with her people, and no permanent abode among them, will disappear from the face of the earth. When they disappear, one of the chief obstacles to the pacification of the country will disappear also. In saying this, we cast no imputations upon the many worthy citizens from the North who have emigrated to, and become citizens in good faith in, Southern States. This was their rightful privilege, and is a subject for commendation instead of reproach. They have given their labor, their ability, and their means to the restoration of the South in its material interests, and have thus rendered a service to the South and to the nation.

4. The country expects the new Administration to lead the people back into the ways of peace. The most dangerous precedent ever put before the people of this country was the setting up of Mr.

Kellogg's government by military force. Whether Mr. Kellogg was elected or not, there was never a shadow of authority for this action; for the midnight order of Judge Durell was as bald in its usurpation as though it had been the act of the military officer himself. But from that time to the inauguration of Mr. Hayes, the spectacle of military power as a force in civil affairs has been exhibited with such frequency, that it has almost ceased to be exceptional, and the alarming fact is manifest, that a considerable proportion of the people, and especially of the freedmen, have come to look upon it as perfectly legitimate. Is this the way to educate the freedmen to govern themselves? And how long could one party continue the use of the military as a means of influencing political results, before a conviction would pervade the other that resistance by military force was equally admissible?

There is a vague notion in the minds of many people, that when conflicting claims exist to State government, it is the duty of the Federal Administration to "recognize" one or the other of the claimants, and then to settle the controversy by a practical enforcement of this recognition. It is highly probable that General Grant, whose sole training was military, honestly held this view. No authority can be found for it in the Federal Constitution. Every State is supposed capable of settling its own disputes, and it is only when an attempt is made to set aside republican government, or when an existing authority calls for aid against domestic violence, that the Federal Government is at liberty to interfere. One State may settle a disputed governorship in the courts, another in the legislature, and whether settled rightly or wrongly is the concern only of its own people. If in another State no provision whatever is made for a legal settlement, the settlement by passive acquiescence of the people is still open. It is their affair, not the affair of the President or of Congress, and the governors of the adjoining States would no more invade a jurisdiction not belonging to them, by leading their militia in to settle the dispute, than would the President by sending in the general of the army. The expression of his opinion, or that of his Attorney-General, on the disputed right to a State office is an impertinence; if his official duties require of him communication with State officers, and there be *de facto* such an officer, his duty is to recognize him; if the office is in dispute, State action in some form must settle it, and the President must accept the settlement. The idea that the President may settle such disputes savors of imperialism. It can find no support



in the decisions of the Federal Supreme Court, which have distinctly shown, what the Constitution itself makes clear enough, that the sphere of either Federal or State Governments can not be entered by the official action of the other without usurpation. The country expects Mr. Hayes to keep carefully within the line of constitutional authority.

5. The new Administration promises the pacification of the country. It has already been intimated that a great step will be taken in that direction when the civil service is reformed. Not a sensible person in the nation doubts that the animosities between the whites and blacks in the Southern States have been largely fostered by interested schemers, who cared only for individual success, and who expected to reap it by keeping alive and intensifying race distinctions. It is not at all important to our present argument whether these persons [were or were not most largely from one of the parties; it might have been one way in one State or locality, and the other way in another. The main fact was, that the public offices were party and individual prizes, and for these unscrupulous men did whatever promised success. The successful man was likely to be hated by a large portion of his fellow-citizens, from a belief that his office had been acquired by some other means than an appeal to reason; and if he proved to be a dishonest man, as too many unfortunately have, the existence of bitter partisan feeling would operate with him as a standing encouragement to official corruption, knowing, as he would, that under all circumstances his own party associates would rush instinctively to his defense when he should be assailed. Another necessary step in pacification has been indicated in saying that the employment of the military in civil affairs should now, once and forever, cease. Not more certainly would a bullet in the living human system, occasionally turned and moved with the probe, be a source of irritation and at last of corruption and death, than would a military force occasionally employed in civil affairs breed like irritation, corruption, and death in the body politic. That the military must be subordinate to the civil power is one of the first maxims of constitutional government; it should be brought to the front only as a matter of necessity, as a last resort, and then only for the protection of government, not as a means of influencing the ordinary political action. For ordinary purposes it is supposed the usual administrative and ministerial officers are sufficient, and the use of

the military ought to be so rare as to be regarded as evidence that extraordinary dangers exist or are threatened.

The further steps necessary in the pacification of the Southern States are, the exhibition of a steady purpose to repress disorders, by whomsoever committed, and the practical recognition of the principle that the law knows no distinctions between citizens, and will recognize all as having equal claims to protection and consideration. No class or race of men should be recognized as the peculiar friends of the Government, no class as its enemies; for so long as the one class are treated as wards of the Government, and the other as aliens, there will neither be harmony of feeling and interest between them, nor can the class that is treated as dependent acquire that feeling of self-reliance and self-respect that is necessary to render it a safe depository of political power.

The idea has prevailed in some quarters for several years, that we should help a people, never before in the water, to swim, by holding them while they went through the motions, and it is assumed by some that it is our duty to do this indefinitely, until they are as skillful as another people who have practiced independently all a lifetime. But there is nothing in the theory of our government which admits of this, nor would it be advisable to act upon it if there were. When we put the ballot into the hands of the slave, we knew perfectly well that he must necessarily labor under some disadvantages; he had not the knowledge, the experience, the self-assertion of his late master, and he would consequently not possess a weight as a political force which the master possessed. But to undertake to supply these qualities by law was not only foolish in itself, but it required an invidious exercise of power, a leaning against the late master in the action of the Government which could not be justified on principle. It was bad for the freedman, for instead of teaching him self-reliance—the first requisite of independent and self-protective action—it made and has continued him a mere pawn in the hands of political gamblers. “Let justice be done though the heavens fall;” but under the protection of equal laws the freedman must of necessity work out his own destiny. For twelve years now the two sections of the country have been vigorously shaking fists at each other “across the bloody chasm;” the time has now arrived when, under the leadership of the President, we should take up in good faith “a vigorous prosecution of peace.” Let us once for all retire the “war-horses.” We employ these words in no invidious sense. Some of the men who have been proud to be called such,

have heretofore performed most valuable service, and may do so again hereafter; but the echoes of a war long since over ought no more to be repeated for partisan purposes, and the orator on either side the late dividing line whose policy consists in firing the heart of the people on the issues of the war, and in summoning them to rally at elections with their old comrades in arms, ought at last quietly and peaceably to give way to those who are pervaded with the spirit of the President's inaugural.

6. It may be thought to be the duty of the new Administration to devise and secure the adoption of some scheme, by constitutional amendment or otherwise, to save the country from the danger of great calamity when future Presidential elections shall take place. There are schemes in abundance at the present time for reform in the method of choosing the President, but the general subject is too broad to be here treated; nor do we consider that the Administration, as such, can have that subject specially in charge. Indirectly it may have very much to do with it. *Delenda est Carthago.* Destroy the evils in the civil service and most of the dangers attending the Presidential election will disappear utterly. Leave the civil service as it is, and the schemes as yet proposed are mere mockeries. Dispensing with the electoral boards is only doing away with a form; confining the President to one term does not reach the evils at all; extending the term to six or eight years only intensifies the evils, as it makes the prize of success greater, and lengthens the time for official ostracism of the defeated party.

The best preparation for a safe future is the cultivation of ideas of fairness and integrity, and of such views of public affairs as lead in the direction of statesmanship. What we have been cultivating, for many years are ideas of trickery, dishonesty, and low partisanship. We elect a member of Congress by using a navy-yard to overpower a hostile majority, we make returning boards of unscrupulous men, and the saying, "Vote early and often," is a standing joke in our large cities, and implies the expectation of trickery and its toleration if it helps our side. Tweed was a natural product of this sort of thing; the country that proposed to punish him was his educator. We put upon the stump every two or four years many thousand young men, just arrived at manhood, to address their fellow-citizens, and for what? To instruct them in the principles of constitutional government? No, for of these the speakers themselves are likely to know little or nothing. The majority of them may be assumed to be unacquainted with the history of their race,

and know nothing of the principles worked out in the civil wars of England, through which our liberties have come. They know something of our own Revolution, and have a vague idea that King George was a tyrant from whose slavery we escaped to be a great and free people, while the mother country ignobly preferred to forego the blessed privilege of liberty. But what they know for certain is that "eternal vigilance is the price" of a great many offices, and that if they work faithfully and vigorously under the direction of their managing leaders they may hope to have a share in the distribution of the spoils of success. And what a sharing that is! It is like soldiers plundering the commissariat after a battle, and breaking open the barrels of strong liquors; one indulgence unfits them for duty, and they become an easy prey to whatever may assail them. One taste of office, to be held by a tenure uncertain in point of time, and certain only in the services required of the incumbent which in no way belong to it, has unfitted for business many a promising young man, and made him one of the innumerable army of office-seekers, forever reaching towards the public treasury, and crying, "Give! give!" and forever having no business of their own from the cultivation of which industry may reap a due reward.

7. The President promises an early resumption of specie payments. It has been his happy fortune to be the leader in the chief State battle against the inflationists, and the sincerity of his pledge will not be doubted. He will not play fast and loose with the question, as has sometimes been done heretofore, but his financial measures will look steadily to the end promised. We speak with confidence, because on this subject he has a record.

8. The President does not in terms promise that the legislation of the country shall no longer be shaped to favor particular interests or private schemes, but it is implied in any vigorous movement for reform that this shall be brought to a conclusion. While the necessity for heavy taxes remains, there can be no reasonable complaint if, in arranging the customs duties, regard is had to their effect upon different branches of home industry; but the cry of protection to home industry oftens means only the favoring of one industry at the expense of all others, and sometimes means the giving to an industry, which needs no protection at all, an enormous bounty levied upon the community at large. And meantime, while industry preys upon industry at home, the ocean remains a stranger to the American flag, and the importer under foreign flags finds our

custom laws so complicated, and often so open to two constructions, that in sales he must charge a considerable percentage, to cover the risks he runs from differences in opinion between himself and the officials, or from spies and informers. Tax laws, above all others, ought to be clear and simple, and the standards of apportionment they name ought to be such as are of easy and invariable application; so that one in his business may know exactly what he may depend upon, and make his calculations accordingly.

A prolific source of corruption in our politics has been the grant of subsidies. These have done very much to support a lobby, and it has come to be understood that corrupt influences in their passage are a matter of course. Oakes Ames went down to his grave with the feeling that he had been greatly wronged and abused because, in obtaining a grant for a great public improvement, he had secured necessary votes by making it the interest of members of Congress to give them. In the minds of the nation he was half excused by the feeling that he merely did, and was detected in, what was commonly done without detection. In some form or other the grants are always jobs; in other words, what they have in view is to subserve private rather than public interests. With few exceptions, the public, in the case of land grants to railroads, have failed to receive the promised benefits: either the construction of the acts has defrauded them, as in the case of the Pacific roads, or the lands have been so managed that individuals have substantially monopolized them; and when they have been honestly applied to the construction of roads, the result has been that roads have been pushed into the wilderness in advance of any sufficient need; and we have as a consequence defaulting roads, bond creditors complaining of swindles which may, after all, be only the inevitable disappointment of foolish expectations; and at last we have crippled lines managed by receivers. We must protest against any more crowding of the realization of our "manifest destiny" into a single century. With abundance of unoccupied lands in the very midst of civilization, and in the vicinity of schools and churches, we wrong nobody by waiting a natural development of the country; and if perchance some portion of the rich forests of the West shall be left unhacked for coming generations, the nation will not be the poorer. It is sometimes as wise statesmanship to "husband our resources" as to "develop our resources;" and the lumbermen of Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin are beginning to understand that it is not always best to realize immediately the golden egg. What if on the public

domain homesteads shall be preserved which the poor of another generation may enter ; shall we, who owe so much to our ancestors, mourn over our failure to put what might constitute a rich inheritance to our children into the hands of railroad projectors in our own lifetime ?

9. What the President says of our foreign relations in his inaugural is in the right direction. He proposes to deal fairly, and avoid wars by arbitration. That, we take it, is merely an indication of a general purpose to deal in our intercourse with other nations as becomes a great and just people. As we are now fairly beyond the danger of unjust assaults by other nations, we have all the more to fear from our own arrogance and the restless ambition of demagogues. We have so fostered and fed our national vanity that it seems ready to accept, as fact, the common boast that the whole boundless continent and the islands of the sea are our heritage ; and the suggestion to take what we can, seems more welcome to some classes than the caution to consider and reflect whether it is worth taking. In the natural development of our domestic policy, and the necessary arrangements of internal strife, the ballot has been placed in the hands of millions who wield it with very imperfect conception of its worth or of the institutions to which it pertains. The evils of the civil service are immensely increased by this fact ; it is a danger in itself, and it has a multiplying power upon other dangers. Foreign controversies are a treacherous school for imperfectly trained citizens, and the suggestion of interference in foreign affairs is always hazardous when it is made in the direction to which prejudices tend, or when it might lead to results flattering to our vanity. At present our institutions rest, in part at least, on shifting sands, and the lust of dominion, if gratified, can only extend further the like unstable foundations. This Administration, we trust and believe, will be too wise to crave territorial acquisition, or to undertake to solve for other peoples the problem of their destinies. We have quite enough to do in managing wisely and safely the territory we now control, and our own destiny is as yet enough of a problem to demand from our rulers the exercise of the highest intelligence and virtue.

We believe Mr. Hayes will send abroad, and Mr. Evarts will advise the sending, of no one of whom the country will be ashamed, because of his lack of ability, attainments, courteous bearing, or character. If in the past there has been much that was undignified and discreditable in our foreign relations, let the dead past bury

its dead ; but in the full maturity of our strength and confidence we ought to be above any thing but the most careful and courteous regard for the rights of others, and should desire to exact nothing we would refuse to yield. The pillars of justice are the support of the State ; and whether they are dispensed with in foreign or internal affairs, sooner or later mischiefs must follow. The nation has never had an abler or more accomplished Secretary of State, and it is not in his nature to be pleased with swagger or bullying, whether exhibited by individuals at home or in the name of the nation abroad. And both the President and his Secretary know so well how easy it is for the best intentioned to differ honestly, that they are not likely to magnify little differences into great difficulties by needless or unreasonable pertinacity, or to insist upon all concessions being made by the other party. If we interpret correctly the best sentiment of the American people, the time has gone by in which popularity at home can be acquired by fostering animosities against foreign nations, and the number of those who are "in favor of the next war" is sufficiently small to be ignored even by the demagogue. But Mr. Evarts has none of the instincts of the demagogue ; he has known him only to despise him, and the two in political affairs have always stood over against each other.

10. We were about to say that this Administration was looked to for reform in our Indian policy. But what is our Indian policy ? Beyond the fact that an annual crop of scandals grows out of the administration of Indian affairs, that they constitute a great drain upon the national treasury, and that forever there are hostilities existing or threatened in some quarter, the country knows but little of any policy. Rum and religion are regularly dealt out to the Indian under licenses from the Government ; arms are sold to him, and he uses them in the massacre of our people when wars occur. These wars, we know, are sometimes due to our own disregard of treaty obligations ; and sometimes, probably, they are owing to the unappeasable savagery of the Indian nature. The messengers of the Great Father have a talk with the big chiefs occasionally, and smoke the pipe of peace with them, and bury the hatchet, but when these little ceremonies have ended, it generally appears that some one has been cheated, and there are wars and rumors of wars again.

The frontiersman believes the Indian an irreclaimable wild beast ; and this belief has much to do with the difficulties in keeping with him our national faith. If we were at liberty to accept

this notion, we might be justified in a general extermination; for the earth was given to man to be replenished and subdued, not to be kept for the propagation of beasts of prey. But the nation does not and can not accept it; it assumes that the Indian is susceptible of civilization, and its measures in dealing with him purport to have that end in view. Up to this time those measures, with the Indians of the plains, at least, and of the Northwest, have accomplished nothing. We have paid them large sums in subsidies and for lands, we have given them blankets and guns which they have used and agricultural implements which they have not used, we have built school-houses and forts; but the general result has been, we have spent an immense amount of money, and lost thousands of lives, and the Indian is as savage as ever.

The problem here, also, is in some measure connected with that of the reform of the civil service, for many of the abuses of that service must be encountered. The Indian ring is a recognized power in the land, and far more a real power than some of the bands of savages which we have been in the practice of dealing with as "nations." But Mr. Schurz and Mr. M'Crary, we take it, will not regard the Indian problem as one they must abandon in despair. Mr. Schurz, in particular, has studied human nature with the mind of a philosopher under circumstances infinite in variety, and we have a right to expect from him some intelligent efforts in the direction of a policy that will reach the capabilities of civilization if the Indian possesses them. Our belief is, that this will require less dealing with tribes or bands, and more dealing with individual Indians; and that whatever tends to keep up the tribal organization, tends also to perpetuate their savage propensities, and such habits as are antagonistic to settled or civilized life. And we should say, also, that any satisfactory and successful policy must of necessity embrace the concentration of responsible control of Indian affairs in one department of the Government, and considerable improvement in the character of the average Indian trader and Indian agent.

We have thus endeavored to indicate some of the prominent difficulties which the new Administration is to encounter, and what the country is looking for in the way of their settlement. It is a great opportunity which is now presented to Mr. Hayes; nothing less than to break the bonds of that servitude to party which has cursed the country for nearly fifty years, and to remand party to its proper subordination under the Government which of late it has so remorselessly and recklessly abused and controlled.