

**GEORGE BERNARD SHAW**

Taken in 1905

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

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## THE CAREER OF BERNARD SHAW.

BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D.

THAT modern Samuel Johnson, the late Benjamin Jowett, once spoke of Benjamin Disraeli as "a combination of the Arch-Priest of Humbug and a great man." Not otherwise has Bernard Shaw been freely characterized in this day and generation. The world-famed American showman, P. T. Barnum, built up a fortune upon the sweet and simple faith that the American people love to be "humbugged." In the minds of many, Bernard Shaw bids fair to become a world-author through the possession of a similar faith: that not America alone, but the whole world loves to be humbugged. No small part of his stock in trade seems to consist, in Shakespearean phrase, in making himself "a motley to the view." Interrogated once as to the reason for his eccentric conduct, Charles Baudelaire complacently replied, "*Pour étonner les sôts.*" Were Bernard Shaw challenged for the reason for his eccentricity, he would doubtless reply, "To astonish the wise." In a very literal sense does he subscribe to the Shakespearean view: "All the world's a stage, and men and women only players." In this day of gaudy theatricism, of sedulous advertisement and per-

sistent self-puffery, Bernard Shaw has deliberately chosen to stand in the limelight, to occupy the focus of the stage of the world. "In England as elsewhere the spontaneous recognition of really original work begins with a mere handful of people," he once said, "and propagates itself so slowly that it has become a commonplace to say that genius, demanding bread, is given a stone after its possessor's death. The remedy for this is sedulous advertisement. Accordingly, I have advertised myself so well that I find myself, while still in middle life, almost as legendary a person as the Flying Dutchman."

If one stops to consider for a moment, he will recall that life has its realities behind its shows. The khaki suit and green tie of Bernard Shaw is as indicative of the man and of his philosophy as was the blue flower of Novalis, the scarlet waistcoat of Gautier, the monocle of Whistler, and the sunflower of Oscar Wilde. Whoever would write the natural history of a literary phenomenon like Bernard Shaw must first disabuse his mind of the popular fantastic notions in regard to his life and personality. The

legend of Saint Bernard fades into thin air before the plain recital of the prosaic details of the life of Mr. Shaw. The year 1856, which witnessed the demise of the "first man of his century," Heinrich Heine, likewise witnessed the birth of the "laughing Ibsen," Bernard Shaw, in Dublin, Ireland, on July 26th. Cursed with an impecunious father, he was early apprenticed to a land agent in Dublin to learn the meaning of thrift. Blessed with a mother of rare talent for music, he unconsciously acquired a knowledge and appreciation of music which was to play no insignificant rôle in his later life. Revolted by the social pretensions and prejudices of his family, who "revolved impecuniously in a sort of vague second-cousinship round a baronetcy," he soon became animated with a Carlylean contempt for respectability, in its thousand gigs. He boasts of the fact that as a schoolboy he was incorrigibly idle and worthless, since the training of four schools he successively attended did him a great deal of harm and no good whatever. But it must not be supposed that his youthful years were barren in educative influence. Parrot-like, he would whistle the oratorios and operatic scores he heard repeatedly practiced at home by the musical society of which his mother was a leading figure—much as the street-gamin of to-day whistles the latest piece of rag-time music. Before he was fifteen, according to his own confession, he knew at least one important work by Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi and Gounod, from cover to cover. For hours at a time, the young lad of fifteen used to frequent the deserted halls of the National Gallery of Ireland; with his "spare change" he bought the volumes of the Bohn translation of Vasari, and learned to recognize the works of a considerable number of Italian and Flemish painters.

It was the mature conviction of his later years that all the people he knew as a boy in Ireland were the worse for what they called their religion. On hearing the

American evangelists, Moody and Sankey, the young sixteen-year-old Shaw was driven to protest in *Public Opinion*—his first appearance in print—that if this were Religion, then he must be an Atheist. Indeed, as he said a few years ago, "If religion is that which binds men to one another, and irreligion that which sunders, then must I testify that I found the religion of my country in its musical genius and its irreligion in its churches and drawing-rooms."

Unlike his colleagues in dramatic criticism of later years, William Archer and Arthur Bingham Walkley, graduates of Edinburgh and Oxford respectively, Bernard Shaw despised, half ignorantly, half penetratingly, the thought of a university education, for it seemed to him to turn out men who all thought alike and were snobs.

He went into the land office, where he learned how to collect rents and to write a good hand. But although he retained his place solely for the sake of financial independence, his heart and brain were a thousand miles away. Finally his work grew unbearably irksome to him, and in the year 1876 he deliberately walked out of the land office forever. Shortly afterwards, he joined his mother in London—the future theater for the display of his unequal, if brilliant and versatile genius.

During the following nine years, from 1876 to 1885, Shaw turned his hand with only indifferent success to many undertakings. It was not simply a crime, it was a blunder to have been an Irishman—and consequently an alien to everything genuinely English. Shaw's unembarrassed frankness passed for outrageous prevarication, his cleverest jest for the most solemn earnest. Like Oscar Wilde, he learned the crippling disadvantage of being an Irishman of superior mentality, ever trifling in a world of ideas. Whatever he did met with failure; his lightest *ballons d'essai* were as unwelcome to the English public as were his heaviest efforts at blank verse, at criticism of music, at journalistic hack work. Through his

acquaintance with Chichister Bell, of the family of that name, so celebrated for scientific invention and notable research, he became interested in physics and acquainted with the works of Tyndall and Helmholtz. He even worked for a time with a company formed in London to exploit an invention of the great American inventor, Thomas A. Edison. After various attempts, of which this was the last, to assist his parents by endeavoring to earn an honest living for himself, he finally gave up trying, he confesses, to commit this sin against his nature. It is true that his life was not without its diversions; for his talent as a congenial accompanist on the piano assured his *entrée* into a certain desirable circle of musical society in London; and the great library at Bloomsbury and the priceless picture galleries at Trafalgar Square and Hampton Court, certainly, were not lacking in a hospitality of which he gladly availed himself.

During the five years, from 1879 to 1884 inclusive, he devoted his energies ruthlessly to the production of five novels, one of them never published, which were to lead, if not to the immediate establishment of literary position, certainly to the formation of valuable friendships and acquaintanceships of lifelong standing. Again and again he sent forth his manuscripts; but they were invariably returned by the publishers. His iconoclasm, his freedom of thought and expression, his Ibsenic frankness in dealing with the gray, garish aspects of contemporary life, were in inverse ratio to the requirements of the conservative, unprogressive London publishers. Unwilling to sacrifice his art, resolved "to paint man man, whatever the issue," and determined not to disavow the principles at which he had arrived, he accepted the alternative—the temporary failure of his novels.

To the Socialist revival of the 'eighties, the world owes the credit for the discovery of Bernard Shaw. In 1879, Shaw first met the late James Lecky, and acquired the grounding in Temperament,



Photo. by The Gainsborough Studio, London.

#### ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

the fondness for Phonetics, and the early incentive to public speaking which have borne such abundant fruit in his later career. Through Lecky's influence, Shaw joined, and became a constant debater in, the Zeletical Society, a debating club modeled on the once famed Dialectical Society. Here Shaw first met Sidney Webb, that able Socialist economist, and soon became his close friend and co-worker. Shaw subsequently joined the Dialectical Society and remained faithful to it for a number of years. From this time on, he evinced the greatest interest in public speaking, and persistently haunted public meetings of all sorts. One night, in 1883, he wandered into the Memorial Hall in Farringdon street; by chance the speaker was the great Single-Taxer, Henry George. For the first time did the importance of the economic basis

dawn upon Shaw's mind. He left the meeting a changed man; and soon was devouring George's *Progress and Poverty* and Marx's *Das Kapital* with all the ardor of youth and burning social enthusiasm. While Shaw refused to subscribe to all the economic theories of Marx, and later victoriously refuted him on the question of the Theory of Value, he realized the overwhelming validity of the "bible of the working classes" as a jeremiad against the *bourgeoisie*. During these days, he spoke early and often, at the street-corner, on the curbstone, from the tail of a cart. He once said that he first caught the ear of the British public on a cart-in Hyde Park, to the blaring of brass bands!

In practical conjunction with Sidney Webb, Graham Wallas and Sidney Olivier, although they actually joined at different times, Shaw became a member of the Fabian Society after it had been in existence only a short time. His connection with that society is a matter of history, and finds tangible evidence to-day, not only in books and pamphlets, but also in the actual Socialist and Labor representation in the present British Parliament. Suffice it to say that, from the very first, his influence made itself most strongly felt upon the society, and for many years he has been the guiding spirit in its councils. Through the establishment of certain Socialist journals during the 'eighties, Shaw's novels began to find their way into print. *An Unsocial Socialist* and *Cashel Byron's Profession* appeared in *To-Day*, printed by Henry Hyde Champion, later by Belfort Bax and James Leigh Joynes, among others; *The Irrational Knot* and *Love Among the Artists* appeared in *Our Corner*, published by the brilliant orator and Socialist agitator, Mrs. Annie Besant. They made no impression upon the British public, but greatly pleased such men as William Archer, William Morris, Robert Louis Stevenson, and William E. Henley, who gave either public or personal expressions of their appreciation. From time to time

in the last fifteen years they have been published in both England and America, with varying, but in general, with unusual success in this day of infinitesimally short-lived "successes."

From 1883 on, Shaw was daily coming in contact with the brilliant spirits of the younger generation in Socialism, and with the leaders in thought and opinion on the side of vegetarianism, humanitarianism and land nationalization. There were James Leigh Joynes, who had been arrested in Ireland with Henry George; Sidney Olivier, afterwards a distinguished author and now Governor of Jamaica; Henry Hyde Champion, the well-known Socialist; Henry Salt, an Eton master, married to Joynes' sister; and Edward Carpenter, the greatest living disciple of Walt. Whitman. After joining the Fabian Society, his constant associates were Hubert Bland, Graham Wallas, Sidney Olivier, and Sidney Webb; and through his Socialist activities he became a friend of William Morris, who was never a Fabian, but who maintained an attitude of the broadest tolerance toward all the Socialist sects. In their early days the Fabians were as insurrectionary in principle as the other Socialist bodies in London; not until the election of 1885 did the line of cleavage between the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation first clearly appear. At this time, the Fabian Society openly denounced the conduct of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation in accepting money from the Tory party in payment of the election expenses of Socialist candidates as calculated to disgrace the Socialist movement in England. In the following two years, the Fabian Society took little or no part in the organization of insurrectionary projects in London; and finally, after many debates with that section of the Socialist League known as Anti-Communist, headed by Joseph Lane and William Morris, definitely discountenanced Kropotkinism among its members. Indeed, they finally demolished Anarchism in the abstract

“by grinding it between human nature and the theory of economic rent.”

When Shaw first joined the Zeletical Society, he was the poorest of debaters; but he possessed the nerve to make a fool of himself. He practiced platform oratory incessantly, haunted hole-and-corner debates of all sorts, and seized every opportunity to make himself proficient in the art of public exposition of his views. He joined the Hampstead Historic Club, and there learned the theories of Marx through the necessity of elucidating them for his colleagues. He was one of a private circle of economists, which afterwards developed into the British Economic Association; at these meetings the social question was ignored, and the discussions were conducted solely on an economic basis. In this way Shaw became thoroughly grounded in economic theory; and in this way also, he learned supremely well the art of public speaking. As a speaker, Shaw far excelled William Morris; lacking the genius for oratory of a Charles Bradlaugh or an Annie Besant, he yet combined the imperturbability of a Sidney Webb with the wit of an Oscar Wilde. Ever on the alert, he is keen, incisive, and facile as a public speaker; he has every faculty about him when he mounts the platform. He combines the devastating wit of the Irishman with the penetrating logic of the Frenchman. He gave hundreds of lectures and addresses, and frequently debated in public in London and the provinces, for many years; and always at his own expense—for the Cause. His speech is always a challenge; he is never so happy as when the *popularis aura* is against him. “Call me disagreeable, only call me something,” he vigorously clamors; “for then I have roused you from the stupid torpor and made you think a new thought!”

In principle and in practice, Shaw is a strictly constitutional Socialist; he has no faith in revolutionary measures, save as the very last resort against direct tyranny. Inspired by Philip Wicksteed’s attack on Marx’s Theory of Value, Shaw



Photo. by Ellis & Walery, London.

YORKE STEPHENS,

Who created the rôle of Captain Bluntschli in “Arms and the Man.” Avenue Theater, London, April 21, 1894.

devoted a great deal of time to the study of the economic theories of the late Stanley Jevons; and with the aid of the Jevonian machinery ultimately succeeded in putting the Marxists to utter confusion on the question of Marx’s value-theory.

Furthermore, he denied the existence of what is called the war of classes; he did everything possible to reduce Socialism to an intellectual rather than an emotional basis, to envisage it as a product of economic factors rather than of insurrection-

ism. His position is admirably summed up in the following passage:

"The Fabian declares quite simply that there is no revolution, that there exists no war of classes, that the salaried workers are far more imbued with conventions and prejudices and more *bourgeois* than the middle class itself; that there is not a single legal power democratically constituted, without excepting the House of Commons, which would be much more progressive were it not restrained by the

fear of the popular vote; that Karl Marx is no more infallible than Aristotle or Bacon, Ricardo or Buckle, and that, like them, he has committed errors now obvious to the casual student of economics; that a declared Socialist is, morally, neither better nor worse than a liberal or a conservative, nor a workman than a capitalist; that the workman can change the actual governmental system if he so desires, while the capitalist cannot do so, because the workman would not

permit him; that it is an absurd contradiction in terms to declare that the working classes are starved, impoverished and kept in ignorance by a system which loads the capitalist with food, education, and refinements of all sorts, and at the same time to pretend that the capitalist is a scoundrel harsh and sordid in spirit while the workman is a high-minded, enlightened and magnanimous philanthropist; that Socialism will eventuate in the gradual establishment of public rule and a public administration set into effective action by parliaments, assemblies, municipalities and common councils; and that none of these rules will lead to revolution nor occupy more place in the political program of the time than a law for the regulation of manufactures or the ballot



MME. MARIE SAVINA,

Russia's greatest actress. She created the rôle of Kitty Warren in "Mrs. Warren's Profession." The Imperial Theater, St. Petersburg, December 13, 1907.

would do now: in a word, that the part of the Socialist will be a definitely fixed political labor, to struggle not against the malevolent machinations of the capitalist, but against the stupidity, narrowness, in a word, the idiocy (in giving to the word its precise and original sense) of all classes, and particularly of the class which actually suffers most from the existing system.”\*

Bernard Shaw resumed his literary labors rather late in the 'eighties, and has been diligent as a man of letters ever since. Indeed, his career is an unusually checkered one, since he has, at one time or another, dipped into almost every phase of authorship. For a time, through the kind offices of Mr. William Archer, Shaw was enabled to write criticisms of books and pictures in *The World*; and at times also he wrote for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Truth*. In 1888, Shaw joined the editorial staff of *The Star* on the second day of its existence; but his Socialist utterances so alarmed the editor, the brilliant wit, T. P. O'Connor, that Shaw was given a column to fill with comments on current music—a subject harmless from the political point of view, at least. Here Shaw gave free vent to his eccentricity, and the paper fairly blazed with his jests and *hardiesses*, his follies and foibles, his quips and cranks. Dissembling his wide knowledge of music, especially modern music, by means of an air of irresponsible levity and outrageous flippancy, he gave no ground for suspicion of the existence in these delightful sallies of a solid substratum of genuine criticism. As “Corno di Bassetto,” he vied with his colleague, A. B. Walkley, the dramatic critic for *The Star*, in furnishing rare entertainment for the readers of that first of London half-penny papers.

When Louis Engel resigned his position as musical critic on the staff of *The World*, the post fittingly fell to Bernard Shaw, who for long had slowly been saturating himself in the best music from Mozart to

\**Les Illusions du Socialism*, by Bernard Shaw; *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, August, 1900.



Photo. by Kuntzmüller, Baden-Baden.

LILI PETRI,

The great Viennese actress. She introduced *Candida* to Vienna at the Deutsches Volkstheater, October 8, 1904.

Wagner, from London to Bayreuth. Until now, he had made no stir in the world of letters—few people knew who “C. di B.” really was. But as a successor of Louis Engel, he entered into his new duties with zeal and zest, and created a new standard for *The World* by his brilliant and witty critiques. “Every man has an inalienable right to make a fool of himself,” Victor Hugo once wrote; “but he should not abuse that right.” Bernard Shaw stopped just short of abuse of his inalienable right. Like a street fakir, he announced the value of his wares with sublime audacity. He adopted the



haughty tone of superiority of a Wilde or a Whistler, although he did it always not only in the wittiest but also in the most good-natured way imaginable. The oculist who once examined his eyes seems to have been the unwitting cause of first diverting the rewards of literature in his direction. This ophthalmic specialist declared that Shaw's vision was "normal," at the same time explaining that the vision of nine-tenths of the people in the world is abnormal. Shaw at once leaped to the conclusion that his intellectual as well as his physical vision was normal, while that of the "damned, compact, liberal majority" was aberrant, myopic, astigmatic. Too conscientious to put on a pair of abnormal spectacles and aberr his vision to suit the taste of the astigmatic nine-tenths of the reading public, too poor to attempt transcripts of life in order to win the support of the one-tenth which, because of normal vision, was therefore as impecunious as himself, he turned critic and appeared before the British public as Punch. He had only to open his eyes and describe things exactly as they appeared to him, to become known as the most humorously extravagant paradox in London. He succeeded in demonstrating once again the old, old proposition that truth is stranger than fiction.

After a while, the exuberant "G. B. S." as he signed himself in *The World*, set out in search of new fields to conquer. When Mr. Frank Harris—who possessed the virtues, as well as some of the faults, of Mr. Edmund Yates—revived *The Saturday Review*, Shaw was chosen as dramatic critic, and characteristically broke the sacred tradition of anonymity, till then—1895—inviolable in its columns. In earlier years, Shaw had often spoken to deaf ears; for his was the strange language of a Robertson, a Gilbert, a Wilde. In all that he wrote there was that contradictoriness between manner and matter, between letter and spirit, so characteristic of the Celtic genius. Everything struck his mind at such an acute angle as to give forth prismatic refractions of daz-

zling and many-hued brilliancy. His first great period began as critic on *The World*, when he zealously lauded Wagner, daringly defied the academic school of British music, and gaily set himself up as the infallible critic of the musical world. And now as dramatic critic on *The Saturday Review*, he achieved in a few years the reputation of the most brilliant journalistic writer in England.

Like Taine, he realized the important truth that those things we agree to call abnormal, are in reality normal, and appear quite naturally in the ordinary course of events. Accordingly, he devised a now well-known formula for readable journalism: "Spare no labor to find out the right thing to say; and then say it with the most exasperating levity, as if it were the first thing that would come into any one's head." He expressed the belief that good journalism is much rarer and more important than good literature; and by his own rare and unique work he gave a practical proof of the truth of his conviction. He led a magnificent crusade in behalf of Ibsen and in defiance of Shakespeare. If, on the one hand, he praised Ibsen to the skies for the intellectual content of his plays, on the other hand he upbraided Shakespeare for his lamentable poverty in the matter of philosophy. If he saw in Ibsen a disheartened optimist—disagreeably intent upon improving the world, he saw in Shakespeare only a vulgar pessimist, with *vanitas vanitatum* eternally upon his lips. If Ibsen not infrequently jarred his sensibilities with the ultra-realism of his clinical demonstrations, Shakespeare gave him unfeigned pleasure by the music of his language—his "word-music" as it has been called—his delightful fancy, his large perception of the comic, and his incomparable art as a story-teller. When Shaw finished his dramatic career, he had the gratification of the knowledge that while Ibsen was not popular on the English stage, he was nevertheless recognized by the highest authorities as the greatest of living dramatists. And he

boasted on severing his connection with *The Saturday Review*, that whereas, when he began his work as a dramatic critic, Shakespeare was a divinity and a bore, now he was at least a fellow-creature!

At last, in 1898, he severed his connection with *The Saturday Review* and became a dramatist by profession. He had, by dogmatic assertion, iteration and reiteration of his merits as wit, raconteur and paradoxer, so he declares, actually succeeded in establishing his literary prestige for all time. He might dodder and dote, platitudinize and pot-boil; but, once convinced, the dull but honest British intelligence could not be shaken. He had become the jester at the court of King Demos—the confessor of the sovereign public. And that public rewarded him at last with eager appreciation of all his sallies and *bon mots*. And yet it can hardly be said that the public really understood this versatile and many-sided talent. Shaw was one of those restless spirits who are out of patience with the existing status, not only in the drama, but in the world at large. His wit alone saved him from the pillory; if the British public had really understood him, as he once said, they would have made him drink the hemlock. An Irishman, he pretended to patriotism neither for the land of his birth nor for the nation to which it owed its ruin. A devout humanitarian, he detested warfare of any kind. A vegetarian after the order of Shelley and Wagner, he abhorred the slaughter of animals, in sport or in the butcher's yard. An enthusiastic Ibsenist, he followed his master in having no respect for popular morality, no admiration for popular heroics, no belief in popular religion. An art critic, he had no taste for popular art. A Socialist—to sum the whole matter up—he was out of patience with the lagging snail-pace at which the world moved. His keen vision penetrated the veil of popular deceit and discerned the marred lineaments it concealed.

"It would be manifestly unfair to Bernard Shaw," I once wrote, "to sup-



Photo. by Mocsigay, Hamburg.

ROBERT NHIL,

As Captain Bluntschli in "Helden" ("Arms and the Man"). Deutsches Schauspielhaus, Hamburg, April 16, 1904.

pose that he was merely a skeptic or a cynic in these matters. Quite the contrary. It was simply the result of his 'normal' vision: he saw right while the world squinted. It was not mere prejudice, but a difference of view-point. His personal angle of vision was more acute than that of the illuded majority. The consensus of opinion, the crystallized judgment, the established view weighed with him not at all. The *dicta* of the literary cliques, the voice of literary fashion, the perfunctory judgments of narrow literary pontiffs—all rang false to his ears. Authority in the person of the select has more than often, in his opinion, proved the stumbling block in the path of real genius. 'It is from men of established

literary reputation,' he insists, 'that we learn that William Blake was mad; that Shelley was spoiled by living in a low set; that Robert Owen was a man who did not know the world; that Ruskin is incapable of understanding political economy; that Zola is a mere blackguard, and that Ibsen is Zola with a wooden leg. The great musician, accepted by his unskilled listener, is vilified by his fellow-musician. It was the musical culture of Europe which pronounced Wagner the inferior of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer.'"

The history of Bernard Shaw's arduous and long-continued efforts to win the suffrage of the British theater-going public furnishes one of the most interesting episodes in the history of modern drama. That story is wittily and penetratingly told by Mr. Shaw himself in the prefaces to his volumes of plays, entitled *Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant*. Beginning in 1885, in collaboration with Mr. William Archer, upon *Widowers' Houses*, Mr. Shaw abandoned the task until 1892, when the newly-inaugurated Independent Theater, led by Mr. J. T. Grein, urged him to produce something to usher in the new era. His plays, written in quick succession—*Widowers' Houses*, *The Philanderer*, and *Mrs. Warren's Profession*—achieved little more than a *succès de scandale*, only the first actually gaining the stage of the Independent Theater. *Arms and the Man*, produced in 1894 at the Avenue Theater, and warmly praised by William Archer and A. B. Walkley, was a popular success, in a certain restricted sense, but a marked financial failure. One after the other, Bernard Shaw wrote plays of dazzling and astounding merit—*You Never Can Tell*, *The Man of Destiny*, *Candida*, *The Devil's Disciple*, *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, *Cæsar and Cleopatra*—only to have the larger West End theaters of London refuse them in turn. As Sir Charles Wyndham, the great English comedian, said, Shaw was twenty years ahead of his age. But the distinguished American actor, Mr. Richard Mansfield, produced *Arms and the*

*Man and The Devil's Disciple* in America with distinguished artistic success, though the former was not a success in a financial way. The performances Shaw's plays had in England for a number of years were desultory—such as single productions by that institution of high art and high ideals, the London Stage Society, short provincial runs, occasional productions at small theaters by such talented players as Forbes-Robertson, Murray Carson and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Charrington. In America, in the season of 1903-04, Mr. Arnold Daly produced *Candida* and *The Man of Destiny* with astounding success; a Shaw renaissance followed, eventuating in the successful production of various plays of Shaw, conspicuous among these being the triumph of Robert Loraine in *Man and Superman*. Also, late in 1902, began the Shavian invasion of Europe with the publication of Herr Siegfried Trebitsch's translation of three of Shaw's best-known plays. Dr. George Brandes welcomed George Bernard Shaw to the continental stage, and praised him as the most advanced of contemporary British dramatists. Hermann Bahr, the distinguished Viennese critic and dramatist, hailed Shaw as a writer of large caliber and European range. *The Man of Destiny* and *Candida* were produced by Max Reinhardt at the Neues Theater, with Agnes Sorma in the leading rôles, in March and April, 1903. On February 25th of the same year, *The Devil's Disciple* was produced in Vienna at the Raimund Theater, with Herr Carl Wiene in the title-rôle. By slow steps, Bernard Shaw's plays began to take their place on the German stage, being produced in repertory at a number of the most artistic institutions in German Europe; *Candida* in Vienna, with Lili Petri in the title-rôle, and in many other places; *Arms and the Man* in Berlin, Vienna and elsewhere; *The Devil's Disciple*, *The Man of Destiny*, *You Never Can Tell*, and *Cæsar and Cleopatra* at different places, with greater or lesser success. *Arms and the Man* has

also been produced in Copenhagen, and *The Devil's Disciple* in Buda Pesth, both with marked success. To detail all the productions of Shaw's plays on the Continent is quite beyond the scope of this paper. Authorized translations of his works into virtually every language of Europe are now going forward. His plays have recently been produced in Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Stockholm, Madrid, Helsingfors, Buenos Ayres, etc. It is enough to say that Bernard Shaw has been welcomed abroad as a world-dramatist, and is ranked with Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Strindberg and Schnitzler. He is the most popular dramatist in the world to-day.

In England, Shaw made his first strong appeal to the great public with *John Bull's Other Island*, in November, 1904, and later in February, 1905, produced at the Royal Court Theater, London. At last the most cultured class of English society, headed by King Edward and Mr. Balfour, the English Premier, began to flock to see his plays; and in succession, the greater number of his plays have since been produced, through the meritorious enterprise of Mr. J. H. Leigh, Mr. J. E. Vedrenne, and the distinguished actor-manager, Mr. H. Granville Barker. *Major Barbara* was one of the chief successes of the London season of 1905-6; *The Doctor's Dilemma* was vehemently discussed by the critics; and his last play, *Getting Married*, although not a popular success, set all the critics by the ears. The critics and the English public have at last, in the jargon of now, "come down"; they have learned to accept Shaw as he is, and have at last desisted from their efforts to force him into compliance with standards alien to the spirit of his genius.

Out of patience with the low state into which the theater in England had fallen, Mr. Shaw began his career as a dramatist by declaring that the existing popular drama is quite out of the question for cultivated people who are accustomed to use their brains. He reached the firm conclusion that the drama should create the

theater, instead of the reverse—the prevailing order of the day. Like that poet of the Celtic Renaissance, Mr. William Butler Yeats, he declared that the average audience comes to the theater—the "theater of commerce"—for every motive in the world save the sole valid reason—to



Photo. by Bänder, Frankfurt.

HEDWIG LANGE,

Who created the rôle of Judith Anderson in "Ein Teufelskern" ("The Devil's Disciple"), Raimund Theater, Vienna, February 25, 1903.



Photo. by Dupont-Eméra, Brussels.

## MME. ALICE ARCHAINBAUD

As *Candida*. Théâtre du Parc, Brussels, February 8, 1907. This was the first production of a Shaw play in the French language.

be thrilled, moved, made to think. No one more than Mr. Shaw deploras the present vogue of the musical comedy or the puerile inanities of modern plays in which the plot is usually "hatched by the stage setting." He firmly believed that no regeneration could come so long as the drama of the day is written "for the theater instead of from its own inner necessity." As now constituted, modern dramas, in Mr. Shaw's view, may be classified under three heads: "neurotic, erotic, and tommy-rotic."

With all the asceticism of a Puritan of the strictest sect, Shaw railed against the prevalence of the sexual in modern

dramatic art. The amoristic superstitions of the *bourgeoisie* made him "see red." He protested with the deepest fervor against the eternal glorification of Love, the Divine; and scoffed with ill-concealed disgust at the evasion of the real problem lying at the basis of plays of which Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is the type example. He resolved to do all in his power to relegate emotion to a subsidiary position, and to project intellect to the fore. He occupies the position of the *spectator ab extra*; and always sees the drama as a conflict—whether of intellect or will. He manipulated his characters with great dexterity, and makes them the mouthpieces for the most modern ideas. In Shaw's view, the drama can never be the same again since Ibsen has lived and written. The drama can never be anything more than the play of ideas. With this *idée fixe*, Mr. Shaw gives to many of his plays the character of a social thesis. He forces you to draw conclusions; his plays always *donnent à penser furieusement*. The play, the play, of course, with Shaw as with Hamlet, is the thing; but by the play we must understand the play and interplay of opposing views of life and standards of conduct. If he always sees his characters in a situation, it is a situation charged with intellectual rather than emotional, content.

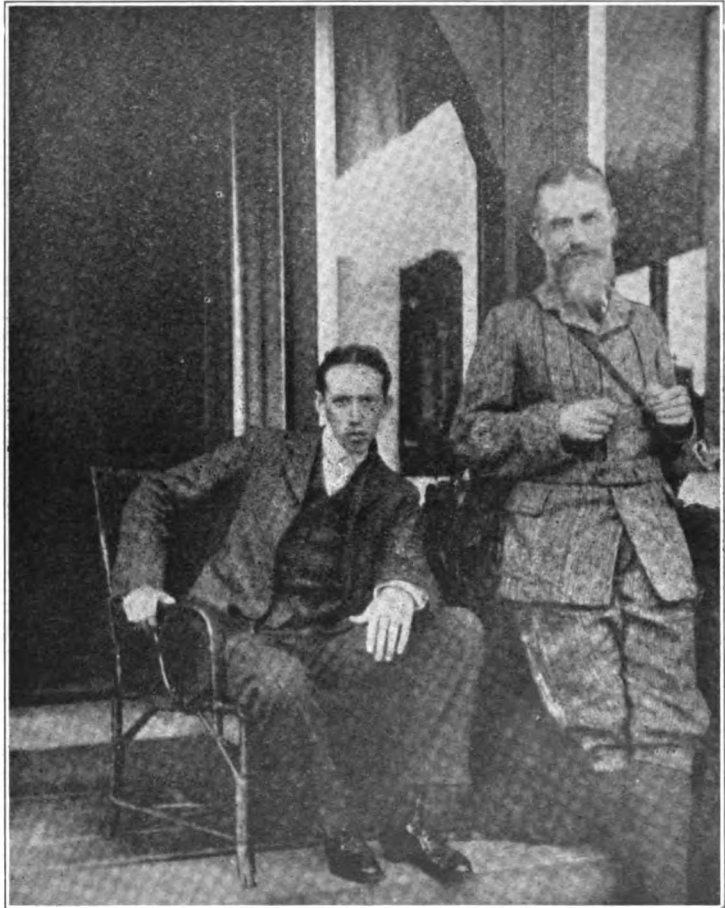
However iconoclastic he may be in such matters, in point of dramatic construction he has frankly bowed to convention. Clever artist and keen analyst that he is, he has fully realized the necessity of working in the manner of tradition. Like Molière, he utilizes material wherever he finds it; and adopts the devices of Robertson, of W. S. Gilbert, and of Meilhac and Halevy without the slightest compunction. The conventional agreements of the stage, the customs, tricks and devices of stage-craft, he accepts without a qualm. The incidents, plot, construction and technical details of drama he turns to his own ends, however, giving them novelty, piquancy and charm by the essentially modern use he makes of them.

"I have always cast my plays in the ordinary practical comedy form in use at all the theaters," he once said, "and far from taking an unsympathetic view of the popular demand for fun, for fashionable dress, for a pretty scene or two, a little music, or even for a great ordering of drinks by people with an expensive air from an—if possible—comic waiter, I was more than willing to show that the drama can humanize these things as easily as they, in undramatic hands, can dehumanize the drama." In these matters alone, which, after all, are purely superficial, does he bow to convention and confess that he is in reality a very old-fashioned playwright.

To witness a play of Bernard Shaw's is like watching a gambler tossing up a coin: you never know whether it is going to come up "heads or tails." Shaw is a master of paradox; his law is the law of contrasts. He studies things from an unconventional view-point, and always turns for our inspection the obverse of the medal. His dialogue scintillates with the inverted truisms, the half-truths, the dubious axioms of a Whistler, a Chesterton, or a Wilde. He respects life too deeply to discuss it seriously; and he enunciates great truths with the comical air of an irresponsible charlatan. He handles ideas as dexterously as a juggler handles glass balls; and we are

always in fine doubt as to his meaning. It is sometimes difficult for the uninitiated onlooker to decide whether he is a cheap quack or a profound philosopher.

And yet, save for rare lapses, Shaw is imbued with the genuine dramatic instinct. To take sides in a dramatic wrangle he recognizes as fatal. He is fair and just to each one of his characters; and puts into his mouth the ideas and sentiments appropriate to his nature and disposition. Every one is allowed to have his say, and to speak out his thought without disguise. "I do not disclaim the fullest responsibility for the opinions of all my characters, pleasant and unpleasant,"



BERNARD SHAW AND HIS BIOGRAPHER, ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Taken by Mrs. Shaw at Ayot Street, Lawrence, Hertfordshire, England.

Mr. Shaw once said. "They are all right from their several points of view; and their points of view are, for the dramatic moment, mine also." Mr. Shaw is profoundly skeptical in regard to the existence of an absolutely right point of view; nobody who does not cherish a like skepticism can, in his opinion, either be a dramatist, or indeed anything else that turns upon a knowledge of human nature. It must be apparent that, ideologue though he be, Shaw is not a mere preacher. The dramatist is intent upon drawing things as they really are; the preacher is concerned primarily with things as he would have them to be. Shaw is never so inartistic as to point a moral to adorn a tale. Shaw sets the stage, puts the characters in motion, and informs them with the spirit of their parts; you do the rest. If there is a moral to be drawn from the play, that is your affair.

His chief virtue, as well as his chief fault, consists in the superabundance of his ideas. He is ever throwing open the window to let in a fresh current of ideas. His is *l'école du plein air*; and he cannot have too much intellectual ventilation. A Socialist of the most advanced ideas, a Fabian of the Fabians, he is an outpost thinker on the firing-line of modern thought. As a philosophic thinker, he is in direct line of descent, not from John Stuart Mill, Tyndall, Darwin, Huxley and Spencer, but from Wagner, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and the German philosophers. "To Life, the force behind the man," he once wrote, "intellect is a necessity, for without it he blunders into death." To Shaw, philosophic content is the touchstone of real greatness in art. Bunyan is greater than Shakespeare, Blake than Lamb, Ibsen than Dickens, Shaw than Pinero—such is his point of view. Consequently his plays have something of the rigidity of theses—sometimes, even, are "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." His intellect is so militant, his psychic prevision so acute, that his plays suffer not infrequently from the malady of the *à priori*; they are sometimes even

stricken down with what Wagner called the incurable disease of thought.

One last word is necessary in order to explain the nature of Mr. Shaw's attitude toward modern society. Shaw is an embodiment of the *Zeitgeist*; he is nothing if not a child of modernity. Early in life, he learned the lessons of the hypocrisy of society, the conspiracy of the well-fed, the smug complacency of the orthodox and the respectable. He saw around him on all sides the blighting and devastating effects of illuding, short-sighted idealism. He conceived public opinion to be the will of the ignorant majority as opposed to that of the discerning few. He placed his hopes in the saving remnant—in that minority which Ibsen believed to be always right. All progress involves as its first condition, in his opinion, the willingness of the pioneer to make a fool of himself. He was not afraid to make the sacrifice. He became an intellectual revolutionist even at the cost of becoming the laughing stock of his fellow-men. He realized the vital necessity of smashing some of the idols to which the world so abjectly bows down. He found the world wandering in a maze of illusion; and he realized only too well, from his experience as a Socialist, that when reality finally presents itself to men who have been nourished on dramatic illusions, they no longer recognize it as reality. In the sphere of religion and morals, Shaw found the reign of illusion supreme. It is his own conviction that men do things because they want to do them, and not at all because they ought to do them. Afterwards, they invent *ex post facto* excuses for their conduct. Consequently, as a dramatist, Shaw has sought to tear away the veil of hypocrisy from off the face of society. He has haled the seven cardinal virtues before the bar of his cynical realism, and exposed the shams which they conceal. He has tapped the moral coin of the era, and found it a base counterfeit. He shows the fraudulency of popular heroism, the insincerity of love, the hypocrisy of the morality of custom, the licentiousness of

the institution of marriage. He stands forth, *par excellence*, as the *advocatus diaboli*—the exponent of the “higher” morality, the champion of the nameless heroes, the “truly” virtuous, the “genuinely” religious. Against the ideal of duty he set the idea of freedom. To the ideal of heroism he opposed the practicality of common sense. Romantic sentiment he would replace by scientific natural history. His fundamental philosophy is crystalized in his perfect epigram: “The golden rule is that there is no golden rule.”

To many of his critics, the failings of Bernard Shaw are the uncontrolled use of great power, his excogitated formulas and Socialistic bias, his lack of seriousness, his relentless iconoclasm, and the excessive and exaggerated brilliancy of his talent. To others his virtues are the modernity of his ideas, his power of divination into the secrets of heart and soul, his inimitable style, his amazing cleverness and phenomenal originality. The estimates are sadly at variance: Shaw has always defied the labeling process. The German

scholar derides him as a colossal charlatan, ascribing to him the unpardonable fault of too often laughing at himself; or else lauds him as a figure of European significance. The English critic writes his name “Pshaw!” and pricks his weak spot with Archer’s damning phrase, “bloodless erotics,” or else hails him as the only real British dramatist. The American denounces him as a “second-hand Brummagem Ibsen”; or else, in enthusiastic appreciation, pronounces him a greater dramatist than Shakespeare, a greater humorist than Ibsen. It is just within the range of possibility that Mr. Shaw may go down in literary history as The Dramatist of Donnybrook Fair. I should prefer to hazard the prophecy that the day is not far distant when the world will conclude to agree with that notable English critic, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, in the opinion that George Bernard Shaw is the most thoroughly brilliant and typical man of this decade.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.  
*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.*

## ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE THE BASIS OF FREEDOM.

BY DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

IT IS true that we are a free people in name only. It is true that in fact we are no freer than if we had a king over us, and a powerful nobility. But it is also true that our possession of the power of freedom, of the political machinery of freedom, makes us better off than if we still had that first step to take. If we were on our way down, this would not be so; but we are on our way up.

Freedom does not come from without, but from within. It is first of all a state of mind, an attitude of thought. We used to have more actual freedom than we have now; but it was a freedom insecurely based, and it was swept away. It was insecurely based because it was merely a

sentiment. We did not understand what freedom meant; we did not understand how to keep it; we did not understand that it had a practical value of the highest kind, and was not a beautiful ideal only. We did not understand that freedom meant a better house to live in, better clothes for our families, better food on the table, more leisure for amusement and improvement, more money in our pockets, better education and better prospects for our children. We did not understand that when we neglected public affairs, did not take the trouble to inform ourselves upon public questions, turned our government over to the politicians, voted by sentiment and passion instead of by the hardest



kind of hard common sense, we were cutting down our incomes, adding to our expenses, cheating ourselves out of profits, out of leisure, out of fun. And we do not understand it yet.

But a vague sort of an idea that there is really some connection between politics and the distribution of the results of toil is beginning to permeate our skulls—not by any means a clear idea, but simply a vague glimmer. More and more every election, the politicians who are the agents of the plutocracy, rub it into the people that “If you do n’t vote for us business will be bad, factories will close, wages will be cut down, and the ranks of the unemployed will be swelled.” And more and more the masses of the people believe. And that is well. Those of us who wish to see things get better are calling upon the people to “take high moral ground regardless of self-interest”—and are steadily losing elections to politicians who appeal directly and brutally to selfish self-interest. How admirable is the universal scheme of things, whereby all, especially the bad, works out for good! The idealists, floating among the clouds and forgetting that the family has to be sheltered, fed and clothed, and that those are ever the prime considerations with the human animal, neglect their duty of practically educating the people. And, lo and behold, the politicians of privilege, the enemies of freedom and progress, do the idealists’ neglected work for them!

And slowly, in spite of the idealists, in spite of all the well-meaning worthies who are constantly trying to divorce morals and practical wisdom, as if the two were not ultimately and indissolubly one—in spite of all efforts to prevent people from learning that when they vote for what they fancy is their immediate self-interest, they vote for their immediate robbery and oppression—slowly, in spite of all these adverse forces, the politicians of privilege are teaching the people to connect politics and prosperity. Next thing, the people will be really thinking; and then—yes, then, they will begin to demand of their

politicians specific, clear, definite performances for making them better off, for giving them a larger share of the fruits of their toil.

The basis of all tyranny is the dependence of the masses. So long as the masses of a nation are economically dependent, just so long is freedom a delusion or a dream. The man who is dependent upon the will of another for a living is not and cannot be free. You can give him education, you can give him the suffrage, you can give him initiative and referendum and all the other good things. But he will remain a dependent, a subject, an industrial serf. And it does not matter much whether the living he gets from some master is a dollar a day or a thousand dollars a day. And it does not matter much whether he has to be dependent on some one master or has choice of a score of masters. His servitude is simply better or worse disguised, has pretense of self-respect less or more plausible.

The basis of freedom—the only foundation that is not shaky or rotten—is economic independence. If we are to have freedom in this modern world, we must recreate the conditions on which the freedom of every people that has been free rested, the conditions on which our own freedom of the period between the war of 1812 and the war of 1861 rested. We must establish conditions which will enable any and every American citizen willing to work to get work without any dependence upon any master whatsoever, to get work as his right.

To be free is the prime aim of every people worthy the name of man. For that purpose are governments established—to maintain the freedom of a free people, or to aid an aspiring people to achieve freedom. Since the economic independence of the citizen is the prime requisite of freedom, as we of the modern world understand that word, it is the prime mission of the government, which the people have established, to see to it that every citizen can be economically independent.

In times of great stress no one disputes that the state ought to see to it that the people do not starve. For a Galveston flood, Congress appropriates relief funds, and so on and so on. But to an enlightened mind it is obvious that in the struggle to keep and to get freedom, the dearest, the most valuable possession a man can have, there is always a time of stress. We have long since recognized that public education is a necessity, is therefore a duty of the state. Why? Because it is one of the requisites of freedom that the electorate be enlightened, and free public education is the best the state can do toward achieving that end. But education is not the first, but the second requisite to gaining and keeping freedom. The prime requisite is, as has been said, the economic independence of the elector, the citizen. First, economic independence. Second, public education.

We have got the second requisite—not in full measure, but in large measure that is ever larger. Now for the prime requisite.

That is, now for an elastic program of necessary public works upon which any citizen can obtain employment for the asking and can keep that employment so long as he is willing to do eight hours' work a day. Not one month in the year, or six; not one or two or four days in the week; but six days in every week of the year—and at a decent living wage. Not

at the kind of work that suits him or her best—at least not at first. But at whatever there is to do that is within his or her strength. If he or she can find a better job with a private employer, well and good. But make it so that no free-born American citizen has to beg for employment, has to humiliate himself to get it, has, perhaps, to go without employment.

There are many objections to this proposal—many grave objections. So are there objections to everything that ought to be done in this world where nothing is exactly as it should be. But all these objections are overruled by the stern law of necessity. You answer them all when you face the unanswerable question, How can a people be free, how can a man be free, if it or he is economically dependent?

So clearly is economic independence vital to freedom, the very blood and air of freedom, that it is quite safe to predict that the proposal here made will in some form be adopted—sooner or later. The sooner it is adopted, the sooner will conditions begin rapidly to improve. And until it is adopted, progress will be slow and fitful.

We hear a great deal of loose talk about the dignity of labor. Most of it is sheer tommy-rot. But until labor is dignified—all honest labor—we shall not go very far. Let us bestir ourselves then, and make it so.

DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS.

*New York City.*

# A HIGHLY-EFFICIENT STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

**I**N SPITE of the very substantial successes achieved by the state railways of Germany and Belgium, most railroad authorities are now agreed that their systems of railroad administration are very far from being the best that could have been devised, and consequently, that the successes achieved by them might have been very much greater had their form of organization been more satisfactory. Perhaps the most undesirable feature about their administrative machinery is the unwholesome fusion and confusion of the finances of the railroads with those of the state or national governments. In Germany, as a result of this mistaken policy, the profits of the roads, instead of being devoted exclusively to such purposes as the lowering of rates, the raising of wages, the increasing of the efficiency of the service, and the liquidation of the bonded indebtedness of the roads, are diverted to a large extent, into the treasuries of the various German states to lighten the general burden of taxation. For instance, the single state of Prussia in 1905 had a net profit on its railroad of over \$125,000,000—which means that it levied a tax on the business of the country to that extent.

Owing to a wise provision incorporated into the Belgian law of May 1, 1834, specifying the three objects to which profits should be devoted, *i. e.*, operating and general maintenance expenses, the payment of interest charges and the regular liquidation of the bonded indebtedness, no attempt has ever been made in Belgium to increase the profits of the roads beyond the requirements of an efficient railroad administration. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that no clear line of cleavage has been drawn between the nature and functions of the political state

and those of the industrial state, Belgian methods of state railroad management have always been more or less hampered by governmental red tape and routine. In the light of these facts, it is encouraging to note that the general tendency not only of European legislation, but of the judicial decisions of the leading continental countries is toward the recognition of a fundamental and far-reaching distinction between the political state, which establishes and enforces the law of the land, and the business state, which by entering the field of industry and commerce, renders itself as amenable to that law as is the humblest individual citizen.

The three latest European countries to undertake the nationalization of their railroads, Switzerland, Italy and France, have all incorporated into their systems of management this new and important distinction between the sphere of the general government and that of its industrial adjuncts. The general principles upon which are based this modern conception of the proper form of organization for a state railroad administration was set forth in the message issued March 27, 1897, by the Swiss Federal Council which says:

“In order that the state railroads may realize our expectations and serve the economic interests of the entire country, it is necessary that their administration should have as independent a position as possible in the federal administration. On the one hand there is danger lest an organization so vast and with such numerous ramifications become, when centralized, an instrument subject to abuses for the attainment of political ends. On the other hand, we must see to it that, with all the power it is bound to wield, the railroad administration does not come to form a state within a state, and that no conflicts

arise between it and the Federal Council. If, in order to achieve good results, the railroad management demands the greatest possible concentration of all its forces, nevertheless it must be so organized as to be in conformity with our political development, which is incompatible with every species of bureaucracy, and never loses sight of the interests of the individual cantons and communes."

In order to prevent any abuse of the discretionary powers, of the new and largely autonomous state railroad administration, the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly kept in their own hands certain important prerogatives, while at the same time retaining all the rights of general supervision and control over it which they had exercised formerly over the private corporation roads. As the law finally passed the Federal Chambers, somewhat less independence was granted to the state railway management than had been the original intention of the Federal Council, but even as weakened by amendments giving to the Federal Chambers more of a hand in the direct management of the roads than was necessary, it nevertheless marked a distinct advance over any previous legislation of this nature by any European country.

SWISS STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

In conformity with these principles, the Swiss railroad law of October 15, 1897, providing for the purchase and operation of the railroads by the confederation, contained the following provisions:

(Article 8). "The accounts of the federal railroad shall be separated from those of the other branches of the Federal Administration, and so kept that the exact financial situation can be determined at any time.

"The net income of the Federal railroads is destined, first of all, for the payment of interest and for the liquidation of the railroad debt.

"Twenty per cent. of the surplus net profits shall be paid into a special reserve fund, to be kept separate from the rest of

the assets of the Federal railroads, until this fund contains, including its capitalized interest, the sum of 50,000,000 francs. Eighty per cent. must be employed, in behalf of the Federal railroads, in perfecting and alleviating the conditions of transportation and notably in reducing proportionally passenger and freight rates, and in extending the Swiss railroads—particularly its secondary lines."

Article 13 of the law shows the extent of the powers over railway administration retained by the general government.

(Article 13). "The following provisions constitute the regulations for the higher management of the administration confided to the Federal authorities.

"Confided:

"A—To the Federal Assembly,

"1. The ratification of operations relating to loans and to the program of liquidation.

"2. The ratification of contracts relating to the acquisition of other lines, as well as to the reassumption of the operation of secondary roads and to the substitution of the Confederation for the main lines in the operating contracts arranged between the main lines mentioned in Article 2 and the secondary roads.

"3. Legislation establishing the general principles governing rates.

"4. The elaboration of laws having for their object the acquisition or the construction of railroads.

"5. Legislation concerning salaries.

"6. Approval of the annual budget.

"7. The examination and approval of the annual account and of the report of the management.

"B—To the Federal Council.

"1. The preparation of regulations governing the execution of the present law.

"2. The nomination:

"a. Of twenty-five members of the Central Administrative Council (Article 16).

"b. Of the members of the Central Board and of the local boards of directors (Articles 23 and 33).

"c. Of four members of each Local

Administrative Council (Article 29).

"3. The presentation to the Federal Chambers:

"a. Of the annual budget, statement and report.

"b. Of propositions relating to the reassumption of the operation of secondary roads, and to the substitution of the confederation for the main lines, in the operating contracts arranged between these main lines, mentioned in Article 2, and the secondary roads (Article 5).

"c. Of propositions relating to the construction of new lines and to the acquisition of existing lines.

"4. The powers of control which the Federal Council actually possesses over private railways, in so far as these powers still have any reason for existence in connection with the Federal railroads.

"5. The approval of the regulation of the pension and relief funds for the permanent functionaries and employés.

"6. The elaboration of prescriptions relating to the formations of such relief funds."

#### ITALIAN STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

That the same conception of an autonomous, responsible and businesslike state railway administration, subject to strict control on the part of the general government, likewise guided the framers of the Italian law of July 7, 1907, is made evident by Articles 3 and 36 of that law.

Article 3. "The independent administration of the state railways, under the high direction and responsibility of the Minister of Public Works, shall have the direct management of all matters relating to the operation of the railway system and of the navigation service, mentioned in the preceding articles, and in the exercise of these functions, is charged with its proper budget.

"The Minister of Public Works and in those parts which concern him, the Minister of the Treasury, shall ascertain by means of inspections the regularity of the service and of the management.

"The regulations for such inspections

shall be fixed by executive orders proposed by the Ministers of Public Works and of the Treasury, passed upon by the State Council; approved by the Cabinet Council and sanctioned by royal decree."

"Article 36. The Compartmental Cashier's offices (*casse compartimentali*) collect the available revenue of the stations and all other ordinary and extraordinary income and provide for the payment of expenditures upon direct or service drafts or drafts for advances (*mandati o diretti o a disposizione o di anticipazione*), and the payment on account of the pay-rolls issued by the Administration and certified by the Central or Compartmental audit offices.

"The amounts exceeding the daily needs of the cashier's office are deposited with the 'Banca d'Italia.'

"These amounts shall be kept on special interest bearing current account distinct from that of the State Treasury's on the terms proposed by the Minister of the Treasury in accord with the Minister of Public Works and approved by royal decree.

"The Director-General shall have the power to draw upon said special current account for the needs of the railway service by means of drafts certified by the representative of the public treasury at the treasury section of the bank in accordance with the by-laws.

"The regulations for the railway treasury service and those relating to the collection, custody and deposit of the moneys shall be fixed by the by-laws."

#### FRENCH STATE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

In like matter, the French government, in its argument in favor of the recent purchase of the Western Railroad, laid great emphasis on this idea of giving to the new state railroad management sufficient financial and administrative independence to enable it to operate the road in the most efficient and businesslike way possible.

"The administrative organization," it announces, "to which will be confided

*\*Projet de loi sur le régime financier et l'organisation administrative des chemins de fer de l'Etat, p. 2.*

the task of operating the new state line, including the old Western road, must possess the autonomy and the suppleness which are indispensable to the efficient management of a large industry; it must, furthermore, be provided with financial powers which will enable it, by the issuance of bonds, to raise the funds necessary to provide for all expenditures other than those of actual 'operating expenses.'

In complete harmony with this fundamental distinction between the political state and the industrial state, is a law voted by the French Chamber of Deputies and Senate without a dissenting voice on the twenty-first and thirtieth of March, 1905. Up to this time, the employés of the state railroad in France, when they got into a conflict with the administration were required to submit to the special jurisdiction of administrative tribunals. In other words, they were regarded as "state officials" in the strictest sense of the word, while the employés of the private companies, on the other hand, had the advantage of being judged like all other ordinary laboring men, by the ordinary tribunals. The law above mentioned changed the status of the employés of the state railroad and placed them in the same category as the employés of private railroads or of other ordinary industrial enterprises. This law, which contains only one article, is as follows:

"The ordinary tribunals are competent to deal with whatever controversies may arise between the state railroad administration and its employés as to labor agreements."

**JUDICIAL DECISIONS AS TO THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDUSTRIAL STATE.**

An interesting case arose in France a few years ago in connection with an actress, Mademoiselle Sylviac, who, losing her patience one day, after trying in vain to get a satisfactory explanation of the unsatisfactory telephone service she was receiving, made some angry remarks to a teleph...

although she had already paid for it in advance, and suit was brought against her for having insulted a "public official," on the grounds that the telephone service was a public monopoly. As Mademoiselle Sylviac resolutely fought her case in the courts, the press encouraged her, a large number of telephone subscribers rallied around her, and her case suddenly developed into an event of national importance. At this stage of the proceedings, however, the administration weakened, restored to her the use of her telephone, and finally offered, in case she would apologize, to withdraw the suit against her. But this she refused to do, and in the end won her case in the courts.

In speaking of this matter, Deputy Marcel Sembdat in his report for 1905 on "the budget of the post-office, telegraphs and telephones," placed himself on record as holding absolutely to the view that, "The state, when it takes over the monopoly of an industry, ought never to aggravate but always to ameliorate the condition of the workers in this industry, as well as to improve the service offered to the public for which it is run."

The question involved was simply this: Is an insult addressed to an employé of an industrial adjunct to the government more reprehensible, and should it incur severer penalties than an insult addressed to a private individual? The court held that while if the insult had been addressed to a functionary representing the sovereign political government it would have been especially reprehensible and punishable according to the law governing such cases, but that the employés of the *industrial state* were to be considered as upon the same footing as employés of a private corporation, and that for their protection they must have recourse to the same laws which sufficed to protect all other private individuals.

A similar case in connection with... though less interesting than... described, was rather more... M. Belloche in his first... pay a hundred

francs' fine. This decision, however, was reversed by the Court of Appeals of Paris, and this reversal was finally confirmed by the Court of Cassation (the Supreme Court) of France, on the eighteenth of February, 1905.\* Thus was established, by the highest tribunal in the land, the principle of the essential difference between the legal status of the political state and of the industrial state. The court enunciated this principle in the following words:

"Let it be understood that the employés in the employ of the telephone service are not invested with any particle of the public authority, that notably the woman N., whose duty it was to arrange the telephone connection for subscribers who requested it, is not, even though her work is a matter of public interest, either an agent with whom is deposited the public authority or a citizen to whom has been assigned the administration of a public service."

A recent decision of the French *Conseil d'Etat*, rendered January 20, 1905,† is in entire agreement with the decisions of the Court of Cassation above mentioned.

"The Council of State," says *Le Temps*,‡ "during its last session, very clearly defined the legal character of the state railway administration.

"The Minister of Public Works had issued a decision declaring a coal dealer, Mr. Paternoster, debtor to the Treasury for the sum of 50,000 francs, for failing to deliver a consignment of coal which he had contracted to supply to the state railway.

"But the Council of State declared that the state railway administration is invested with a legal personality distinct from that of the state and that it alone is qualified, if it thinks it has grounds therefor, to demand reparation for the injury which one of its contractors has inflicted. The Minister can neither attempt to recover the

dealer might owe the railway administration nor make use of the powers which belong to him as the representative of the state, in order to declare this dealer a debtor to the Treasury.

"The decree of the Minister of Public Works was therefore annulled."

A recent decision of a Bavarian court§ has an important bearing on the principle involved in this comparatively modern differentiation of governmental functions. Some Bavarian citizens holding bonds of a railroad which had formerly belonged to a private company, but which had afterward passed into the hands of the state of Austria, got into a legal controversy with the Austrian railroad management. One of these Bavarians, basing his action upon a judgment which had been granted to him in a similar dispute with the original railroad company, demanded and secured the seizure of some locomotives and freight-cars which had formerly belonged to the private company, but which at this time belonged to the Austrian state system. The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs raised the question of the competence of the Bavarian tribunal which had rendered the former decision. He contended that while this decision undoubtedly was a sound one as against the former private company, that nevertheless, it could not be made to apply to the sovereign state of Austria, which had taken over the properties of that company. A sovereign state, he insisted, could not be subject to the decisions of a foreign tribunal, as such subjection would constitute an inadmissible limitation of its sovereignty. Here the issue was joined on the most vital point that could have been raised in the controversy. The Bavarian Supreme Court met that issue squarely, and declared its entire competence to deal with

for the reason that the Austrian voluntarily substituted any, had thereby contracts of

\*Daloz, *Recueil de*

1, p. 257.

†*Ibid*, 3me r

‡*Janua*

¶, Albert

that company, which still retained their purely private character, and furthermore, that by the fact of this substitution the Austrian government voluntarily had submitted itself to the jurisdiction of the Bavarian tribunal.

Thus did the court draw a clear distinction between the Austrian government acting in a purely business capacity, and the Austrian government acting in its governmental capacity as a sovereign state.

Unquestionably, we are just at the beginning of this differentiation in form and function and legal personality of the industrial state from the governing state. From the slight experience that already has been gained in connection with this new form of state industrial administration, however, it is apparent that under the new *régime*, many of the old objections to governmental ownership of railways have been very largely removed. A few years ago there existed only two general types of railway administration, that of the private railway corporation, supposedly operated at a high state of industrial efficiency and with an eye solely to the gaining of the largest possible profits for its stockholders, and that of the state railway administration run at a slightly lower level of economic efficiency because forced to use the cumbersome administration methods employed by a political government, but having the great advantage of being able to ignore the question of profit-making, and to concentrate all of its efforts on the one problem of how to give the public the best possible service at the least possible cost. Perhaps the most important single fact in connection with the railroad development of modern times is this marked and increasing tendency of state railroads to combine the natural advantages of both of these types of railway administration. To the great and inherent advantage of management in the public interest, is being added the economic advantage which for so long was supposed to be the especial prerogative of private enterprise, *i. e.*, management at

the highest possible standard of business efficiency.

Here the question arises, If it is possible for a state railway administration to combine these two highly desirable features, why is it not possible for a private railway corporation to do likewise? In other words, is government control of an autonomous state railway administration preferable to government control of a free and independent private corporation administration. Most Europeans believe that it is, for the simple reason that under a *régime* of government regulation it is always found that the government and the railway corporations are working for distinctly different objects; the first to give to the public the best possible service at the least possible expense; the second to realize the greatest possible profit to stockholders and financiers (chiefly the latter), irrespective of the kind of service furnished. This difference in their aims and purposes invariably has resulted in an exhausting and never-ceasing conflict between the government and the railway corporations subject to its control.

When, on the other hand, the government owning the railroads has placed them in the hands of an autonomous state administration, it finds that this administration and itself are working for precisely the same object, *i. e.*, to give the public the best possible service at the smallest cost. The political government, therefore, has only to discuss with its industrial adjunct the question of methods for the attainment of their common object. Its functions are confined to the comparatively simple duty of seeing to it that the state railway administration is conducted honestly and efficiently. There is no possible conflict of interests; the worst that can happen is that there may arise a conflict of opinions. But where people are honest and have the same object in view it is a comparatively simple matter, if not to come to an agreement, at least to effect a compromise as to the proper methods to be employed, for the attainment of their common object.



A number of able and authoritative writers on this subject decidedly underestimate the wide divergence which may arise and often does arise between the interests of the public on the one hand, and those of the stockholders and stock-manipulators of private railway corporations on the other hand. It is said with a certain degree of truth that the interests of railroads and the traveling and shipping public are identical. Up to a certain point this unquestionably is true, but after a certain point it is just as unquestionably false. It is to the advantage of the roads not to charge such high rates that the people will stop traveling or that shippers cannot afford to ship their freight. It is equally true that it is to the interest of shippers and of the traveling public that the railroads be permitted to receive sufficient remuneration for the service rendered to enable them to keep their road up to the highest standard of technical efficiency, and to make a fair profit on the capital invested. But between these two points there exists a "twilight zone" of very considerable extent which is debatable ground. Whether the railroads or the people be allowed to dominate within this zone is a matter of very great moment, involving on the one hand a large increase in railroad profits, and on the other an equally large reduction in the cost of transportation to the traveling and shipping public. As a detailed illustration of the principle just enunciated, the following remarkable statement of facts by Mr. William Galt is very much to the point:

"\*The directors, therefore, of the companies manage the railways with one view, and one view only—to obtain the greatest profit for their shareholders, without any more regard to the interests of the public than is necessary for effecting that object.

"We have already noticed the wide range of fares adopted by the several companies, commencing as low as one half-penny per mile for first-class passengers,

\**Railway Reform*, by William Galt, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 286, 287.

and increasing by small fractional additions, till the highest fare of three pence half-penny per mile is reached, and in the same proportion with the other classes. Thus we shall find that in some cases the lowest fares produce a greater profit than the highest; but it is one of the most remarkable phenomena of railway statistics, and one we shall have occasion to illustrate at some length, that within the range of fares adopted by the companies, *the actual profit varied but comparatively little, whether a high, low, or medium fare be adopted.* Every one will readily enough understand the great increase of passengers that results from a considerable reduction in fares, and the reverse when an opposite policy is pursued; but few persons would believe, who have not directed their attention to the subject, what a comparatively small difference it makes in a financial point-of-view when, from some cause, there comes a sudden change in the policy of a company, and low fares are substituted for high fares, or the reverse. Nevertheless, there is a difference, quite sufficient to govern the policy of a company.

"It was at one time a matter of some nicety and considerable anxiety to a board of directors, when a line was opened, to fix the fares at the exact point that would best pay. The operation was performed somewhat the same manner as an *habitué* of the opera adjusts his opera-glass to his sight; by alternately extending and contracting it till his glass is at the exact focus. On the same principle directors ascertained the precise point in their sliding-scale at which their tariff would best pay, and that knowledge was only to be acquired by going through the process of alternately raising and lowering the fares until it was ascertained. When directors were well advised and exercised due care and judgment before they fixed their tariff, very few changes were necessary, and unless from the opening of a competing line, or some other extraneous cause, the fares remained with little or no alteration for many years. The scale of

fares naturally depends on the character of the population whose wants the railway supplies. Their general social position and many other circumstances now enable the clear-headed manager to decide at once on the best-paying fares, or at all events, go very near the mark, and recommend them to his board accordingly, so that very few changes are afterwards required. It was very different, however, in the early history of railways, when managers had but little experience to guide them in fixing the fares, and thought the tariff that paid best in one locality should pay best in all others. With railways that paid fair dividends the changes in fares were not very great, seldom exceeding 10 or 20 per cent.; but it was very different with the unfortunate class that paid very low dividends; the directors, attributing their want of success to not having charged the best-paying fares, made the most extreme and sudden changes, in order to find them out. The tariff would be reduced 30, 40 or 50 per cent., or tried the other way, and raised 50, or, in some cases, 100 per cent. We shall find, when we go into these cases, this curious result, from all these changes—that let the directors alter their fares as they would—make them high, low, or moderate—change them from three pence per mile for first-class to three farthings; or one penny per mile to one farthing for third class, *the difference in dividend to the shareholders was comparatively small, seldom exceeding a half per cent. per annum.* That difference, however small in itself, was of considerable consequence to the shareholder, not merely as regards the income, but its effect on the market price of shares, every pound of income representing about twenty pounds of capital.

“Some boards commenced with low fares, and gradually increased them till the highest paying point was attained. Let us suppose a case in which the directors think that the first-class fare should not exceed one penny per mile, and the other classes in due proportion; but find that such a tariff pays only 4 per

cent. per annum. Not being satisfied, they double their fares, and find that pays  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; they hope still better to improve their position, and add 50 per cent. more to their fares, but the increase reduces their dividend to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; by a few more trials they soon ascertain the best paying point, which, perhaps, turns out to be an addition of 20 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. to the second tariff trial. Let us take now the descending scale. The directors of another company we will suppose, believing that high fares would pay best, charge three pence per mile for first-class, and the others in proportion; these fares they find pay them at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, with which, however, they are not satisfied. They reduce their fares 33 per cent., and they find that reduction raises their dividend to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.; thus encouraged, they make another reduction, and reduce these last fares 50 per cent.: this actually raises their dividend to  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. They go on and reduce another 50 per cent., but they find now they have gone beyond the mark, for their dividend is reduced to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., so they come to the right conclusion—being somewhere between the present and the last charged fares, the exact point they soon discovered and slightly raise their fares till they find that three farthings per mile for first-class, and one half-penny for second class, for the whole length of their line, return tickets at a fare and a half, and slightly increased charges for shorter distances, pay them 6 per cent. These are the fares now charged, 6 per cent. being the dividend paid, on the North London line. There are, however, very few railways in the kingdom but would lose considerably as compared with their present earnings, by carrying their ordinary first-class passengers at three farthings per mile, instead of two pence or two pence half-penny, the usual charge; their second-class at a half-penny per mile instead of three half-pence; and their third, at one farthing per mile instead of one penny.

“The London and Northwestern Com-

pany, for instance, in 1863 paid £5 2s. 6d. per cent. to their proprietors, but if the fares were reduced to *one-third* of what they now charge, their annual dividend might at first be reduced to £4 per cent. per annum, a large reduction, representing a loss in the market value on each £100 share of £22 10s. The greatest loss, however, that I have been able to trace to any company by a change of policy was that caused by a sudden reduction of four-fifths in their fares; the loss in that case amounted to one per cent. dividend per annum on their capital. To ascertain the loss companies would incur in their dividends by any assumed reduction in their fares, when all the data are furnished, would be a matter of little difficulty to any well-skilled manager of a railway.

“There is, however, another party who have some interest in the matter, not only in the fares of the London and North-western Company, but in the fares of all the railways in the kingdom, and that very large party is the *Public*; who have no voice or influence either direct or indirect, in the matter, by themselves individually or their representatives, nor, under the present system, have a right to require any reduction in the fares on a railway more than they have a right to require their grocer or baker to reduce the price of their tea and their loaf. It is a part of our recognized policy to grant to private individuals the possession of these great arteries of communication which monopolize the conveyance of passengers and goods throughout the country, and they who exercise the trust on behalf of the shareholders find themselves obliged, in the exercise of their duty, to exclude at least three-fourths of those who have occasion to travel.

“Now here is a subject for statesmen to ponder, and we could not choose an illustration more in point of the working of the present system. The London and Blackwall Railway was constructed for the accommodation of the poorest and most densely-populated district of the metropo-

lis; the fares are moderate, three halfpence and a penny per mile, for the two classes of passengers; but considering the poverty of the district through which the railway runs, it is pretty certain that if the fares for the whole distance, four miles, were reduced to two pence and one penny respectively for the two, they might pay *nearly*, though possibly *not quite*, as well as the present fares. The directors, no doubt, would be glad if they could accommodate the public by further reducing their fares to the level of their neighbor, the North London, if they could do so with justice to their shareholders; but instead of doing so, they may eventually feel themselves obliged to return to the old fares; it just turns on the chance of their taking a few hundred pounds less in the course of the year. The number of passengers conveyed in each train on the London and Blackwall, according to the last returns, was ninety-one; and by the North London, one hundred and fifty-five.

“There were conveyed on the London and Blackwall Railway last year, upwards of *ten million* passengers; yet in this densely-populated district, this teeming hive of industry, where time may almost literally be said to be money, probably three times that number were obliged to travel on foot, who would have been able to pay a penny for their fare, and could have been carried at a mere nominal increase in the expense, as the trains are running comparatively empty.

“One more instance. The length of the Glasgow and Greenock line is twenty-two and a half miles. There was an active competition carried on for some time between the railway company and the owners of steamboats on the Clyde; the third-class fare by the railway, which had formerly been a shilling for the entire distance, was reduced to sixpence, and the opposition was carried on for two years; there was, of course, an enormous increase in the number of passengers, but an arrangement having been come to between the contending parties, the railway company returned to their original fares; the

difference in the company's receipts, after the change, was rather in their favor, but it amounted only to one shilling per cent. per annum increase on their dividend—an increase of only one-twentieth of one per cent."

It is a matter of considerable surprise to me that a number of our eminent railway authorities have taken so little cognizance of the condition described by Mr. Galt. That railroads, in order to increase their profits by a small fraction of one per cent., should be willing to increase their rates by 50 per cent. is not so amazing, but when this sort of thing is being done right along by every private railroad in the world, that eminent railway economists, *without making any qualifications whatever*, should still have the hardihood to assert that "the interests of the railroads and the shipping and traveling public are identical" is absolutely incomprehensible.

To be sure, it is a matter of common knowledge that there are certain varieties of freight of which the amount carried by the railroads would not be very largely increased no matter how great a cut should be made in the rates at which they were carried, but this fact does not in any way do away with that even larger category of persons and articles to be transported, which respond quickly to every cut in rates by a rapid increase in the quantity offered for shipment. The heart of the matter is this; that whereas this increase in the quantities offered for shipment frequently makes up and sometimes more than makes up for the losses sustained by the cut in rates, at the same time frequently the resultant increase does not *quite* recoup the roads for those losses. It is in dealing with this class of articles that a government administration, intent only on serving the public, would continue to keep the price of transportation down to a reasonable figure, whereas corporation railway managers would necessarily feel in duty bound to raise such rates to the point at which they would be productive of the greatest amount of profits. The

difference between the attitudes of state and corporation railway administrations can be summed up in a very few words. The ideal corporation charges all that the traffic will bear, whereas an ideal government gives all that the rates charged can be made to pay for.

The fundamental and irreconcilable nature of this conflict between the interests represented on the one hand by the government, and on the other hand by railroad corporation managers, was very clearly and concisely brought out in the concluding words of the governmental argument in favor of the state purchase of the Prussian railroads in 1879.\*

"If it were possible," said the government, "to make a system so perfect that the interests of the public could be thoroughly protected from the private companies, this system could not easily leave the railroads free to increase their profits.

"The intervention of the government limits and hinders the action of the companies, its requirements may even injure them and cut down their receipts: but in this event private capital will shun the enterprises so rigorously controlled, and the development of the railroads will be checked. On the other hand, if the financial results of the enterprise commence to decrease, the necessity of not injuring the profitableness of the enterprise and of warding off the ruin which would be caused by a breakdown must cause the government to waive certain demands which it had made in the general interest. The system of private companies, therefore, must disappear because of these inconsistencies, *i. e.*, that the interests of the public which are bound up with the railroads, are left at the mercy of private initiative and that government control cannot do that which actual state operation alone can accomplish."

CARL S. VROOMAN.

*Bloomington, Illinois.*

\**Etude Comparee du Droit de Rachat, etc.*, Paul Deligny, p. 35.

# THE ATLANTIC DEEP WATERWAY.

By WILLIAM J. ROE.

ONE OF the most serious of all the numerous problems that have been presented by nature for solution by civilization is that of transportation of products. It is largely, even mainly, because of the lack of adequate means to move raw material from the place of production to the place of manufacture, and again to the places of consumption, that so many articles of commerce are extortionately dear; and it is also because of that same lack of facilities that year after year, more deadly than battle and murder, famine brings death—slow or sudden—to innumerable peasant peoples of China and India and Russia. Indeed it has passed into a maxim (amply corroborated by history) that those countries have progressed most and swiftest in civilization whose waterways have been most numerous and accessible. Within the last half-century the marvelous development of railway systems—particularly in Europe and North America—providing, as they have, for far swifter intercommunication, have largely superseded waterways. In the early years of the nineteenth century no more profitable investment for surplus capital was to be found than in shares of canal companies, until, little by little, the insidious rivalry of the railway, first reducing, at last totally prohibited profit. Time and enterprise and mechanical ingenuity, having displaced the mule and barge in favor of the locomotive, are again showing their power to make “ancient good uncouth,” the growth of human needs (former luxuries becoming more and more necessities) having outrun the increase of population, the people are returning to water transportation as a relief from the congested traffic of the railways.

The call of the people for this method of relief, at first feeble and local, grew quickly strong and finally continental.

The several states, notably New York, enacted laws and made large appropriations to this end, and the Federal government, incited to action mainly by political expediency and the demands of localities, did likewise. The history of the great Erie Canal system demonstrates not only the utility of the waterway for transportation, but the strength of public opinion, compelling this improvement against the antagonism of influences notoriously strong. The record of action by the United States Congress respecting waterways, shown by the items of successive river-and-harbor bills, while in many cases exceedingly effective, has in the past far too often been made the vehicle for needless or even scandalous expenditures, the so-called “log-rolling” of Congressmen having become a by-word—not necessarily of “graft,” but always of commercial greed or political ambition.

The present time, and the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt will probably be known in the far future as the era of the great commercial and economical awakening. The theory of comprehensive control by the nation over interstate commerce, evoking some exceedingly crude, but also much wise and beneficent legislation, in no one direction has so quickly taken shape for good as in its attitude toward that greatest of public utilities—children of the sun and the sea—the waters of the land.

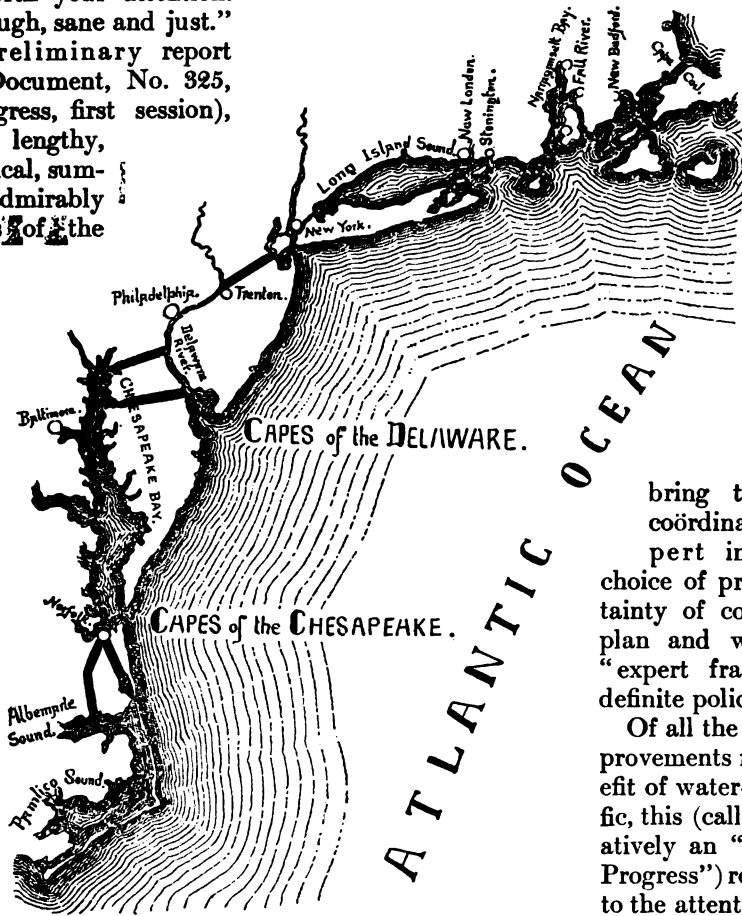
The demands of the people, embodied chiefly in petitions to the executive from commercial organizations of the Mississippi valley, were first distinctly recognized in an open letter (dated “The White House, March 14, 1907”) addressed to nine distinguished citizens requesting them to serve upon a commission “to prepare and report a comprehensive plan for the improvement and control of the river systems of the United States.”

This commission (now widely known as that of "Inland Waterways"), of which Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, is chairman, after many meetings and the fullest and ablest discussion, reported to the President, who transmitted the paper to Congress, characterizing it as "Well worth your attention. It is thorough, sane and just."

This preliminary report (Senate Document, No. 325, 60th Congress, first session), while not lengthy, nor statistical, summarizes admirably the needs of the

by canals and the canalization of rivers, each receives due attention.

Among the recommendations the principal one is for a "National Waterways Commission," not as a substitute for existing agencies—now scattered among various departments and bureaus—but "to



MAP No. 1.

bring these into coördination," "expert initiative in choice of projects, certainty of continuity of plan and work," and "expert framing of a definite policy."

Of all the several improvements for the benefit of water-borne traffic, this (called conservatively an "Inquiry in Progress") recommends to the attention of Congress the project for "A deep and continuous

nation, as to the conservation and utilization of our water supply. For accurate information, scientific treatment, and philosophic discernment it is unsurpassed in ability. Of necessity the subject divides into numerous branches; questions of forest preservation, of irrigation, of reclamation by drainage, of the utilization of water power, the prevention of floods, and the relief of railway congestion

Atlantic inner passage from New England to Florida." It may be confidently said that no other of the contemplated improvements in the interest of still-water navigation (not even the projected deep waterway from the lakes to the Gulf) has so many and so vital elements in its favor. The first map shows almost at a glance how abundantly Nature has already provided for this "Atlantic Inner Passage";

from the extreme eastern shore of Cape Cod to Buzzard's Bay a narrow neck, barely nine miles across, now—being cut by private enterprise—intercepts the passage of ships; thence southeasterly—passing Martha's Vineyard and Block Island—comes Long Island Sound; then in order, the "East river," New York harbor, the Kill-van-Kull and Staten Island Sound. The break across New Jersey has already been overcome from the Raritan to the Delaware, by a canal, needing only to be deepened and widened. Then comes the Delaware, and between that and the Chesapeake only a few miles of cutting and the way is clear to the harbor of Norfolk, below the capes of the Chesapeake. Beyond Norfolk two canals already exist carrying light-draught vessels, needing only enlargement to connect with the broad and safe expanses of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds.

Further southward, along the entire coast to the very extreme tip of the Florida peninsula, while no extensive bays or sounds penetrate inland, countless bayous and lagoons wind and wander back of those long reaches of marsh and meadow, of rice and cotton plantations constituting the Sea Island of Georgia and the Carolinas. Many of these natural channels are navigable for vessels of considerable tonnage; others are comparatively shallow; but, with here and there an isthmus of alluvial soil, easily susceptible of being cut through by the modern hydraulic dredger, the entire southern coast already affords a passage, safe and sheltered, parallel to the ocean. And this Atlantic system may be connected with another for interior communication along the Gulf of Mexico by one or the other of two routes (both of which have been surveyed), one by the St. Mary's river through Okefenokee Swamp, and down the Suwannee; the other up the St. John's, and thence by way of Topokalija Lake to the Gulf at Charlotte Harbor.

A perusal of the various River-and-Harbor acts and the statistical publications of the Department of Commerce and

Labor show an already existing traffic along the present disconnected channels of the Atlantic seaboard surprising for the amount, value and variety of transported produce. Coal, lumber, cotton, fertilizers, fish, oysters, garden produce, etc., constitute the principal cargoes, now carried in small craft; but which, upon the opening of a through waterway of sufficient depth, would be far more economically transported in steam-propelled barges of large dimensions.

But the coastwise commerce between the northern and southern states is now carried on mainly upon the Atlantic ocean. From information carefully gathered and published by the United States government, it is found that for the last ten years alone, there were of vessels totally lost, about a thousand, of partial losses nearly three times as many, and that the aggregate value of vessels and cargoes lost and ruined exceeded \$20,000,000; while the lives sacrificed (not to be estimated in money value) were very many hundreds, the majority perishing on that terrible "Graveyard of the Atlantic," the coast of stormy Hatteras.

A close estimate of the cost of a continuous waterway from Massachusetts to Florida, with a depth of thirty feet, ample for all the present needs of commerce, shows that it could be constructed for not far from \$100,000,000. That is to say, for this expenditure, considering the natural increase of tonnage, the country would save the whole cost in money in comparatively a very few years, to say nothing of the saving of life now sacrificed to the fury of the open sea.

Such, very briefly, are the commercial advantages of a continuous deep waterway along the Atlantic seaboard. But another and equally important advantage demands attention. Within the last ten years that have been taken as a basis for reckoning, so strong has been the voice of the people for peace and arbitration as a substitute for warfare, that perhaps we have entered upon a new era. Still the savage element in mankind has not been

wholly conquered, and still that nation which is most capable of enforcing peace is most likely to conserve it. "How," the Christ has said, "can one enter into a strong man's house and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man?" a statement of truth hardly requiring the "authority" of theological dogma.

In ways of aggression and destruction America has proved herself so humane and so just that she can well afford to arm without the imputation of a desire for conquest. This paper is not a plea for further or more extensive warlike preparation, or the construction of many or more powerful battle-ships; but rather to indicate to the citizen unversed in military and naval strategy, the actual beneficence of a coastwise deep-water channel along the Atlantic, as a practical measure of protection.

In case of aggressive war with a foreign maritime power, or perhaps with a coalition of aggressive powers, what more certain object of attack than our exposed seaboard cities! Modern science has made such enormous advances that now heavy ordnance can throw shot and shell destructively for many miles. For purpose of devastation—or more likely ransom—a foreign fleet would naturally congregate at one port, singling that out for spoliation. In that harbor alone would be probably not sufficient floating armament for successful defense; but the waterway open along the coast, reinforcements—battle-ships, armored cruisers, torpedo-boats—all the effective forces of the navy congregated at other stations—could come steaming swiftly and safely to the relief of the threatened city, either to join with fort and fleet in front defense, or to assail the enemy's exposed flank. Such a canal would mean swift and sure concentration. It would increase the effective strength of our defending navy by as many fold as there are naval stations or cities to defend. If the canal would pay for itself in a few years by the saving it would effect in life and property during peace, how much might it not save in the single hour of destructive war?

So, commercially and strategically alike, the utility and economy of the coast waterway become evident. But it is always easier to offer evidence than to cause a surely righteous verdict. However meritorious a scheme of public utility may be, opposition may always be counted upon. The former petty "log-rolling," not always far removed from petty larceny, by which a vote for a court-house or a post-office building was exchanged for a river or a harbor improvement, has largely disappeared in Congress. We have not perhaps grown better, we have grown wiser; the bramble of close competition has borne the fruit of coöperation; the rivalry of "labor" and "capital" has taught both capitalist and toiler the value of at least this—"the injury of one is the concern of all," and that in ways of business as in politics, "in union is strength."

But in spite of this generally larger outlook and broader plan and scope in considering great public improvements; this one has not failed to encounter, even in its very inception, diverse views of avowed friends as to expediency, and also the more serious claims of rival routes, and the demands of vested interests liable to interference or destruction. There are in fact at least three localities where this rivalry has already taken definite, and in one very strenuous shape. It is not the province of this article to pass judgment as to respective merit or demerit; but by quoting from public papers and official documents to indicate wherein merit or demerit may lie, and in some degree the nature of the obstacles that may be reckoned upon to deflect or even thwart the speedy realization of so worthy a public improvement.

On August 28, 1907, several members of Congress visited Trenton, New Jersey, in the interest of a project for deepening the channel of the Delaware river. The interest then awakened resulted in a conference of municipalities and trade associations affected, and this in turn in the organization—in coöperation with the "Inland Waterways Commission—of an



association, composed of delegates from commercial bodies, or those designated by governors of the states bordering on the Atlantic, and other distinguished citizens, calling itself "The Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association."

This conference decided to remain attorney for the plaintiff proposition of a greater water highway, and as to the standing of contending interests, "without prejudice." As to these contending interests, the association, at its session held in Philadelphia, November 18, 19 and 20, 1907, amended a resolution favoring "the lines of existing canals," and unanimously substituting, "along the lines approved by Congress as the most practical."

Unfortunately at the second session of the association held in Baltimore in November last, this wise action was rescinded, the convention voting that the route should be in all cases, "along the lines of existing canals."

The first (beginning at the northern end of the proposed water highway) of the many links in the long chain, will be that to connect Cape Cod Bay or Boston harbor, the former with Buzzard's Bay, the latter with Narragansett Bay at Fall River. A paper on "The Cape Cod Canal," now under construction, being financed by August Belmont & Company, was read by Mr. William Barclay Parsons, of New York, and another relating to a proposed canal between Fall River and Boston, was read by Hon. L. E. Chamberlain, President of the Massachusetts Board of Trade. Mr. Parsons' paper was extremely interesting. It related in some detail the history of this long-deferred enterprise, from the year 1697, when the Massachusetts General Court ordered an investigation as to the feasibility of cutting a waterway between "Barnstable Bay into Monument Bay." The project advocated by Mr. Chamberlain is also an ancient one, although a charter was granted only three years ago. Its chief advantage is a military one, in that it materially shortens the distance into

Boston harbor, and avoids the open sea of Cape Cod Bay. The rivalry between these two routes, while as yet quite amicable, promises to develop considerable energy.

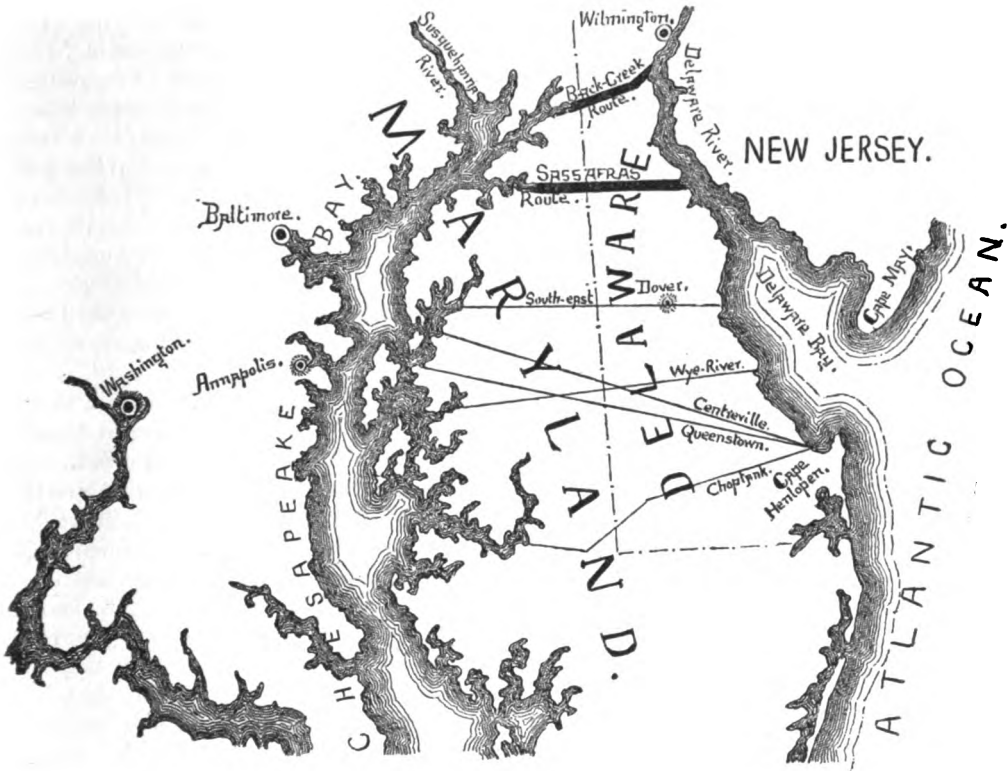
From either Buzzard's or Narragansett Bay, to the westward deep water is found until the mouth of the Raritan river is reached, and these waters, from Fisher's Island at the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound, are fully protected by fortifications. The next link in the canal system is that connecting the waters of New York Bay with the Delaware river. Over this route there is now a small canal—the Delaware and Raritan canal—needing only enlargement. A survey, authorized by the city of Philadelphia in 1894, has been made; some changes of route are suggested, and the sole obstacle to an enlarged waterway (apart from the cost, estimated at about \$30,000,000) would be the possible opposition of the owners—the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The situation in regard to a deeper waterway from Hampton Roads to Albemarle Sound in North Carolina, is almost precisely similar to that which has developed in Massachusetts: two shallow canals, owned and operated by private corporations, now connect these waters—the "Dismal Swamp canal," and the "Chesapeake and Albemarle." Several exhaustive reports have been made by the United States Engineer Corps; the advantages and disadvantages of both routes appearing about equally balanced, and, quite naturally, each is not backward in claiming superiority over the other. Besides these several alternative routes have been surveyed; one—the "Cooper's Creek" route being the favorite.

Retracing our steps somewhat, it is to take up the circumstances and conditions connected with the proposed deep channel from the Delaware to the Chesapeake. The situation as to this proposed cut is unique in a multitude of particulars. Here exists a rivalry—bidding fair to result in antagonism, not, as with the Cape Cod and Hampton Roads sections, be-

tween private and therefore somewhat trivial interests; but between two great cities—Philadelphia and Baltimore, indeed it may be said, between the two states of Pennsylvania and Maryland. A glance at Map No. 2 will show at once and clearly the sources of difference or discord. The movement for a canal across the Maryland-Delaware peninsula origin-

more, situated as it is, far up the Chesapeake Bay, and nearly two hundred miles from the ocean at the capes of Virginia, demanded a new and quicker access to the sea. Responding to this demand—at the time quite unanimous—the War Department caused surveys of various routes to be made. These (indicated on the map) were all more or less “direct routes” to



MAP No. 2.

ated early in the nineteenth century, the result being a waterway some eight feet in depth, with locks, which is still in active business, although its revenues—at one time very considerable—have been reduced to merely nominal figures. This canal is known as “The Chesapeake and Delaware canal,” and the line (as noted on the map) the “Back-Creek Route.”

In the year 1871 a new movement was inaugurated in the way of a water route across the peninsula. The city of Balti-

more, situated as it is, far up the Chesapeake Bay, and nearly two hundred miles from the ocean at the capes of Virginia, demanded a new and quicker access to the sea. Responding to this demand—at the time quite unanimous—the War Department caused surveys of various routes to be made. These (indicated on the map) were all more or less “direct routes” to

the sea, three of them terminating at Lewes, just within the Delaware breakwater. One of these would undoubtedly have been chosen had it not been for the expense; the cheapest of all being that called “The Choptank Route,” the estimate for which was over \$16,000,000, the others ranging up to \$41,500,000 for the “Centerville,” while the estimate for the “SassafRAS” was only \$8,000,000. At this time the “Back-Creek” route had not been considered, no survey even having

been made. Although a company was incorporated to construct a ship canal across the peninsula, and a right of way acquired, as well as some work done on the line of the Sassafras, the project languished until 1894, when, responding to the urgency of Baltimore, the President appointed a commission to decide upon a route. During the years between 1871 and 1894 conditions had materially altered affecting Baltimore's foreign commerce. The channel of the lower Chesapeake, previously narrow, tortuous and shallow, had become, through the work of the Engineer Corps and liberal appropriations under the River-and-Harbor acts, broad, deep and comparatively straight, so satisfactory in fact to Baltimore's shippers that they were no longer interested in any ship-canal project. Another consideration had also to be taken into account—the act (River-and-Harbor act of August, 1894) provided that in making selection of a route, the board should select not only the route which should "give the greatest facility to commerce," but which should be "best adapted to national defense."

Map No. 2 will serve to show that the terms of this authorization barred out any consideration whatever being given to any of the routes having their eastern terminus upon the open sea, or upon the Delaware Bay below the mouth of the river where fortifications could not be erected to ensure security of communication in time of war; this, of course, left the choice between the "Back-Creek" and the "Sassafras." Further, the eastern terminus of the present Chesapeake and Delaware canal was upon the Delaware river above (and therefore protected by) Forts Delaware and Dupont. The military consideration (the commission being almost entirely composed of military men) prevailed, the report being unanimous in favor of the "Back-Creek."

For twelve years nothing was done in the matter; then (by virtue of joint-resolution No. 37, approved June 28, 1907) a second commission was desig-

nated, as the resolution was worded: "To examine and appraise the works and franchises of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal," and also "to investigate the feasibility of the Sassafras route." By the terms of the resolution three commissioners were to be designated, one of whom should be "an officer of the Engineer Corps, one an officer of the navy, and one a civilian." This commission reported January 1, 1907, recommending the "Back-Creek" route as "desirable," but stating that the Sassafras was "feasible."

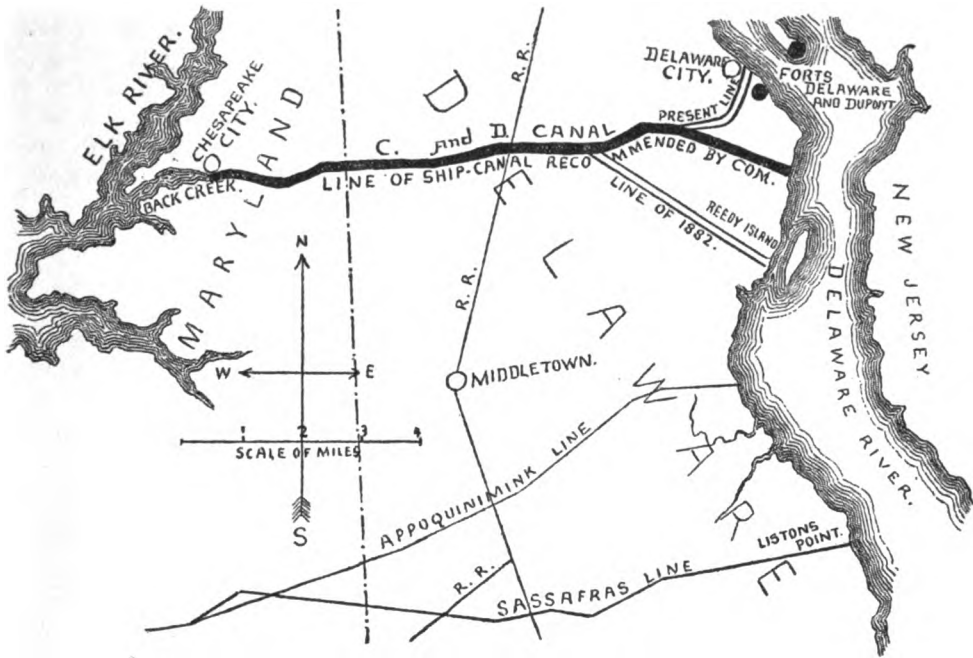
From these two decisions those interested have taken an appeal. The action of Congress shows that this appeal has had its effect: a bill for the purchase of the Chesapeake and Delaware canal not having been considered, and another, reopening the entire subject of choice of routes (S. R. 75, 60th Congress, first session) having passed the Senate, April 24, 1908.

The grounds of opposition to the more northerly of the two routes are in effect, that the choice of this route discriminates by its far greater length against Baltimore's foreign commerce (Maps 1 and 2). Second, the existence of 7,000 linear feet of quicksand on that line—no trace of which appears on the line of the Sassafras—and, third, a curious discrepancy in the report of the second commission (Senate Document No. 215, 59th Congress, second session) which, while recommending the northern route *because of its eastern terminus being above the fortifications*, by its official map (of which Map No. 3 is virtually a *fac-simile*) shows the projected ship canal terminating on the Delaware *below the batteries*, and therefore beyond their direct protection. The batteries could still defend the approach to the canal; but the chief object of such a waterway strategically—the insurance of entire *security of communication* would be defeated, the canal being still *exposed to peril of distant bombardment*.

The prospect of an enormous amount of local traffic to follow the opening of a deep-water canal, "free and clear" of

tolls, on either of these routes, makes it highly probable that upon one line or the other the first work of the long water highway will be begun. There are, it is estimated, now about 8,000 vessels, carrying annually between 50,000,000 and 90,000,000 tons that now trade—chiefly with Baltimore, on the Chesapeake Bay. Much, if not all, of this tonnage Baltimore

way of connecting navigable waters, deepening existing shallow channels, and generally improving local navigation. Almost without exception these improvements have been made in response to purely local demands. One of the reports—that of Colonel, then Major, Ernest H. Ruffner, of the United States Engineers, is well worthy of more than casual men-



MAP No. 3.

fears will be diverted to Wilmington and Philadelphia.

Southward from the Chesapeake this great enterprise of a deep coastwise water highway may be considered as a practical unit. From that curious anomaly of nature, Lake Drummond of the Dismal Swamp into which no stream flows, and from which on every side the water runs; through Albemarle Sound, not as might be thought, an estuary of the ocean, but a body of fresh water; across broad Pamlico, and thence behind the Sea Islands, the way lies open for a continuous deep channel. From time to time much has been effected by the general government through the Corps of Engineers, in the

tion. This report may be found in H. R. Document No. 278, 56th Congress, first session. It relates to the survey of "water ways and low-lying marsh lands or rice lands between the North and South Santee rivers, with a view to extending the Estherville-Minim Creek canal."

Complying strictly with the provisions of the River-and-Harbor act of March 3, 1899, Major Ruffner makes his report upon this projected improvement. He finds it both desirable and feasible; and then, somewhat transcending the ordinary scope of duty of a local engineer officer, charged with the preliminary investigation of a petty piece of dredging to facilitate local traffic, he takes occasion to call

attention to the futility of that system of policy which has engaged itself in considering "items separately, and not as a logical whole." The hope is clearly, cleverly and strenuously expressed of securing "the adoption of a general project for the inland navigation of this region."

It is seldom indeed that so much of prophecy—and also of poetry is found in a matter-of-fact, cold-blooded report of a work of simple civil engineering. In word cartoons, admirable for atmosphere, Major Ruffner contrasts "the coast of the Netherlands and East Friesland with our own ocean front from Chesapeake Bay to Florida." He compares Holland, supporting near five million people "on a

bleak coast fronting the angry waves of the boisterous North Sea," with the scantily-populated maze of islands of South Carolina and Georgia—"islands with no cold winter expanse, canal and field not locked up for months as in Holland, but bathed in sunshine."

The argument is for a comprehensive system of deep-water communication; for the logical whole, for the several links of improvement conforming, as the necessity arises, not only to the limited requirements of localities, but with a view to the extension of one grand chain of an Atlantic deep waterway along the entire coast.

WILLIAM J. ROE.

*Newburgh, New York.*

## BETTER CITY GOVERNMENT.

BY HON. LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN,  
Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.

PAST attempts at municipal reform have resulted in failure. So universally has this been the case that not a few of its advocates, becoming discouraged, have abandoned their efforts and allowed the old hated *régime* to regain control.

Time and again this has happened in New York and Chicago. More recently it has occurred in Philadelphia.

These are but spectacular types of many cities. Never have the rascals been turned out for any considerable length of time.

Happily within a few years the reform force has been turned into a new and a more promising direction. Reformers finally are beginning to realize that their efforts to supplant the incompetent and the venal by better officials are wholly unsatisfactory, and, at best, result in a very partial and temporary improvement.

The catastrophe which devastated Galveston in 1900 led the people of that stricken city to turn their attention to the correction of the real cause of bad govern-

ment, namely, a crude, antiquated, outgrown, and almost worthless machinery of local elections.

The example set by Galveston has been followed by other cities in other states, and to-day a disposition is manifest in many influential quarters to reform the system of government which has obtained in the cities.

### TWO DANGERS.

The situation is hopeful, but involves two dangers.

One of these dangers is that in many cities it will be said: We will watch the experiments now being made in Galveston, Texas; in Des Moines, Iowa, and in Newport, Rhode Island, and the one which proves the most successful we will make an effort to apply here.

The trouble with this waiting attitude is that, pending a decision which may long be delayed, the corroding evils now in existence will continue, and that a few years hence the reform wave now sweep-

ing over the country may have receded.

The second danger is, that other cities, assuming upon insufficient ground that the experiments now being tried are sure to be successful, will proceed at once to imitate the one which seems most promising.

It would be safer to take neither of these courses, but rather to examine the several schemes of improvement in the light of history and reason, and thereafter fix upon some plan which is feasible and which gives greater promise of success, if possible, than any of the experiments now being tried.

The Des Moines plan, which is a development of the Galveston experiment, possesses features which seem to be very desirable.

The doing away with the party names on the ballot is a simple and effective change which ought to be applied in all municipal elections. The direct control of the city charter by the voters is fundamentally right and expedient.

The constitution of the city government of Des Moines, however, is a very radical change from past methods—so revolutionary as to make it difficult of accomplishment through the legislature of many of the states, particularly in those lying eastward of Iowa.

Certainly other cities which are considering the adoption of the Des Moines plan ought to satisfy themselves of its theoretic value, for it will be a number of years before its permanent success can be established by the clinical method alone. Nor should it be necessary to await developments. The theory of popular government is not so novel and untried that the operation of a new adaptation cannot be understood and foreseen from an examination of the law creating it.

#### THE DES MOINES CHARTER.

Are the most important provisions of the Des Moines charter in theory correct, and do they accord with the canons of government generally accepted in the United States?

The administration of its city government is divided into five departments, namely: Public Affairs, Accounts and Finances, Public Safety, Streets and Public Improvements, Parks and Public Property.

The first of these departments is advisory and supervisory, and is assigned by law to the mayor, who is elected by the people at large. The other four departments are filled also by means of a general ticket, each elector voting for any four out of all the candidates, whose names are arranged upon the ballot in alphabetical order.

In a word, the voters elect a mayor and four assistants, and the four are detailed by the board of five so constituted to their respective departments. No doubt their wishes and capacities will be consulted in such assignment to administrative duties.

Now these five men are not merely the executive heads of the administration, but they constitute the city legislature, making all appropriations and passing all ordinances which the voters themselves do not choose to enact or veto. They also elect the other city officials.

Concerning these provisions it may be said that election on a general ticket is far safer and better than would be election by wards. In view of the great powers conferred upon these five men, it is conceivable that, for a time at least, the better citizenship of the municipality may select them.

#### DOUBTFUL PROVISIONS.

Two or three things in the charter, however, will bear critical examination.

Executive and legislative functions are combined in the same persons. This is contrary to a theory which has long prevailed. It has been deemed unsafe, exposure to too great temptation, to permit the same body of men who are to disburse the public fund also to have a free hand in determining how large that sum shall be.

A long list of city officials, also, are chosen by the council, including such

important officers as city clerk, treasurer, solicitor, assessor, chief of fire department, and street commissioners. In this way the executive power is exercised, not by one person as provided in the United States constitution, but by a majority of the five members of the council.

Furthermore, under the Des Moines plan, in which the five all-powerful officials are elected by a plurality of the entire electorate, about one-half of the voters are excluded from all voice in the city government. Such mal-representation has never worked well and never will. Undoubtedly it is far better that the five councilmen be elected upon a general ticket, than separately from five wards, but the strong probability is that the spoilsmen of the city will be able, within a very few years, to elect three of the five councilmen. When that time arrives, owing to the immense powers concentrated in the council, the whole city will be absolutely at the mercy of the grafters.

#### REVOLUTION OR REFORM.

Therefore, owing to the difficulty in many states of securing the Des Moines plan, and still more because of the theoretic objections which lie against it, is it not worth while to aim rather at reforming than at revolutionizing our municipal governments?

Speaking for myself, although accounted a radical, I have always been in favor of giving a trial to that which is old and respectable, if it never has had a fair chance.

The federal plan of government is both old and respectable and in theory possessed of many virtues, but it never has been given a fair trial.

Its theory is this: A complete separation of the three departments of government, the executive to be single, the legislative to be multiple and representative, and the judicial to be durable.

In few cities is the executive power placed in the hands of the mayor, but so far as tried the single executive has proved successful. In no municipality is the

legislative branch of the government representative of the people—and, it must be remembered, notwithstanding the academic equality of the three departments, that the legislative is always far stronger than both the others combined.

Every legislative body should represent as many groups or parties as it contains members. In Des Moines, for example, the five men who make up the council should be chosen by, and therefore be representative of, five different sets of voters, gathered from the entire city constituency, the members of each set being in agreement upon some leading policy in municipal affairs.

#### A BETTER CITY COUNCIL.

In practice this may be brought about by electing, as in Des Moines, upon a general ticket, but, unlike that plan, limiting each voter to a single choice. Over the alphabetically-arranged list of candidates, which may number ten or more, should be printed upon the ballot the direction: *Vote for One.*

Evidently any one-fifth of the city's voters, who united upon one candidate, would be sure of electing him; so of another fifth, concentrated upon another candidate, and so on. The five candidates receiving the highest number of votes would be declared elected.

The council so chosen would reflect the five leading political opinions held by the voters of the city.

Now it is quite probable that in some cities the law-breaking classes, together with those subject to their influence, might amount to nearly one-fifth of the electorate, and in that case would be able to elect one councilman out of five. That result must be accepted, if it proves to be the case. In order to have true representation, it is necessary that every considerable minority, although it may be unpatriotic and vicious, should have its proportionate share of the legislative body. This is right. It is also expedient.

Under present conditions, it may be found in any year that this vicious fifth of

the electorate, holding the balance of power in the election, both can and does turn the scale. In that event it may easily happen, as indeed is constantly occurring, that a majority of the city council owes its election to this lawless element. As a consequence, we find the wide-open city, carnivals of graft, and costly, unsatisfactory and disgraceful city governments.

But how will it be with the undesirable element represented upon the city council by but one member, where the other four members are men of the first ability and integrity, chosen by the law-abiding and patriotic four-fifths of the voters? The single marplot will find himself upon a board where he is without influence when he attempts any of his crooked work. The other and superior members will see through his tricks and

ignore his bad proposals. He will get no second to any motion detrimental to the welfare of the inhabitants of the city. On the contrary, persistence in his futile wickedness will only serve as a background for displaying to the public the good qualities of his associates. In the council, taken as a whole, you will have a condensed town meeting of all the voters.

In many states, the single vote, which is the simplest form of proportional representation, may be applied upon the demand of the citizens of any city. As was the case with Newport, in conservative Rhode Island, leading Republicans and Democrats, joining forces, can easily secure the needed legislation. Once get the city council able and representative, and it will do the rest.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

*Lonsdale, Rhode Island.*

## MEDICINE, HYPNOTISM AND RELIGION.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

WHEN Christian Science first entered on its work of divine healing, and for a long time afterward its claim that this power can be invoked now as it was in early Christendom was denounced as unfounded and sacrilegious. The churches and ministers of the gospel were most pronounced and uncompromising in their denunciation of its pretensions. Then followed the charge, so often repeated even down to the present time, that its exercise of the healing art was nothing more nor less than "mental-healing" hypnotism, mesmerism, suggestion and the like. But Christian Science kept steadily on its course, with loving kindness toward the churches and others who made such vicious war upon it, healing sin, sickness and disease and bringing health, happiness, contentment and a more cheerful Christian life, and greater prosperity to

thousands of people. The changed and more serene lives of its followers soon became the subject of frequent and favorable comment. With all the denunciation launched against it nothing of evil resulting from its practice could be pointed out, but the good it was and is doing was and is beyond dispute. As a natural result its numbers have steadily increased and with remarkable rapidity. Its members have come without direct effort to induce their coming. There has been no proselyting, no revivals, no solicitation of members. One seeking the healing has never been required to espouse the cause of Christian Science or forsake his own church. Every member of a Christian Science church has become so voluntarily and without solicitation or persuasion. Thousands of people who have been healed in Christian Science have,



unfortunately for them, and perhaps ungratefully, and maybe through pride, continued their membership in other churches, of which no complaint is made. This is left wholly for them to determine. But thousands of others have left the old churches and become Christian Scientists and workers for the Cause.

The fact that such numbers in the old churches have been healed, and are students of Mrs. Eddy's writings, and, because of their own experience, believers in divine healing, has forced their churches to action in an effort to do themselves what they so roundly denounced the Christian Scientists for claiming to do. The belief in divine healing has become so strong and universal as the result of Mrs. Eddy's teachings, and the demand upon the churches to obey the command of Jesus to heal the sick so imperative within their own membership, that there seemed to be nothing else to be done. If the churches should fail to respond to this demand the result was inevitable. Their members who believed in divine healing and the duty of the church to do this work, would seek a church that is obeying the full command of Jesus to preach the gospel and heal the sick.

The outcome of this uprising in favor of the application of the power of divine healing, has been most amazing. The people who have been so persistently and continuously denouncing Christian Science as a system of mind-cure by hypnotism, mesmerism and suggestion, and not a religion, have themselves become the advocates of and propose to devote the churches to the practice of these methods of healing the sick. They could not find it in their hearts to accept the Christian Science method of healing, which has been demonstrated as both healing and regenerating in its influences. So, hypnotism and mesmerism, in their various forms, heretofore looked upon as dangerous and often criminal, are to be exercised by ministers and other churchmen, unskilled and unaccustomed to their use, and this in the name of divine healing. Why is this

mode of healing called "divine"? Are the advocates of this mode of healing following in the footsteps of Jesus the Christ, the Wayshower? Was Jesus a hypnotist? Do they claim he was? They aver that God will heal the sick. Did he heal the sick through Jesus? If so this must have been the true mode of healing. Then why abandon this divine mode and resort to hypnotism and suggestion? Is it pride that is keeping the churches away from the true principle of healing taught by Mrs. Eddy, and so successfully demonstrated by her and her followers? If not why should they undertake to resort to the dangerous practice of hypnotism and suggestion as an alleged healing power after many years of effort by physicians and others to make it effective for that purpose? It is broadly admitted that organic diseases cannot be healed by such means. Then it is not healing by divine power, but is only the exercise of one mortal mind over another and generally with the purpose to deceive and often for unworthy and criminal purposes. Could any one conceive of Jesus resorting to any such means of healing the sick? He certainly did not, for his healing was not confined to functional diseases nor was it ever necessary for him to send a patient to a doctor or resort to drugs to heal a disease because it was organic.

The difference between the operation of hypnotism and suggestion, and divine healing as practiced by Jesus, is so apparent that the two cannot by any possibility be confounded one with another. The practice of hypnotism is not a new discovery. It has been followed for many years. It is a common remedy with medical practitioners, and has been for a long time, simply because drugs have been proved by them to be ineffectual as a healing agency, and hypnotism has been taken up as an aid, and often as a substitute. But no reputable physician has ever claimed that organic diseases can be healed by this means; much less has it been regarded as divine healing. Physicians must be

smiling in their sleeves at the churches claiming this old and exceedingly ineffectual remedy of theirs to be divine. They are probably as greatly amused at the effort to join hypnotism, in the hands of the church, with drugs in the hands of the doctors, and calling them God's means of healing all manner of diseases, when they have demonstrated so thoroughly that as against both of these alleged means of cure there are many diseases that are absolutely incurable. So their combined means of healing leave them precisely where they were before and leave thousands of sufferers from so-called incurable diseases "without hope and without God in the world." And this they call divine healing. Is it not singular that the churches and Christian people should so limit the power of God? There was no such limitation in Jesus' practice of healing. There is no such limitation in Christian Science healing. Thousands of the healings in Christian Science have been of what to drugs and hypnotism and suggestion, singly or combined, are incurable. And yet the advocates of this mode of healing, that leaves multitudes of sufferers in hopeless bondage to incurable diseases, have the assurance to criticize and denounce Christian Science which is healing the diseases they are wholly unable to relieve.

But there is another side to the question worthy of serious consideration. It is the well-known and indisputable fact that the practice of hypnotism is dangerous, and often resorted to for evil and criminal purposes. Professor G. C. Mars, in his admirable work, *The Interpretation of Life*, uses this language:

"But while we have here come upon a general law of mental suggestion, there are two things absolutely necessary before the application of such a law can be made rational and beneficent for the healing of disease. First, hypnotism must be eliminated as inimical to the highest moral aims. To subject one personality to helplessness under the almost complete control of another, not only makes pos-

sible dangerous forms of malpractice, but is always humiliating to the patient, and at best ambiguous. Persons are not irresponsible things. Besides, if there is any power in suggestion to the subconscious or unconscious mind, it ought to be raised into the free, rational, self-conscious control of the individual whose immediate welfare is concerned. In the second place, there is needed the great word of suggestion that will have in it the dynamic power of displacing discordant errors for the efficient and harmonizing truth."

In an article in the *American Magazine* for October, 1908, Van Eden, an M.D. and an expert on hypnotism, says:

"The way in which I saw some French experimentators treat their patients seemed to me really revolting. The poor hospital patients were used as fit matter for demonstration before students and visitors who wanted to see the power of suggestion. By constant training they became so utterly servile that they followed the slightest hint of the doctor, their master, with the quick docility of animals in a circus. They would see all sorts of visions, take on any change of personality, and play any rôle that was indicated to them by a single word. The doctor used to deny any supposition of danger or harm done in this way. He felt himself so entirely master of the situation that he could eliminate all harmful consequence and restore mind and body to complete integrity by his suggestion.

"I could not prove that any real harm was done, yet I felt a strong reluctance to create such a condition of entire servility in a fellow-man, and I maintained this standpoint against the French doctors at the congress of experimental psychology at London in 1894. We distinguished three states of hypnosis in which suggestion could be effectively given; the first, or slight hypnosis; the second, or cataleptic state, in which members of the patient kept the position given to them by the operator; and the third, automatic state or somnambulism, in which indi-

cated movements were automatically continued, and all remembrance of what had happened during the sleep was lost upon awaking. And the Nancy school maintained that in order to give the most effective treatment every patient should be brought, if possible, into the third state of somnambulism, in which his own volition is entirely suspended and he becomes an automaton, governed only by the will of the doctor."

In the same magazine Hutchinson, M.D., in an article on "The Curiosities of Sleep," says of hypnotic sleep:

"The last remaining counterfeit of sleep, the hypnotic trance, is so obviously different in character that its discrepancies hardly need to be mentioned. Every one who has seen it will be struck with the difference. It has no relation to fatigue, but may be induced at any time and at any stage of vigor, though most commonly and easily in individuals whose mental processes are at such a low ebb that there really is not much difference between their sleeping and waking stages as far as any practical results are concerned. It is not recuperative, but rather depressing, and the patient feels, as he says, queer and dizzy when he wakes up. Instead of the brain being anemic, it is congested, the skin is pale instead of flushed, and there is no increase in the relative oxygen intake. In fact, the condition is an auto-narcosis, or perversion of consciousness, and does nothing but harm, instead of good. It may, of course, be used in expert hands as a method of treatment, but its field of usefulness in this regard is becoming more and more limited every year, and the tremendous claims made for it by Bernheim and the Nancy school have dwindled already to a surprising extent.

"The chief question which has always confronted us in our efforts to utilize it, 'How can a weak mind be made stronger by becoming absolutely dependent upon another?' still faces us unanswered."

And again:

"Hypnotics have their place in medicine like other poisonous drugs, but that

place is becoming steadily smaller as cases are more painstakingly and intelligently studied."

The writer has witnessed the exercise of hypnotism carrying the victim through the stages mentioned in the above quotation from Van Eden, resulting in complete unconsciousness so far as could be seen, and leaving the persons operated upon completely at the will and mercy of the operator so-called. And this is the power that the churches propose to use in the effort to heal disease and to exercise it under the name "divine healing." Is it divine healing in any sense? God never established a law or principle of healing that could be used for evil purposes. The work of healing done by Jesus was divine. It was not only healing but regenerating in its influence. Jesus never hypnotized any one as a means of healing. He never assumed power to control any one by his own power or suggestion. He claimed no power of his own. He said, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear I judge; and my judgment is just because I seek not mine own will but the will of the Father. . . . If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true." And again: "The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."

Not only so but he commanded his disciples to do the work he did and declared, without reservation, that any one who believed on him could do the works and even greater works than he did. His disciples did do the work of healing and never attributed it to their own power of suggestion, or hypnotism, but to the omnipotence of God. When Peter and John healed the lame man at the gate of the temple called Beautiful, and the people wondered Peter said: "Ye men of Israel why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us though by our own power or holiness we had made this man well?" And referring to Jesus he said further: "And his name through faith in his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see

and know; yea the faith which by him hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all."

This healing did not savor of hypnotism or mental suggestion. It was, like the healings by Jesus, the result of spiritual power and understanding. It was divine healing. It is inconceivable that God could resort to a power that can be used for evil purposes as well as good to bring about his own beneficent purposes or that His divine power could be used by the ungodly in furtherance of their wicked designs. Besides, this misnamed divine healing, by hypnotism or mental suggestion, eliminates the element of faith so commonly dwelt upon by Jesus in his own work. In another place the writer said:\* "Jesus' spiritual vision was so clear, his reliance upon God so absolute and implicit, and his own motives, fraught with Love divine, so pure, that the thought or attitude of the sufferer, if only he sought help, was easily overcome and the healing made certain. Nevertheless it is obvious from Jesus' own sayings that he looked upon the faith of the seeker after health as of consequence. He said of the centurion, 'Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.' And to the centurion he said, 'Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour.' When they brought him the man sick of the palsy, 'Jesus, seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the palsy: Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee. . . . Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.' To the woman who touched the hem of his garment, expecting thereby to be healed, he said, 'Be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour.' He touched the eyes of the blind men, saying, 'According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened.' To the woman who in her humility and faith asked only the crumbs from the table, he said, 'O woman, great is thy

\**Christian Science Sentinel*, Volume 26, p. 286.

faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour.' When the disciples failed to heal the lunatic and asked the Master why, he said, 'Because of your unbelief: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.' To the blind man who, in answer to his inquiry, 'What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?' replied, 'Lord, that I might receive my sight,' he said, 'Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole.' And immediately he received his sight. So when Peter asked concerning the barren fig-tree which was withered away, the Master said, 'Have faith in God. . . . Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith.' To the woman who had sinned, but who anointed his feet at the Pharisee's table, he said: 'Thy sins are forgiven. . . . Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.' When his apostles cried out to him, 'Increase our faith,' he replied, 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it should obey you.' In the case of the ten lepers, who were healed, he said to the one who returned, 'Arise, go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole.' If we turn from these sayings of Jesus to those of some of his apostles and followers, we find reiterated this demand for faith as a means of obtaining the healing. Peter, in explaining to the people the healing of the impotent man at the temple gate called Beautiful, accused them of having 'killed the Prince of life, who, God hath raised from the dead'; and said, 'And his name through faith in his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see and know: yea, the faith which is by him hath given him

this perfect soundness in the presence of you all.' So Paul, seeing a certain 'man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked,' and 'perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked.'"

There is still another difference between divine healing as Jesus taught and practiced it, and hypnotism or mesmerism, of transcendent importance. His healing was constantly coupled with his sense of forgiveness of sin. He said many times in connection with the healing: "Thy sins be forgiven thee." When he had healed the man sick of the palsy, and the scribes "said within themselves, This man blasphemeth," he said: "Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then saith he to the sick of the palsy) Arise, take up thy bed and go unto thine house."

Christian Scientists believe that every act of divine healing is at once a process of spiritual regeneration, in some degree, making the person healed better morally as well as physically. It must be evident that every one healed by divine power is brought to that extent under subjection to the divine will and atonement with God. Therefore, he must be, to that extent, a better man. The fact that divine healing does uplift man spiritually and improve his morals has been abundantly proved in Christian Science in the changed lives of its followers and the upbuilding of the church.

It is not the purpose of anything that is said here to discourage any church in the effort to fulfil the command of Jesus to heal the sick. It is a solemn duty resting upon all Christian people, and there is

work for all to do. Neither is there any intent to question the sincerity of any church or individual attempting to comply with this call to religious duty. The purpose has been rather to prevent, if possible, the grave mistake of resorting to material and ineffectual attempts at healing supposing and leading others to believe it to be divine healing. The misfortune of any such effort is twofold: It must necessarily fail in its object and the innocent suffer, and it will tend to bring discredit upon and weaken faith in genuine divine healing.

Hypnotism, mesmerism and suggestion are amongst the evils against which Christian Science is opposing its influence. They are of the carnal mind which Paul says is death and can only be overcome by the spiritual mind which is eternal life. It is this spiritual mind that workers in Christian Science are constantly invoking to rid the sick and sinful from the evil influence of mesmerism and suggestion to which most of their ills are traceable. And now they must meet and overcome this additional suggestion of the power of hypnotism as divine. But like all other assumed powers of evil masquerading in sheep's clothing, it will be overcome by good, by the very power it erroneously assumes to be.

People, in their eagerness to receive the benefits of divine healing, within their own churches, may be misled for a time, by this erroneous claim, but it cannot last. It may be that the awakening from this error may lead on to better things. The effort would be commendable if only it were rightly directed and the churches were really entering upon the work of divine healing as Jesus taught and practiced it, a work that they have too long delayed.

JOHN D. WORKS.

*Los Angeles, California.*

# THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP.

By REV. ELIOT WHITE,

Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship for Massachusetts.

**T**HE STIGMA, "anti-religious," still clings to Socialism despite the American party's official declarations that it is not concerned with matters of religious belief, and despite the outspoken acceptance of the complete Socialist program by large numbers of clergymen and lay people in the many Christian organizations.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship has set itself the task of removing this prejudice by showing the followers of the Nazarene in our time that Socialism presents the most scientific and wise plan so far devised, for conforming modern industry and business to the teachings of the Master. A Christian who engages in worldly affairs must compromise with his ethical principles. This because profit-taking without which there can be no financial success, is incompatible with the commands Christ gave his followers for all ages. So far as the modern church supports the present system of private ownership in the means of the people's life, it is trying to serve both God and Mammon. The result is as disastrous as the Master foretold. Such at any rate are some of the convictions which impel the members of the Christian Socialist Fellowship to carry on their work of persuasion and appeal to an arousing religious conscience toward social problems.

The object of the Fellowship, as specified in its constitution is "To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that Socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth."

As showing the relation of the Fellowship to the Socialist party, the following

resolution addressed to that body is important: "As active members of the Socialist party we thoroughly accept the economic interpretation of social and political causes, and have no desire to qualify it by any revisionist demand; and we are fully convinced that, as a matter of policy, the party ought strictly to avoid every form of religious and anti-religious theory or dogma on the lecture platform and in the party publications; and that such opinion should be regarded as a private matter, every one having the fullest liberty of belief and expression as an individual. In other words, that the Socialist party stands for economic and in no sense whatever for religious or anti-religious propaganda."

The importance of this resolution is constituted in a two-fold way. In the first place attempts have been made in America as well as in other countries, by a few members of the party, to force upon the Socialist movement the brand of "atheism" which the Christian Socialist Fellowship combats with firm, and it is hoped, kindly opposition, being in this thoroughly supported by the party's own decided and repeated declarations. In the second place, the so-called "Christian Socialist" movements in European countries, Austria and Denmark, for example, have sometimes been vehemently hostile to genuine Socialism, and enemies masquerading as sympathizers. The American movement very naturally therefore has had to overcome a fear on the part of old members of the Socialist party, that the Fellowship intended to do all it could to break down the true proletarian revolution already far advanced. The Fellowship has therefore done well to express its clear-cut position on both these issues. It is pleasant to add that suspicion of its purposes has almost

entirely given way to cordial appreciation of its valuable services, on the part of Socialists not officially enrolled in its ranks.

The first Christian Socialist paper, *The Dawn*, was published in America in the eighties, in Boston, edited by an Episcopal clergyman, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. Later a "Christian Socialist League" was organized and obtained members in various parts of the country. In Chicago the "Social Crusaders" met with considerable success, and conducted a monthly paper called *The Social Crusader*. In 1904, by an interesting coincidence, Rev. Edward E. Carr and his wife arranged to issue another paper, *The Christian Socialist*, at Danville, Illinois, when they learned of a periodical of the same name edited by Oscar F. Donaldson in Iowa. A correspondence which ensued between the Carrs and Donaldson resulted in a uniting of their forces; the headquarters of *The Christian Socialist* were removed to Danville, and in 1906 to Chicago, where Rev. J. O. Bentall, now state secretary of the Socialist party for Illinois, became identified with the paper. This organ of the Fellowship has steadily increased in efficiency and influence; it is issued twice a month, and has on its list of paid subscribers over 2,000 ministers of all denominations, besides the thousands of its supporters in the ranks of the laity and those owning no church allegiance whatever. From time to time special editions are issued, for example, the Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Temperance and Campaign "Specials." The largest issue yet attained was the Temperance, edition after edition being consumed until 75,000 copies were printed.

That the "anti-religious" stigma on American Socialism is undeserved would seem to be proved by the identification of religious men and women with the movement from the start. Many books quoted as authorities within and without the party were written by clergymen, and other men of the same profession have served as Representatives in state legislatures. In September, 1908, a list was

published in *The Christian Socialist* of 161 ministers, representing over 20 denominations, who signed a manifesto expressing the following clear-cut Socialist belief:

"To the Clergymen and Churches of All Denominations in America, Greeting:

"Brethren—We, who are ministers to congregations of various denominations, hereby declare our adherence to the following purpose:

"1. To permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions, with the Social Message of the Bible; to show that Socialism is the economic expression of the religious life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth.

"2. We believe that the economic teaching of the Scriptures would find its fulfilment in the coöperative commonwealth of modern Socialism.

"3. We believe that the present social system, based as it is upon the sin of covetousness, makes the ethical life as inculcated by religion impracticable; and should give place to a social system founded on the 'Golden Rule' and the 'Royal Law' of the Kingdom of God, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' which, realized under the Coöperative Commonwealth of Socialism, will create an environment favorable to the practice of religious life.

"4. We accordingly urge with utmost earnestness that all our brethren in the ministry and the people in all churches search the Scriptures and study the philosophy of Socialism, that they may see if our belief be not indeed God's very truth."

Five of the 161 signers hail from Canada, all the rest from the United States. A few, though not at present in charge of parishes, are in "good standing" in their denominations, and engaged in religious or social work, or both, if indeed there be any distinction possible between these definitions. The immense amount of work involved in securing the list was performed by Rev. John D. Long, pastor of Parkside Presbyterian Church, Brook-

lyn, New York, and general secretary of the Fellowship. He believes that by withholding the manifesto from publication half a year longer, he could have increased the number of signers indefinitely, and he states that whereas he had on his files at the beginning of 1908 the names of forty ministers who were enough interested in Socialism to receive literature bearing on it, he had in September of the same year sixteen hundred.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to state that the burden of editing and financing *The Christian Socialist* in the days of struggle for its existence, and the toil of organizing the Fellowship, were exceedingly heavy. To Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, minister of the Methodist church, and his wife with her brave spirit, is chiefly due the gratitude of those who appreciate the effective work for social righteousness now being accomplished by the agencies established in the face of stupendous discouragements. Although receiving a large salary from the parish he was serving, Rev. Mr. Carr left all to labor for Socialism, and though always supported by Mrs. Carr's unflinching resolution, he was obliged for some years to fight desperately for existence for himself and family. Surely a movement built upon such self-sacrifice and devotion calls for at least respectful consideration on the part of thinking and religious people.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship now has district secretaries in 26 states, the District of Columbia and the province of New Brunswick, Canada, and is represented by its membership in 35 states and three territories of the United States, as well as in four Canadian provinces. Chapters, or "centers" are established wherever feasible, to carry on the educational and propaganda work of the Fellowship among the local religious bodies, to provide for the discussion of social and economic questions from a religious viewpoint, to distribute literature, arrange for lectures, extend the circulation of *The Christian Socialist* and perform any other work that properly comes within the prov-

ince of the organization according to its constitution.

It is especially laid down in the resolutions adopted at the Second Annual Conference at Chicago, in 1907, "That the meetings of the centers be held at such times as will not conflict with the services of the churches, and that the centers work as much with and in the churches as possible, in every way endeavoring to correct the misunderstanding that the teachings of Jesus and the philosophy of Socialism are in conflict."

Successful conferences of the Fellowship during 1908 have been conducted in New York, Baltimore, Asbury Park, New Jersey, and Old Orchard, Maine, and a tent was erected and maintained through the summer at Coney Island, presenting lectures and entertainments bearing upon Socialism. The latter project was originated and carried through by the tireless energy of the general secretary, Rev. Dr. Long, assisted by contributions from the rank and file of the membership. The expenses of the national organization of the Fellowship are met by private contributions and by membership fees (one dollar a year).

The success so far attained by the Fellowship would not have been possible without the sustained enthusiasm and support of the Christian laymen who have given time, thought and money to it through the years of trial. George H. Strobell of Newark, a deacon in the Presbyterian church, and Rufus W. Weeks, formerly actuary and now a vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, besides O. F. Donaldson, already named, have never ceased to hold up the hands of the pioneers among the clergy.

Quotations from the writings of Mr. Strobell and Mr. Weeks will, I feel sure, be welcome here, as enlightening statements of the Christian Socialist's position. In a pamphlet by the former, called "A Christian View of Socialism," the author says:

"There is a distinct gain to every Christian who learns the Socialist philosophy.



Can any one imagine the keen delight that came to the analytic and constructive mind of Paul the Apostle when he saw all the confusing elements of the old religion, all its apparent failures as prophecy and as a law of life, all the previous revelations to his race; all the disquieting instincts of man's spiritual nature, all his hopes and aspirations toward the Infinite, all these come into a glorious harmony? The plan of redemption was complete, the confusion became order. Can you wonder he burned to tell men what he saw?

"In due time, when mankind is ready for it, there comes a revelation of God's plan for the redemption of our earthly life. It is so wonderful that it creates all the old impassioned fervor of the early Christians. It is sent as of old to the poor and lowly, and the witness of the Holy Spirit is not wanting in this new dispensation. Those touched by this holy zeal are like the first martyrs, enduring persecution and starvation and death itself for their ideal. They wander everywhere preaching the glad tidings to all nations. They see that all the previous experiences of the race, all the hopes and aspirations of man for man on earth fit into the collectivist plan; and as in these latter days they see development of the new order—every year a mighty step forward—can they hold their peace? They are working, a great host already, for the coming of the coöperative commonwealth; they are telling the glad news of an economic salvation to earth's burden-bearers.

"For the first time in the history of the world there is an intelligent and systematized movement toward the conscious organization of a just society. It is the Socialist movement now on its way to a speedy triumph in all civilized nations. It is worth studying in all its phases."

Mr. Weeks, in a paper read at the New York Conference last May, says:

"An accurate account of the Christian Socialists must begin with the statement that they do not stand for Christian Socialism. This is a paradox, but it is a fact; and it is true simply because, properly

speaking, there *is* no Christian Socialism. For while Socialism entails enormous social and ethical consequences, and while it lays claim to weighty ethical sanctions, yet, intrinsically and in itself, Socialism is neither more nor less than a political force, proceeding on economic fact, and there can therefore no more be two kinds—a Christian Socialism and a non-Christian Socialism—than there could be a Christian and a non-Christian protection or free trade.

"The Christians who are Socialists agree with their non-Christian comrades in holding to the basic doctrine of tactics—the Marxist doctrine—that economic mass-interest is the impelling motive, the driving force, which alone can be depended on to work the great world-change demanded—that same mass-interest which has in fact been the chief agency in working the world-changes of the past. . . . The specific force to be depended on is the impulse toward united action for self-interest which has sprung up naturally and as an instinct in one class of mankind alone—the wage-earning manual workers; that in brief the propensity of the proletariat to union is the main reliance. . . .

"The question is often asked of Christian Socialists: 'Since you admit that there is no distinctive kind of Socialism which could be called Christian Socialism, why do you call yourselves Christian Socialists?' A natural question. . . . The special motive which distinguishes them from other Socialists has four phases:

"The Christian Socialist is in part animated by the love of the church. He desires to be able to honor the church, and to see her honored among men. This, he is well convinced, is no longer possible if the church lags too far behind in the march of the social mind of mankind. Neither ethically nor intellectually is the church now leading; and this seems almost monstrous to the Christian Socialist. He feels it unnatural that there should be outside the church a wider outlook and a more piercing forecast than

within; that outside the church there should be a body of men more devoted to the war for freeing mankind from the chains of Mammon than within; and he longs and labors to have the church take its rightful place in this war.

“For the second phase of the Christian motive applied to Socialist action, we take that special sentiment of the heart which makes man Christian, and in which I think may be found the most vital definition of the Christian religion. One of Matthew Arnold’s carefully-weighed sentences reads thus: ‘The vital force of Christianity lies in the boundless confidence, consolation and attachment which the whole being and discourse of Jesus inspire.’ This passion has a mighty bearing on the agitation for social justice. The lover of Jesus craves to know him as he really was—to love what Jesus loved, to hate what he hated, to tread in his footsteps. Such a one, after he has learned Socialism, reads the Gospels anew, and it is as if scales had fallen from his eyes; he sees there what he never saw before, what the Christian church has forgotten, though it is there on the page. . . . The Christian Socialists share that mystic faith which is the very core of the Christian experience, and to their feeling Christ is here among the people, animating the actual living movement against his old foe Mammon, even though that movement be largely manned by those who are anti-Christian in their formal attitude.

“Jesus did not encourage his friends to sentimentalize over him; he strove to transmute their love for his person into devotion to all human beings who need help. ‘Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; feed my lambs.’ . . . Herein we have the third strand of our cord. For the Christian Socialist has learned to see what stress Jesus laid on the economic aspect of the Kingdom of God. His saying, ‘Man shall not live by bread alone,’ carries two messages—the one direct, the other implied. . . . Bread must be had, and ought to be had by all; and this is the lesson which is timely now, for now

at last is the demand a feasible one that livelihood be secured for all. . . . For the last half-century the spokesmen of religion and culture have chanted with one voice, ‘Man’s chief need is spiritual food.’ By this they mean—a diet of words; and the idea has merit, for he who dispenses that diet does not thereby reduce his own supply of more substantial fare. These lofty-minded teachers have rebuked the Socialistic cry of ‘Bread all around, first of all’—and have chastised the low materialist mind which such a cry reveals and encourages.

“The fourth strand in the cord, the final phase of the Christian motive applied to Socialist action, is the theistic passion. Mankind has always felt itself to be in the grasp of an eternal resistless power—a power felt but only partly known; and before this eternal power mankind has always stood, wistful, looking up as it were into the unseen face, questioning: ‘Art Thou friendly? Art Thou just? May we adore Thee?’ At this day the adorability of God is doubted by a larger proportion of mankind than ever before; indeed it seems to me that half the proof to human satisfaction of this desired truth is still to come.

“What, then, has to happen, in order to make God again adorable to the masses of mankind, to those who lie under the pressure of the possessing classes, as well as to those of the possessing classes who have become conscious of the cruelty of their privileges? It is plain to the Christian Socialist what has to be done: the human race has to bind itself into an economic whole, to the end that each young human being, emerging into economic life, may find the conditions which confront him fair and equal; that the place where he may serve the world with his faculty, whatever it is, may be ready for him and assured to him, and that his equal living in the human family may also be assured him.

“This necessarily means the coöperative commonwealth, as the Socialists picture it; and the Christian Socialists be-

lieve that this is Jesus' 'Kingdom of God' in the fundamental plane of life, the economic. In laboring to bring in this commonwealth, the Christian Socialists feel that they are doing their little best toward the establishing of the modern experimental proof of God's goodness, which mankind is awaiting: their little best therefore toward the bringing in of God Himself into the heart of mankind."

Rev. Mr. Carr's earnest admonition to those who would try to tell others of the spirit and purpose of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, is to make clear that "it is as frankly and honestly devoted to Christianity as it is to Socialism; it is not in the slightest opposed to the churches, but is entirely inter-denominational in its method and sympathetic in its spirit toward the churches."

As a result of Mr. Carr's work abroad during the summer of 1907, the Fellowship has been organized in England and France. The first English conference was recently held in London. Not only has a conference been already held in France, but the members of the Fellowship there have begun issuing a paper called *The Hope of the World*.

In Germany and German Switzerland a strong coterie of Socialist ministers, including Pastors Herman Kutter and Paul Pflueger of Zurich, Ragaz of Basle, Liederben of Berlin, and many others, have inaugurated a similar movement. They purpose to issue a Christian-Socialist paper. Under the leadership of Giovanni Meille, at Naples, a Christian-

Socialist paper called *L'Avanguardia* has already appeared.

In conclusion, it is fully realized by the members of the Fellowship that their activity is criticized on the ground that they are bearing down too heavily on the social side of Christianity. It seems often to be taken for granted that they have lost grasp on the spiritual fundamentals of their religion, because they do not devote as much time as others to exegesis and theological dogma—yet this is the opposite of the truth.

The Christian Socialists answer that in these days of slow awakening of the church's conscience to her neglect of the economic and social messages of the Bible, and her large failure to apply the "simple Gospel" to the crying needs of modern life, those among clergy and laity who have had the new vision and are striving that their brethren may discern the same glorious revelation, must necessarily seem one-sided and sometimes neglectful of theological detail. This is inevitable as long as the majority of Christians remain one-sided on their part, in refusal to consider the social claims, and fail as representatives of the Master to put to the test his ability to meet this age's salient problems.

The Christian Socialists have not ceased to be Christians, and they long for the day when the whole church shall realize the unprecedented opportunity that Socialism offers, to prepare the way of her Lord upon earth and to hasten His Kingdom.

ELIOT WHITE.

*Worcester, Massachusetts.*

# THE RATIONALE OF COMMON-OWNERSHIP.

BY WALDO PONDRAY WARREN.

**T**HE CAREFUL observer of industrial conditions needs no extensive argument to convince him that a great idea, revolutionary in its character, is rapidly and surely making its way into the universal consciousness—the idea of the self-evident justice and equity of Common-Ownership.

This idea makes an immediate and lasting appeal to the thoughtful man who realizes that there are many fundamental defects in the present prevalent method of business organization. A common-ownership enterprise in Chicago has demonstrated the soundness of the idea to 2,500 shareholders, who, in common, own the business, and run it by elected officers. The growth and vitality of the idea are indicated in the rather remarkable statement that the average annual increase in the volume of trade for the past six years has been 94 per cent. The value of the plan, from the stockholder's point-of-view, is indicated in the fact that a dividend of 10 per cent. on the all-common stock has been paid for the past four years—as against an average dividend of 4 per cent. on the common stock, and 5 3-5 per cent. on the preferred stock, of fifty of the best known industrial companies of the country.

The Common-Ownership idea is revolutionary in that it is based on the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, in contrast with the time-honored system of private ownership, which is too often the stronghold of the few against the many.

The prevalent method of business organization, whereby one man or a group of men control a business, determine its course, fix its policy, and pocket its profits, while hundreds or perhaps thousands of others whose money or industry go to make the success of the business, have little or no voice in its management, and

where money has been invested, have little or no share in the actual profits of the enterprise—such a method of business organization is, in a fundamental way, the antithesis of Common-Ownership.

In a Common-Ownership organization no one man or clique of men is in control, no one owns a controlling interest, no one has preferred claims, and no one has authority that is not derived from the consent of the majority of stockholders.

While these two methods of organization are fundamentally different, both have points in common, grounded in constitutional rights, and both will therefore continue.

But the growth of the idea of common-ownership raises a question of great significance to the commercial world. That question is:

*To what extent is the principle of Common-Ownership, by virtue of its justice and equity, destined to supersede private ownership of the industries which involve the necessities of life?*

Or, to state the question in another way, *Is the principle of Common-Ownership destined, in any large measure, to supersede private ownership?*

It is the purpose of this article to demonstrate two things:

1. That Common-Ownership is destined to supersede private ownership in an increasing measure.

2. That private ownership will properly and necessarily remain an important factor in industrial development, and will never be entirely superseded.

There is a fundamental difference between a Common-Ownership organization, and a coöperative society, although they have many points in common. In treating of the development of the central idea, which contrasts with private ownership, it will be necessary, at certain points, to consider them together; but for the

sake of a clear understanding of the points wherein they differ, it is well first to consider that difference.

The coöperative society, such as is being very extensively developed in England, Ireland, Scotland and America, is an organization of buyers, whose aim is to combine their orders, and secure the lowest prices on the necessities of life; as well as to work out various improvements for their own welfare which can be better done by working together.

The Common-Ownership organization is an organization of owners of an enterprise, who may or may not be buyers of its wares. They pool their capital on a strictly equal basis, for the development of a business, and share alike, according to the amount of their investment, in the fortunes and management of the company.

These two methods of organization meet on common ground in that they are both based on a closer application of the economic law than the privately-owned business.

It is upon this principle that they have grown, and it is upon this principle that they are destined to grow and to supersede, in an increasing measure, the method of private ownership.

The economic law, as here meant, is the law of economy, which tends to eliminate all unnecessary expense, and to secure a maximum result at a minimum expenditure of time, labor and material.

If it were granted that the coöperative or Common-Ownership idea is identical with that economic law, and that the privately-owned business is not, it would be admitted, as a matter of course, that Common-Ownership is destined, by right of economy, to become the dominant force in the future organization of the world.

As many, however, not having analyzed the subject, are not ready to grant this point, it may be well to present the rationale of Common-Ownership.

Common-Ownership, as the term is here used, is that form or industrial organization wherein the ownership and control

rests in the whole body of stockholders, and not in an individual, or clique of individuals, whose interests are paramount to those of other stockholders. This statement of the term is broad enough to include the coöperative society, the business of which is owned in common.

To further define the term, we may say that all the methods of industrial organization are divided into two classes: Common-Ownership and other methods. The other methods, which are thus contrasted with Common-Ownership, are:

(a) The corporation which has stockholders, but in which the majority of the stock is owned and controlled by an individual or clique of men, enabling them to dominate the activities of the business.

(b) The close corporation whose stock is held by a small number of persons, and not available for purchase.

(c) The privately-owned business not incorporated.

(d) The industry owned by state, national or municipal government, or governed by political influences.

These four forms of organization are collectively and individually different from Common-Ownership.

It now remains to demonstrate that Common-Ownership more nearly utilizes the full force of the economic law than do each of the other forms of organization; and this being proved, the supremacy and inevitable tendency of Common-Ownership to supersede private ownership, becomes apparent.

The first method of organization which we shall consider is that of the corporation which has stockholders, but in which a majority of the stock is controlled by a minority of the stockholders. This method violates the economic law in the following points:

(a) It either claims or does not claim equal rights to stockholders. If it does not claim them it involves an element of friction. If it does claim them, it cannot give them, by its very method of organization, and thus gives rise to discord, abuse of privilege, and internal strife, all of

which tend to dissipate the force of the organization, and so violates the economic law.

(b) It necessitates paying profit on watered stock, or stock taken on first organization without being paid for on the same basis as investors, and thus lessens the profit on money actually invested.

(c) It leaves the welfare of the business as a whole to the mercy of human nature and its self-seeking tendencies.

(d) It protects the interests of the few rather than the interests of the many.

(e) It involves the policy that might makes right.

Notwithstanding all this, no one can deny that such a method of organization, which gives control to individuals as individuals, has its place. Neither can they deny that it may perform a vital service to society, or that it will not continue, in some form, perhaps as long as our present form of government shall endure. It involves certain inalienable rights of the individual, such as the ownership of property, the right of contract and the right of self-government, which neither justice nor common consent will ever withhold. The point, then, is not that this form of organization is so fundamentally wrong that it will cease with progress, but that it involves fundamental errors which time will tend to eliminate, and that it violates, in several significant ways, the economic law, the enforcement of which is assured so long as motives of self-interest dominate the actions of the majority of mankind.

Next we may consider the close corporation. This form of organization also involves certain inalienable rights which never can be justly taken away. But it also involves a violation of the economic law which the demands of that law will tend to eliminate. It makes it possible for a few men to take to themselves a larger portion of the wealth produced by hundreds of others than their own services to the common good represent. This in turn deprives others of their proper share

of the wealth they have produced, lessens the ability of their class to consume, and thus afford a market for, the products of their labor. That it is possible for a close corporation to be so managed that any unintentional abuses of this power may be counterbalanced by the service it renders to society, is evident. But it is the ever-present possibility of misuse, and the liberty which it affords to the human desire to dominate others, which represents the element in this form of organization which time and progress, urged by the economic law, will tend to eliminate.

Much that has just been said of the close corporation is true of the privately-owned business not incorporated. On the one hand it involves the inalienable right of the individual to hold property, and on the other the self-evident injustice of allowing an individual to monopolize, even by virtue of legitimate purchase, a commodity which by its nature and use is the rightful heritage of all. The right of the greatest good to the greatest number must tend to restrict the individual right when it conflicts with the general good. Ownership and control by the right of discovery, upon which is based the most common form of monopoly, is not an inalienable right, as is recognized in the case of streams and bodies of water, but less so in the deposits and products of the earth.

The right of the whole people, through national, state, or municipal government, to hold property, to produce commodities, render service, buy and sell, is universally recognized. But that the government has no right to maintain a monopoly that would jeopardize the right of the individual to hold, buy, sell, or produce property, is evident. Even in countries where this is done it represents the principle that might makes right, rather than the greatest good to the greatest number. Government-ownership therefore could be established only through the open and legitimate competition of the government with individuals living under the government, and not through monopolizing

methods. The government may handle the mails on a very extensive scale, but it cannot rightly prevent one individual from carrying a letter for another if they choose to do so. The inability of a government enterprise to consider the interests of the whole people, and at the same time render profits to individual stockholders above the price at which it could secure funds with which to conduct the business for the treasury profit, would preclude the absorption of individual fortunes as stockholders in a government-owned enterprise. The method of organization necessary to government control violates the economic law in many well-known ways, and this would exclude it from ever gaining an equality with Common-Ownership in its application of the inexorable law of economy.

It may now be shown that all the permanent and inalienable rights involved in these four forms of organization are present in the principle of Common-Ownership, and also that the errors and injustices possible and prevalent under the other forms are not present.

In the first place, Common-Ownership is founded on the inalienable right of the individual to hold property, the right of contract, and the right of self-government, within the restrictions of the laws framed under the Constitution. The right of contract involves the right of individuals to associate their capital and efforts under agreed forms. No movement, involving justice, will ever tend to eliminate these rights, and yet they virtually imply all that is implied in the idea of Common-Ownership.

Furthermore, Common-Ownership does not, so far as its method of organization is concerned, violate the economic law in

any particular. It recognizes the rule of the majority, the right of adequate representation, the right of publicity for the acts of its representatives, the protection of the common interest from private manipulation and self-interest, the equal rights of stockholders according to the amount invested, and limits expenses to those things which represent a distinct service to the common interest.

The willingness with which the principle of Common-Ownership allows others, according to investment, to participate equally in the ownership and control and the profits of the enterprise, removes effectively and summarily the claim that Common-Ownership would become private monopoly under another name. If a Common-Ownership company owned all the coal lands in the country it would not be a private monopoly for the individuals composing that company so long as others could buy and sell its shares. Meeting all other forms of business on a basis of open competition, it affords a fair test of its claim to represent the economic law, and virtually stands or falls by that law.

Being, then, more firmly established on the economic law, and on the greatest good to the greatest number, and on certain inalienable rights of the individual, Common-Ownership, more than any other form of business organization claims the true solution of the problem of ownership and control of the industries involving the necessities of life. It is based on a vital principle which suggests its permanence, its inevitable growth, and perhaps its ultimate development as the true basis of the universal brotherhood of man.

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# "THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE" AS A DRAMA AND AS A RELIGIOUS ALLEGORY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

## I.

IT IS a notable fact that the most truly powerful and soul-searching sermon of recent years has been delivered not in cathedral, church or chapel, but in the theater, and uttered not by gowned and mitered priest or dark-robed minister, but by a band of earnest actors who faithfully strove to interpret the new-old message as the author desired to have it voiced. And it is equally significant that this message luminous with the vital principles of pure and undefiled religion, was so gladly received by the people that the play has proved one of the greatest successes of recent years.

The text of this great sermon, which the author, Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, has named "The Servant in the House," is thus given by the playwright:

*"He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes. . . . If a man say, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"*

*"The hunger for brotherhood is at the bottom of the unrest of the modern civilized world."*

In these lines from the Epistle of St. John and from the writings of George Frederick Watts, we have the keynote of the spiritual message given in this remarkable play.

But it must not be supposed that the excellence of "The Servant in the House" lies merely in its message to the conscience

of Christian civilization. It is a distinctly great dramatic creation, appealing in a compelling way to the esthetic, intellectual and ethical sides of man's being. It is a literary masterpiece as true to the artistic requirements of dramatic composition as it is faithful in mirroring forth life as we find it to-day. Moreover, it is, intellectually considered, a noble work, addressing the reason in a manner that cannot fail to impress the thoughtful or serious-minded; while from the spiritual or ethical view-point we incline to the opinion of one able writer who holds that it is the greatest religious allegory since the appearance of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Surely the phenomenal success of such a play should encourage those who have for years insisted that the stage might be made one of the most powerful influences for the intellectual cultivation and moral elevation of the people.

The story opens in a large and richly-appointed room in the home of Vicar William Smythe, one of the central figures in the play. This man has risen to distinction and affluence from poverty, not, however, wholly by his own efforts. When he was small his two elder brothers, Robert and Joshua, being proud of their little brother who took naturally to books, at great personal sacrifice succeeded in putting him through college. He became a brilliant speaker and a fine scholar, a curate of great promise.

Shortly after William had entered college, Joshua sailed for India, where all trace of him was lost.

Robert, a day laborer whose humble occupation was that of cleaning out drains, struggled with a stout heart to support his idolized wife. Shortly after the birth of a little girl baby, the mother died, and the



disconsolate father took to drink. This, however, was not until after William had left college and become a curate.

Among the young women who had fallen in love with him was the beautiful sister of an eminent and worldly-minded divine who was later to become the Bishop of Lancashire. The brother opposed his sister's marrying a poor man, but the girl, being thoroughly infatuated with the handsome and gifted young lover, ran away and married him in spite of the protests and threats of her brother. This woman, Martha by name, idolized her husband and was overmastered by the desire to see him rich, distinguished and honored by the world. The fact that he had a brother who was a drain-man ate like acid into her life, because she, like her thoroughly worldly brother, looked down in contempt on manual laborers. Therefore, when after the death of Robert's wife the latter took to drink, she made his weakness the excuse for inducing William to take Robert's little girl from him and discard the unfortunate brother. This shameful course on the part of the curate, however, was not pursued without an inward protest, and his iniquitous action weighed upon him during the years that followed. He yielded merely because of the overmastering influence of his wife, whose passionate devotion to him and ambition for his career enslaved the less positive husband.

At the time the play opens, fifteen years have elapsed since the clergyman took his brother's little girl to bring up. During this time the brothers have never met, and little Mary has been kept in ignorance of who her father is. The curate has risen to the position of vicar and is officiating in a noble old church; but in spite of his learning and eloquence, his labors bear no fruit and the congregation is rapidly dwindling. The church is in great need of repairs and the clergyman has resorted to various devices for raising the necessary funds, but all to no purpose. A sense of failure and the consciousness of his un-Christian and ignoble treatment of his

brother weigh down the vicar and are undermining his health. Unlike his worldly-minded, popular and rich brother-in-law, now the Bishop of Lancashire, the vicar is striving to serve two masters, God and Mammon, with the inevitable failure ensuing. The Bishop of Lancashire, on the other hand, while for effect he makes hypocritical pretensions, is whole-souled in his service of Mammon and by Mammon is receiving the reward he seeks; while from India comes the news of the wonderful success of the Bishop of Benares, a man of God who is being followed by hundreds of thousands of people. From reports it would seem that he was serving God as wholly as the Bishop of Lancashire is serving Mammon. Both succeed in the way they desire.

It will be readily observed that here we have three clear-cut and distinct types of the so-called religious leaders: (1) The man who uses the cloak of religion for furthering personal ambition and acquiring riches—the wolf in sheep's clothing. (2) The man who is torn between conflicting desires. On the one hand is the ambitious and worldly-wise wife whose idolatry of her husband has bound him to her and led him to turn from what he knows to be his duty, while in other respects he is striving to carry out the Christian ideal. Thus by trying to serve two masters he is failing, being too conscientious to satisfy those who want blind leaders of the blind who are willing to prophesy smooth things, yet walking in spiritual darkness because of his failure to love his brother whom he hath seen. (3) The man who cuts loose from the world, the flesh and the devil and consecrates his life to the service of humanity, even as did the great Prophet of Galilee two thousand years ago.

For some time there has been much talk among the parishioners of evil odors in the church, supposed to be due to defective drains. In less degree the odors are to be detected in the Vicar's library. He fails to recognize them long after his niece, who is highly sensitive, has detected them;

but his failing health leads the over-anxious wife to have the drain-pipes under the library torn up.

The day before the opening of the play, the Vicar and his wife have received a message from the long-silent brother Robert, the father of little Mary, stating that he is coming to see them on the following day. Martha, the Vicar's wife, is indignant. She is determined that Mary shall never know her father, and that the parishioners shall not suspect that her husband has a brother who is a common workingman. She therefore induces the Vicar to telegraph his brother that the house is torn up because of defective drains and that they cannot receive him.

II.

This, in brief, is the situation when the curtain rises revealing a spacious and richly-furnished room. The walls are hung with expensive pictures. A richly-carved mantel rises over the cheerful open fire. An elaborately-carved sideboard, a table, several chairs and a settee are among the furnishings of this room.

Two individuals are discovered busily engaged preparing for the morning meal, which is to be served in this apartment: one a young cockney youth, Rogers by name; the other a tall and striking personage whose face, however, is not seen, as for some time after the curtain rises he is busy at the sideboard. His dress no less than his strikingly impressive bearing at once rivets the attention of the audience. He is clad in Oriental robes, and it soon appears that he is the new butler, Manson by name, an East Indian who has been engaged by the Vicar on the strong recommendation of a friend in the Far East. Manson has only just arrived and has at once entered upon his duties. The loquacious Rogers keeps up a running fire of questions, and finally his curiosity leads to the following dialogue:

ROGERS—Mr. Manson! Do you mind if I arst you a question?

MANSON—No. What is it?

ROGERS—What d' you wear them togs for? This ain't India.

MANSON—People do n't always recognize me in anything else.

[He turns for the first time. His face is one of awful sweetness, dignity and strength. There is the calm of a great mastery about him, suited to his habit as a servant.]

ROGERS—Garn, Mr. Manson, that's a bit off! Clothes do n't make all that difference, come now! . . .

MANSON—They are the only things the people of this world see.

Here one of the great truths of the play is touched upon. The world and the worldly church are concerned with the externals; the cup and the platter; the whited exterior of the sepulcher that is full of corruption. Clothes stand for the masks and externals by which the world judges, in counterdistinction to the soul or that which is behind the outer seeming that counts in the eyes of the Eternal.

Soon the Vicar enters. He is preparing to leave for an early service, as his two curates are both ill. He is undisguisedly pleased to find the new Oriental butler has arrived; but it now appears that one question disturbs him:

VICAR—My old friend in Brindisi, who recommended you, writes that you bore a very excellent character with your late employer in India; but there was one matter he did n't mention—no doubt you will recognize its importance in a clergyman's family. He never mentioned your religion.

MANSON—I can soon remedy that, sir. My religion is very simple I love God and all my brothers

VICAR (after a pause) God and your brothers . . .

MANSON—Yes, sir: *all* of them.

[The Vicar stands thoughtful for a moment. He places the paten on the table, beside him.]

VICAR (slowly)—That is not always so easy, Manson; but it is my creed, too.

MANSON—Then—Brother!

[Rapt in thought, the Vicar takes his proffered hand mechanically.]

It is obvious to the audience, by the fine acting of the Vicar, that Manson's answer

has touched the eating sore that is paralyzing his spiritual energies and his abstraction when the Oriental servant takes his hand reveals the fact that the spirit is struggling with its own load.

The entrance of Mary, the beautiful young niece of the Vicar, causes a diversion. She comes as a breath of spring, though her thoughtlessness and childish frankness embarrass the Vicar. Manson, it is seen, is strongly drawn to this highly sensitive child, who bears a name that is very sweet to him.

Just here it may not be out of place to point out the fact that symbolism and allegory are striking characteristics of the play. Even many of the names are highly significant. Manson suggests the idea of Son of Man. Mary, as is later seen, possesses the spiritual intuitive sense that goes to the heart of things, that senses and sees what is for some time hidden from other eyes; while Martha, the Vicar's wife, is absorbed not in spiritual development but in the worldly success of her husband. She is careful about what the world shall say of her loved one rather than for his spiritual well-being. She is as distinctly the Martha type as her little niece is representative of those spiritually intuitive ones who choose the better part.

Mary is attracted to the new servant, and to him she describes how just when her uncle was despairing of finding any aid in his efforts to repair the church, his attention was called to the wonderful work of the Bishop of Benares, and he expressed the wish that he might have some of the power that this great man had at his back, and as if in answer to his prayer, the postman a few moments later delivered a letter to the Vicar which read:

"I shall be with you during to-morrow morning. If any one will help me, I will restore your church. Your brother,

"JOSHUA,

"Bishop of Benares."

Then it is seen that the religious leader, whose name suggests that of the Great Nazarene, is the long-absent brother of the Vicar.

While Mary has been narrating her fairy-like tale, she and Manson have been seated on the settee. She has been somewhat disappointed at Manson's failure to guess who her Uncle Joshua really is:

MARY—Can't you guess? . . . Think of the very biggest person you ever heard of in this world!

MANSON—In *this* world: that sounds rather like. . . . Does he give free libraries?

The girl is much exercised about the kind of man her uncle is:

MARY—I know exactly what he'll be—goody-goody, is n't he? You know—religious and all that!

MANSON—God forbid!

MARY (fearfully)—Oh, perhaps he's the other kind—like auntie's brother! He's a bishop—the Bishop of Lancashire. You see, I've heard a lot about bishops in my time, and they're not always quite nice men.

MANSON—And what sort is the Bishop of Lancashire?

MARY—Well, I do n't think I ought to tell you; but I once heard *Uncle William* call him a devil!—and he's a clergyman!

As she ends the story, the following dialogue ensues:

MARY—To think that before the day is out he will be sitting down here, perhaps in this very place, just like . . .

[She breaks off suddenly, gazing at him; for his eyes have taken a strange fire.]

MANSON—Just like I am now . . .

MARY (falteringly)—Yes . . .

MANSON—Talking to you . . .

MARY—Oh! . . . (She rises, afraid).

MANSON (softly)—Mary . . .

MARY (in a whisper)—Who are you?

MANSON—I am . . .

[He is interrupted by the great bell of the church, which tolls the Sanctus. After the third stroke he continues.]

. . . I am the servant in this house. I have my work to do. Would you like to help me?

MARY—What shall I do?

MANSON—Help to spin the fairy-tale. Will you?

MARY—I will.

MANSON—Then keep the secret—remember! And wish hard.

MARY—Do you believe in wishing?

MANSON—Everything comes true, if you wish hard enough.

MARY—What shall I wish for?

MANSON—What have you needed most? What have you not had? Think it out.

It is seen that instinctively the child has fathomed the mystery. The strange new servant that has so attracted her is none other than the Uncle Joshua, the great religious leader of the East, a fact which is long hidden from the others, however.

Later, Martha enters and exhibits her solicitude for her husband. It also develops that on hearing that the Bishop of Benares was to arrive on the following day, she secretly determined to communicate with her brother, the Bishop of Lancashire, and strive to induce him to visit them and help the Bishop of Benares raise the desired sum. She thinks that in this manner she can win over the Bishop, who has never forgiven the Vicar and his wife, and she knows that he could easily advance her husband in a worldly way. Understanding her brother, she does not for a moment doubt but what he will quickly accept any opportunity offered to meet the famous Bishop of Benares; nor is she mistaken, as the postman brings a letter stating that he will be at the vicarage that morning.

Mary is sent to a sick neighbor's, to cheer an old lady, and Manson goes out to finish preparing the breakfast. The Vicar enters. He is bowed down with grief. There were no persons at his service and the weight of his sin is pressing on his heart. In answer to the anxious wife's inquiry he exclaims:

"Do you know the sort of man you have been living with all these years? Do you see through me? Do you know me?—No; do n't speak: I see your answer already—your own love blinds you! Ha! I am a *good man!* I do n't drink, I do n't swear, I am respectable, I do n't blas-

pheme like Bletchley! Oh, yes, and I am a *scholar*: I can cackle in Greek; I can wrangle about God's name; I know Latin and Hebrew and all the cursed little pedantries of my trade! But do you know what I am? Do you know what your husband is in the sight of God? He is a *liar!*

"O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"

The mental condition of the Vicar is well voiced in his exclamation uttered in tones that border on despair:

"I am in darkness. I do n't know what to do. God has left me *stranded.*"

Then the Vicar tells Martha that his treatment of his brother Robert is what is weighing upon his heart, and that he feels Mary should know who her father is and should see him. The wife is aroused in opposition, and finally, in an atmosphere tense and strained, she tells her husband that she has sent an invitation to her brother James, the Bishop of Lancashire, to meet his brother Joshua at their home that morning. The Vicar's expression indicates his disgust, and in reply to his wife's declaration that her brother is as much a bishop as his, he exclaims:

"He! That gaitered snob!"

AUNTIE\*—William, how dare you?

VICAR—Yes, he's a bishop! A bishop of stocks and shares! A bishop of the counting-house! A bishop of Mammon!

AUNTIE—William!

VICAR—The devil's own bishop!

AUNTIE—*At least, he is n't a working-man!*

VICAR (as though stung)—Ah! . . .

[They stand below the table, one on either side, tense with passion. They remain so.]

At this juncture Manson and Rogers bring in the breakfast, consisting of hot sausages, bread and tea. The Vicar and his wife are scarcely seated, however, when the front doorbell is violently rung.

\*Throughout the play Martha, the Vicar's wife, is called Auntie.

Evidently one of the bishops has arrived, and Manson ventures to state that it does not sound like the Bishop of Benares. He goes to the door and returns, saying that the person is strangely attired; that he noticed his legs. At this exclamation, the wife insists that it must be her brother James, but that she cannot see him in her present clothing; so she hastily leaves, after begging the Vicar to treat her brother civilly. The latter braces himself to meet the odious visitor, but instead his brother Robert is ushered in. The latter is furious at receiving the telegram telling him he is not to come. The brothers have some bitter words, and William leaves the room.

It was raining very hard when Robert came, and Manson induces him to take off his wet coat and slip on the Vicar's cassock which is lying on the settee, after which Robert seats himself and begins to devour the breakfast. Quite a conversation ensues between Manson and Robert, during which the latter gives the story of his life and how, through the study of Socialism, he came to see things differently. Furthermore, he no longer drinks to excess. Manson surprises him by saying that he also is a Socialist.

Their conversation is disturbed by another loud ringing at the front doorbell. This time it is the Bishop of Lancashire who is admitted by Rogers. The Bishop is very near-sighted and is also very deaf, being compelled to use an ear-trumpet. On being admitted "the Most Reverend Father in God" stands blinking for recognition. Pained at the non-fulfilment of this worthy expectation, he moves—a little blindly—toward the table. Here he encounters the oppugnant back of the voracious Robert, who grows quite annoyed. Indeed, he as good as says so.

The Bishop mistakes Robert for William, because of the latter's cassock, and, mistaking some remarks and gestures of Robert for an invitation to partake of the breakfast, he sits down and begins eating. Finally, on looking up, he beholds for the first time Manson in his Oriental garb. Naturally enough, he immediately infers

that this is the illustrious Bishop of Benares.

BISHOP—My—my brother from Benares, I presume?

ROBERT—What, *my* pal, 'is brother! Oh, Je'oshaphat!

BISHOP—Ten thousand pardons! Really, my eyesight is deplorable! Delighted to meet you! . . . I was just observing to our charming host that—er . . . Humph. . . Bless me! Now what *was* I . . .

MANSON—Something about your sacred obligations, I believe.

BISHOP—Precisely, precisely! Er—shall we sit?

[They do so. The Bishop looks to Manson to begin. Manson, failing him, the spirit begins to work within himself.]

"Well—er—speaking of that, of course, my dearly-beloved brother, I feel very seriously on the matter, *very* seriously—as I am sure you do. The restoration of a church is a tremendous, an overwhelming responsibility. To begin with, it—it costs quite a lot. Does n't it?"

MANSON—It does: quite a lot.

BISHOP—Hm, yes—yes! . . . You mentioned *sacred obligations* just now, and I think that on the whole I am inclined to agree with you. It is an admirable way of putting it. We must awaken people to a sense of their *sacred obligations*. This is a work in which everybody can do something: the rich man can give of the abundance with which it has pleased Providence specially to favor him; the poor man with his slender savings need have no fear for the poverty of his gift—let him give all: it will be accepted. Those of us who, like yourself, my dear brother—and I say it in all modesty, perhaps *myself*—are in possession of the endowments of learning, of influence, of authority—we can lend our *names* to the good work. As you say so very beautifully, *sacred obligations*.

By the way, I do n't think I quite caught your views as to the probable cost. Eh—what do you think?

MANSON—I think that should depend

upon the obligations; and then, of course, the sacredness might count for something.

BISHOP—Yes, yes, we've discussed all that. But bringing it down to a *practical* basis: how much could we manage with?

MANSON—What do you say to—everything you have?

BISHOP—My dear sir, I'm not talking about myself!

MANSON—Well—everything the others have?

BISHOP—My dear sir, they're not fools! Do discuss the matter like a man of the world!

MANSON—*God's not watching: let's give as little, and grab as much as we can!*

BISHOP—Ssh! My dear brother! Remember who's present! (He glances toward Robert.) However . . . (coughs) we will return to this later. I begin to understand you.

ROBERT—Yus; you *think* you do!

It will be observed that it is in answer to the Bishop of Lancashire's request that his companion should discuss the matter "like a man of the world," that the reply comes quick and decisive: "*God's not watching: let's give as little, and grab as much as we can!*" Here the creed of modern commercial Christendom is summed up in the fewest possible words, and the radiant smile on the Bishop of Lancashire's face shows how his own secret thoughts and desires have been voiced. Later the Bishop recurs to this thought:

BISHOP—Now, you said, *Let's give as little, and grab as much as we can.* Of course, that is a playful way of putting it; but between ourselves, it expresses my sentiments exactly.

MANSON—I knew that when I said it.

BISHOP (delighted)—My dear brother, your comprehension makes my heart warm. I trust our relations may always remain as warm.

After this illuminating conversation, the Bishop of Lancashire asks how his brother from the Far East succeeded so phenomenally. He is told that it was by *sacrifice*.

BISHOP—Of course, of course; but *practically*. They say it's an enormous concern!

MANSON—So it is.

BISHOP—Well, what would such an establishment as that represent? In round numbers, now?

MANSON (calmly)—Numberless millions.

BISHOP—Numberless mil—! (He drops his fork.) My dear sir, absurd! . . . Why, the place must be a palace—fit for a king!

MANSON—It is!

BISHOP—Do you mean to tell me that one man alone, on his own naked credit, could obtain numberless millions for such an object as that? How could you possibly get them together?

MANSON—They came freely from every quarter of the world.

BISHOP—On the security of your own name alone?

MANSON—No other, I assure you.

BISHOP—For Heaven's sake, tell me all about it! What sort of a place is it?

MANSON (seriously)—Are you quite sure you can hear?

BISHOP—Perhaps your voice is *not* quite so clear as it was. However. . . [He wipes the inside of the ear-trumpet and fixes it afresh.] Now! Tell me about your church.

[During the following speech the Bishop is occupied with his own thoughts; after the first few words he makes no attempt at listening; indeed, the trumpet goes down to the table again in no time. On the other hand, Robert, at first apathetic, gradually awakens to the keenest interest in what Manson says.

MANSON (very simply)—I am afraid you may not consider it an altogether substantial concern. It has to be seen in a certain way, under certain conditions. Some people never *see* it at all. You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. *It is a living thing.*

BISHOP (in a hoarse whisper, self-engrossed)—Numberless millions!

MANSON—When you enter it you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. The work of no ordinary builder!

BISHOP (trumpet down)—On the security of one man's name!

MANSON—The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes; the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable; the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone; the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness; sometimes in blinding light; now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish; now to the tune of a great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. [Softer.] Sometimes, in the silence of the night-time, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead.

[There is a short silence, broken only by the champing jaws of the Bishop, who has resumed his sausages. Robert speaks first.]

ROBERT (slowly)—I think I begin to understand you, comride: especially that bit abaht . . . (his eyes stray upwards) . . . the 'ammerin's an' the—the harches—an' . . . Humph! I'm only an 'og!  
. . .

Robert finally departs, and the Bishop learns, to his amazement and disgust, that he has eaten with a common laboring man. On the entrance of the Vicar and his wife another shock awaits him, when the wife explains that the man he has been addressing as the Bishop of Benares

is their new butler. The good Bishop next hastens to silence Manson with the offer of a bribe. He then labors to gain the coöperation of the Vicar and his wife in a plan he wishes to present to the Bishop of Benares when he comes, by which the restoration of the church would be made but a part of a great money-getting scheme through which the worldly-minded and avaricious Bishop would gain great pecuniary advantage. When the Bishop retires to confer with Manson, the Vicar expresses to his wife his abhorrence of her brother, at length exclaiming:

"What possible kinship can there be between us? As for his filthy money—how did he scrape it together? How did he come by it? . . ."

AUNTIE—Yes, William, that's true, but the opportunity of turning it to God's service . . .

VICAR—Do you think any blessing is going to fall upon a church whose every stone is reeking with the bloody sweat and anguish of the human creatures whom the wealth of men like that has driven to despair? Shall we base God's altar in the bones of harlots, plaster it up with the slime of sweating-dens and slums, and give it over for a gaming-table to the dice of gamblers and of thieves?

At length the Vicar and Martha go into the adjoining room to confer with the Bishop, when Manson and Mary have the stage during a beautiful and highly suggestive scene. During this conversation the fact is disclosed that Manson's words to Mary earlier, when he asked her to help him weave the fairy-tale and desired her to wish earnestly for what she most wanted and needed, have sunk deeply into her heart. It at length suddenly breaks upon her that what she most desires and needs is the love of a father—the father she has never known.

Finally Manson is summoned from the room to give directions in regard to the dinner, when Mary encounters Robert, who has returned, and a striking and strong scene ensues in which the father and daughter both express the deep wish

of their hearts. Her yearning for her father is touchingly expressed, and her conviction that he is good and brave and beautiful makes a profound impression on the rapidly-changing heart of Robert, who has already seen a new and wonderful light through the words and treatment of Manson. Robert, while dwelling on his great love for his “little kid,” leaves the house without disclosing his identity.

The curtain rises on the fourth act as the Vicar and his wife are entering from the adjoining room, where they have been in conference with the Bishop. The wife endeavors to induce her husband to fall in with her brother’s plans, and again the two tread on dangerous ground. Finally the husband resents Martha’s overlordship, her assumption that she is the proper person to dictate his action and guide his soul, and points out to her that it is not the cause of the church with which she is most concerned.

AUNTIE—I am interested in *your* work, William. Do you take me for an atheist?

VICAR—No; far worse—for an idolater!

AUNTIE—William! . . .

VICAR—What else but idolatry is this precious husband-worship you have set up in your heart—you and all the women of your kind? You barter away your own souls in the service of it; you build up your idols in the fashion of your own respectable desires; you struggle silently amongst yourselves, one against another, to push your own god foremost in the mir-er-able little pantheon of prigs and hypocrites you have created!

AUNTIE (roused)—It is for your own good we do it!

VICAR—Our own good! What have you made of me? You have plucked me down from whatever native godhead I had by gift of heaven, and hewed and hacked me into the semblance of your own idolatrous imagination! By God, it shall go on no longer! If you have made me less than a man, at least I will prove myself to be a priest!

AUNTIE—Do you call it a priest’s work to . . .

VICAR—It is *my* work to deliver you and me from the bondage of lies! Can’t you see, woman, that God and Mammon are about us, fighting for our souls?

Again the conversation reverts to Robert, and finally Manson is summoned, but instead of taking the position of a servant before the mistress of the house, he seems rather the judge. His commanding tone is quickly resented by the wife, but his commanding mien, bearing and authoritative utterance exercise a strange influence over the Vicar, and in a less degree over Martha. At length Manson tells her she ought to welcome the despised Robert into her home as an honored guest—ay, to receive him royally as a brother.

AUNTIE (desperately)—I wo n’t do it! I can’t! I can’t!

MANSON—With my assistance, you can!

AUNTIE—I dare n’t! I dare n’t!

VICAR—I dare! I will!

AUNTIE—In God’s name, how is it possible?

MANSON—*Make me the lord and master of this house for one little hour!*

VICAR—By Heaven, yes!

MANSON—And you? You? . . .

[She falters a few moments; then, utterly broken down, she whispers, feebly.]

AUNTIE—Yes.

MANSON—Then *first to cleanse it of its abominations!*

As Manson utters the last words, the Bishop emerges from the inner room. What the Servant in the House, who is now lord of the manor for one hour, means by “abominations” is quickly seen, when he steps up to the Bishop and in a positive tone exclaims:

“I bear you a message from the master of this house. Leave it!”

The Bishop is furious and departs muttering threats and curses.

The audience has long since divined that Manson is in fact Joshua, the famous Bishop of Benares, serving as the servant in the house for the redemption of its master and mistress. And very striking and suggestive is the treatment he accords



the rough and oftentimes repulsive Robert, who is the victim of others' wrongdoing and of unjust environment, rather than the responsible principal for his unhappy state, and that shown the Bishop of Lancashire, who represents the worldly churchman of to-day, who closes his eyes to moral crimes in high places and to lawlessness that has resulted in the acquisition of gold, provided the criminals will yield a moiety of their accursed lucre to the church, the missionary societies and the colleges, sanctimoniously crying that the church can take the tainted gold and cleanse it, becoming in fact *particeps criminis*, or at least accessories after the crime, for the glory of God and the extension of conventional religion.

And quite as striking is the difference seen in the treatment of the Mary and the Martha of this wonderful allegory. Manson is instantly drawn to Mary, the child of pure heart and spiritual insight, and she quickly discerns who in reality he is. She enters as enthusiastically into his plans for bringing order out of chaos by establishing spiritual supremacy or harmony where egoism and pride of life are making misery and unhappiness, as the Martha, with soul centered on externalism and admiration of the physical being of her husband, resents and long fights



CHARLES RANN KENNEDY,  
Author of "The Servant in the House."

against the compelling influence of the spiritually-illuminated Oriental.

Naturally and inevitably, the mind reverts to Palestine two thousand years ago, while before the mental vision rise vivid scenes occurring in the life of the Great Nazarene. We see the praying Publican and Pharisee, of whom that other Joshua or Jesus spake; we hear the terrible denunciation hurled against the worldly-minded conventional religious Pharisees who made long prayers and compassed land and sea for proselytes, while they were devouring widows' homes; we call to mind that strikingly dramatic episode-

in the home of the rich Pharisee, Simon, when the sinning woman entered, and, kneeling at the feet of the Great Nazarene, bathed them with her tears and wiped them with her hair, anointing them with precious ointment; and we also call to mind the visit of Jesus in Bethany to the vine-embowered little home of Mary and Martha. And as these and other incidents in the life of the Son of Man move before the mental retina, we see that we have been witnessing again scenes similar to those enacted two thousand years ago, but the setting is modern. We, and not the Jews of old, are the actors and spectators in the drama of life and death being enacted.

The fifth and final act is in many respects the strongest and most impressive of the drama. Manson's influence, reinforced by that of the helpful Mary, has been nowhere more marked than on Robert, who has awakened to a new life, or rather the divine or real man in him has become quickened. He no longer wishes to make trouble or increase the inharmony in the home. His work is the cleansing of drains, and here he clearly sees is labor imperatively demanded. So he leaves the house after a conversation with Mary and Manson, and sets himself to examine the drains. He soon finds that under the Vicar's study and library is a noisome accumulation of poisonous filth. But this is not all. He finds that the drain-pipe, here so full of muck, leads toward the great church. He follows it, only to find the chief source of corruption under the very altar of the stately temple.

The curtain rises on the fifth act revealing the same room in which all the preceding acts have taken place; and it is well to remember that not only is the play enacted in the one room, but each act commences where its predecessors left off, and the whole series of events dramatically represented are supposed to take place in the course of a single morning.

We are now nearing the hour when the Bishop of Benares is expected to enter. The bell rings and Manson goes out.

Then it is seen that both the Vicar and his wife are truly awakened. They have set their faces toward the morning; they have chosen the better part, and now their one thought is the repairing of the great wrong before the arrival of the holy man from the East. But as it only lacks ten minutes of the time when he is expected, they fear they cannot accomplish the necessary work and be in soul and spirit prepared to receive him. Very simple and pleasing is the dialogue in which the awakening of Martha and her husband is revealed; and quite as charming is the way Mary confesses that she has been hasty in misjudging her uncle and aunt, when they had confessed to her that they had been un-Christlike to her father.

MARY—Let me speak, uncle. I have been thinking, out there in the garden—thinking very hard: I've been trying to put things together again and make them straight; but it's still very difficult. Only there's one thing—I'm sorry I was unkind just now: I did n't mean it: you



EDITH WYNNE MATTHISON.



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT I.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Edith Wynne Matthison, Walter Hampden and Charles Dalton.

are everything I have—everything I have ever had; and as for what uncle said—about himself, I mean—I can't believe it. No, I'm sure there's a mistake somewhere; and mistakes can always be put right, if we only help one another and mean it. Shall we try, uncle? Shall we, auntie?

AUNTIE—If it's not too late! . . .

MARY—It can't be too late, auntie dear, if we all wish very hard. I was a coward to give up wishing. That was *my* sin, too!

AUNTIE—God knows, I wish, Mary!

. . .

VICAR—And I! . . .

MARY—And, indeed, I do! . . .

Now I've been thinking: I've been trying to look the worst in the face. Supposing my father *is* the wicked man you say—the very, very wickedest man that

ever lived, do n't you think if we tried to love him very much it might make a difference?

VICAR—What made you think of that, Mary? . . .

MARY (simply)—It's what you taught me, uncle, in your sermons.

VICAR—I taught you? . . .

MARY—Yes; and besides, there's another reason. . . . I've been thinking of the poor man I met this morning.

AUNTIE—Yes . . .

VICAR—What of him? . . .

MARY—*He* said he was a wicked man, and at first he looked so dreadfully wicked, I believed him; but when I began to look at him closely, and heard him talk about his little girl, everything seemed different! I could no more believe him, than I can believe you, uncle, when you say such awful things about yourself! I

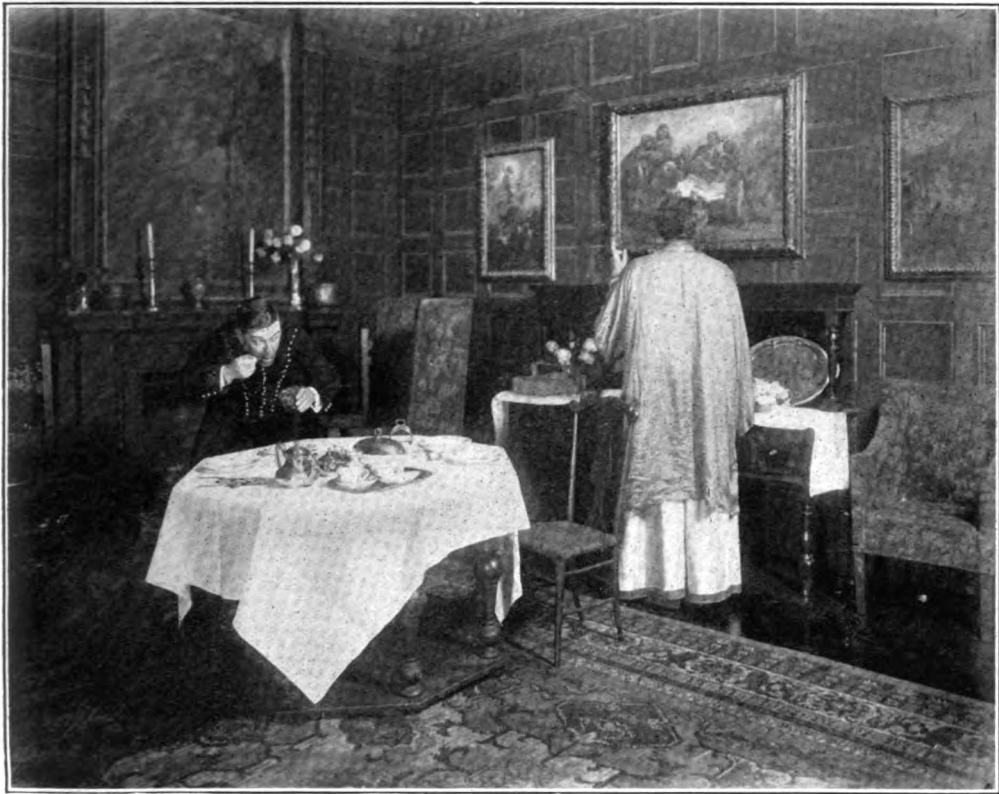


Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT I.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Walter Hampden and Galwey Herbert.

believe he was a much better man than he ever dreamed! And so I think we might find my father just the same, if he was properly loved and looked after!

The Vicar is on the verge of telling Mary that the poor man is her father, when Rogers enters, and later Robert, the drain-man, who is now covered with muck. He has just come from the drains to report to the Vicar what he has found. The poor man enters a very different home from that he left a short time before. Now the winter is past, the summer of love has come, and it is to a sympathetic audience, fired with a fine enthusiasm, that he vividly portrays the terrible conditions which he found under the study, and how he pushed his way to the source of the trouble.

MARY—Oh, do tell us! . . .

AUNTIE—Yes, do! . . .

VICAR—Yes, yes! . . .

[A splendid rapture infects them all.]

ROBERT—I followed up that drain—I was n't goin' to stick till kingdom come inside your little mouse-'ole out there: no, I said, *Where's this leadin' to? What's the 'ell-an'-glory use o' flushin' out this blarsted bit of a sink, with devil-knows-w'at stinkin' cesspool at the end of it!* That's wot I said, Ma'am! . . .

AUNTIE—Very rightly! I see! I see! . . .

ROBERT—So up I go through the sludge, puffin' an' blowin' like a bally ole cart-'orse—strooth, it seemed miles! Talk abaht bee-utiful, ma'am, it 'ud 'a' done your 'eart good, it would, really! *Rats—'undreds on 'em, ma'am: I'm bitten clean through in places! 'Owever, I pushed my way through, some'ow, 'oldin'*



Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT II.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Walter Hampden, Tyrone Power and Arthur Lewis.

my nose and fightin' for my breath, till at last I got to the end—and then I soon saw wot was the matter! . . .

It's under the church—that's where it is! I know it's under the church, cos I 'eard "The Church's One Foundation" on the organ, rumblin' up over my 'ead! Well, I . . .

ALL—Yes—yes . . .

ROBERT—You'd never guess wot I saw there, not if you was to try from now till glory-allelooyer! . . . The biggest back-ander I ever did 'av', s'welp me! . . .

[They hang on his words expectantly.]  
It ain't no drain at all!

ALL (breathlessly)—Why, what is it, then? . . .

ROBERT—It's a grave!

ALL—A grave! . . .

ROBERT—Yus, one o' them whoppin' great beer-vaults as you shove big bugses'

corpses inter! What d'yer think o' that now?

MARY—Oh! . . .

AUNTIE—Horrible! . . .

VICAR—I seem to remember some tradition . . .

ROBERT—You'd 'a' said so if you'd seen wot I seen! Talk abaht corfins an' shrouds an' bones an' dead men gone to rot, they was n't in it, wot I saw dahn there! . . . [Rapturously.] Why—why, it may cost a man 'is life to deal with that little job!

VICAR—My God! The thing's impossible!

ROBERT—Impossible! Means a bit of work, that's all!

VICAR—Why, no one would ever dare . . .

ROBERT—Dare! Why, wot d' you think I come 'ere for? . . .



ACT II.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."  
Walter Hampden, Arthur Lewis and Tyrone Power.

VICAR—*You!* . . .

ROBERT—I mean as I've found *my place*, or I do n't know a good thing when I see it!

AUNTIE—What! To go into that dreadful vault, and . . .

ROBERT—Why not? Ain't it my job?

AUNTIE—But you said—perhaps—*death!* . . .

ROBERT—It's worth it, it's a lovely bit of work!

VICAR—No, ten thousand times, no! The sacrifice is too much!

ROBERT—You call that sacrifice?—It's fun: not 'arf!

VICAR—I had rather see the church itself . . .

ROBERT—What, you call yourself a clergyman!

VICAR—I call myself nothing! I *am* nothing—less than nothing in all this living world!

ROBERT—By God, but I call myself

summat—I'm the DRAIN-MAN, that's wot I am!

The Vicar finally remonstrates against his going, but Robert is resolute, declaring that the muck must be removed. The stench, the horror, the darkness and the dread danger cannot deter him, for he has caught the vision of the true living church as pictured by Manson earlier in the play.

ROBERT—What's it matter, if the comrides up above 'av' light an' joy an' a breath of 'olesome air to sing by? . . .

VICAR—Hour by hour—dying—alone, . . .

ROBERT—The comrides up in the spans an' arches, joinin' 'ands . . .

VICAR—Fainter and fainter, down below there, and at last—an endless silence! . . .

ROBERT—'Igh in the dome, the 'ammerin's of the comrides as 'av' climbed aloft!

When it is clear that Robert will risk his life in this necessary work for the com-

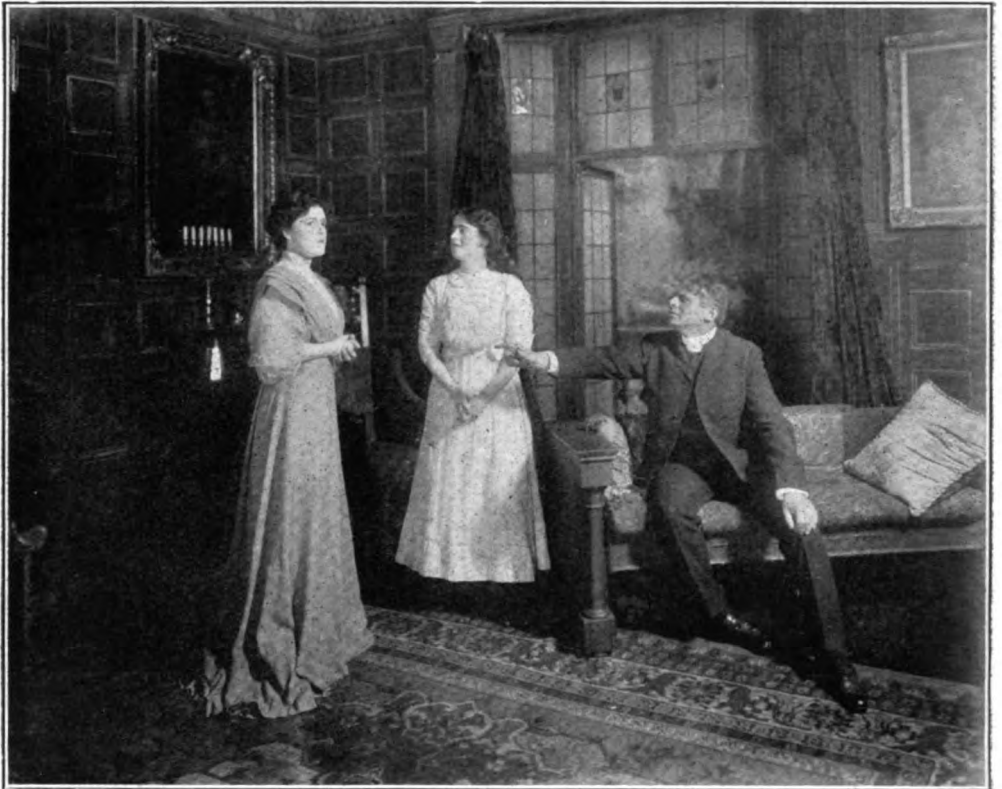


Photo. by Hallen, New York.

ACT IV.—"THE SERVANT IN THE HOUSE."

Edith Wynne Matthison, Gwladys Wynne and Charles Dalton.

rades he does not even know, because it is his duty, the Vicar exclaims:

"Then, by God and all the powers of grace, you shall not go alone! Off with these lies and make-believes! Off with these prisoner's shackles! They cramp, they stifle me! Freedom! Freedom! This is no priest's work—it calls for a man! . . .

[He tears off his parson's coat and collar, casting them furiously aside. He rolls up his sleeves.]

"Now if you're ready, Comrade: you and I together!"

AUNTIE—God's might go with you, William! Accept him, Christ!

Robert now protests. He is willing to go, but he does not wish his brother to risk his life, but when he finds the Vicar is equally resolute, he says:

"Then let's 'av' summat to eat, an' let's get along. There's nuthin' more to say."

MARY (inspired)—Yes, there is!

ROBERT—What do you mean, miss?

MARY—I mean that I understand: that I know who you are.

ROBERT—Me? . . .

MARY (simply)—Yes, you are my father.

ROBERT—'Ow the everlastin' did you know that?

MARY (going up to him)—Because you are my wish come true: because you are brave, because you are very beautiful, because you are good!

ROBERT—My little kid! My little kid! [They embrace each other.]

VICAR—Robert! [Taking his left hand.]

AUNTIE—Brother! [Taking his other hand.]

[They form a kind of cross.]

During this thrilling moment Manson and Rogers have entered and laid the cloth for lunch. A large vase of flowers is placed in the center of the table and Manson, standing behind the beautiful bouquet, facing the audience, turns to the group on the stage, saying:

"The Bishop of Benares is here."

Perhaps the master allegorical truth of the play that is of vital importance for every one to take to heart who would efficiently aid in hastening the advent of the Kingdom on earth, is found in the lesson of drains. The Vicar prepares his sermons and labors to save souls in his beautiful library. Externally everything appears fair and inviting, but underneath is the eating death, subtly diffusing its poison. The Vicar is standing before the world as an exemplar of the Gospel of Christ and a lover of God, while he has turned his back upon his brother whom he hath seen. Hence, spiritually speaking, he is in midnight darkness, and no spiritual light can or does emanate from him, while the consciousness of his wrong-doing, or the throttling of the higher or spiritual impulses makes discord instead of harmony in his mental realm.

This truth is complemented by another quite as impressive. Under the rotting church which living men and women will no longer support, are found the corpses

of the "big bugs," the rich and the powerful ones of earth who have lived the Pharisee-life and devoured the sustenance of the workers, who have fattened on the wealth wrung from the labor of little children or gained by conspiring against the workers, by the power of monopoly, by gambling and by indirection; and who, because they were ready to pass the plate on the Lord's Day, to take pews in the church, to give a little of their tainted and ill-gotten gold to the churches, the missionary societies and the religious colleges, have been welcomed by the church and given a resting-place for their bodies under the altar of God.

Here, it will be seen, the author has placed his finger squarely on the mortal wounds sustained by the church to-day—the acceptance of the righteousness of the Scribes and the Pharisees, and the rejection of the sublime ethics or spiritual truths of the Great Nazarene. In the refusal of the ministry to recognize as brothers and treat as such the struggling poor who are the victims of the privileged and powerful ones, and the rejection of the Christianity of Christ by the conventional religion of the world, we have the master-secret of Christianity's weakness.

This terrible indictment, so vividly presented, constitutes the greatest and most needed sermon of the day.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*



## OUR LITERARY SECTION.

*Paris the Beautiful.* By Lilian Whiting. With colored frontispiece and 26 full-page halftones. Cloth, gilt top. Pp. 400. Price, \$2.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

**F**EW POPULAR American writers are so well equipped to present a charming and informing picture of the beautiful side of Paris life as Miss Lilian Whiting. Her broad culture and extensive travel have given her intimate knowledge of things worth the while in the world of art, science, literature and philosophy and have enabled her to compare the great achievements of master minds to be found in various Old-World cities with those of Paris. She is above all an idealist with a genuine passion for the beautiful in life and art. Hence she is preëminently well fitted to satisfactorily perform the work she essays in this volume.

So long as there is to be found the Jekyll and Hyde in man and woman, cities and nations will present two distinct aspects: a side fair, and one the reverse. The sociologist and reformer cannot blind himself to the darker aspects of life. The philosophical historian must be judicial and give both sides; while the specialist is free to portray the light or the shadow, the fair or the foul. In *Paris the Beautiful* Miss Whiting has given us a notable pen-picture of the fairer side of the French metropolis, and in so doing she has performed a very important work even from the viewpoint of common justice to the French; for ever since the great Revolution, when France has been under Liberal or republican rule, she has been the target for the upholders of monarchal or despotic governments and the champions of reactionary thought. And since she made her great choice for justice in the Dreyfus case, casting off the deadening spell which clericalism and militarism had cast upon her, she has become again the victim of the calumny and slander of reactionaries. She has been represented as decadent, as honeycombed with vice and devoid of faith and idealism. Spain in her comatose state receives no criticism from the clerical or political reactionaries, but France, in spite of her splendid scientific, artistic, political, philosophical and literary

achievements, is represented as stricken by death. It is therefore refreshing to read the following record of Miss Whiting, written in Paris after a sojourn in that city for the purpose of seeing what the great throbbing heart of France represents and has to offer to the world:

"Paris is neither medieval nor modern; it refuses to be assigned to any definite chronology; it is unique, and there is a suggestion of a vast realm of life that is aglow with wonderful possibilities. Infinite trains of thought are inspired: one realizes that he is in the center of art, of scientific activity and discovery, and that he treads on the very threshold of surprises that may, any morning, quite transform the course of progress. There is a curious sense of satisfaction with one's environment, as being that which contains and offers everything, and stimulates the purposes of life in myriad directions.

"The French capital is a paradise of beauty; it is also a paradise of opportunity. . . . Art, in all its varied forms of expression—in painting, sculpture, music, the drama, lyric art, architecture—pervade the entire atmosphere. Society, in the brilliancy of ceremonial life, of fashion, or that of the savant, the scholar, the thinker, is here. Invention and research find in Paris their scientific home.

"The generous hospitality of the French government to the student is unprecedented and unrivaled in the entire world. The splendid galleries of the Musées du Louvre, open daily (Mondays excepted) throughout the year, are free to each and all; the galleries of the Musée du Luxembourg are also free; the splendid course of lectures given at the Sorbonne, the Institute, the Collège de France and many other institutions, there being often as many as thirty separate courses of lectures given at the same time, are open to all who wish to enjoy them. The Bibliothèque Nationale, with its three million volumes, is open daily, except on holidays, free to those who seek its magnificent resources and its rare treasures of medals and antiques, manuscripts, maps and engravings. The opera, the Théâtre Français, the great concerts and the dramatic productions at all the theaters are available to the public at moderate prices. To live in Paris is to find that the most ideal and investi-

mable privileges of life are offered freely to all, without money and without price.

"The popular idea that Paris is the synonym of frivolity, not to say of things far worse than frivolity, is utterly remote from the truth. The French do not, indeed, take their pleasures sadly, but joyously; sadness and seriousness, however, are by no means equivalent. That the *joie de vivre* is in the very air of Paris does not argue that Parisian life is lacking in significance. On the contrary, every phase of interest is represented—the scholarly, the artistic, the mystic, as well as the most brilliant social life that the world has known.

The complex, many-faceted French life is the wonder of contemporary civilization.

"If one shall seek a key-note to Paris, he may find it in the inscription over the portals of the Panthéon, '*Aux Grands Hommes la Patrie Reconnaissante*,' placed there in 1791, when the church of Sainte Geneviève was converted into a national memorial temple.

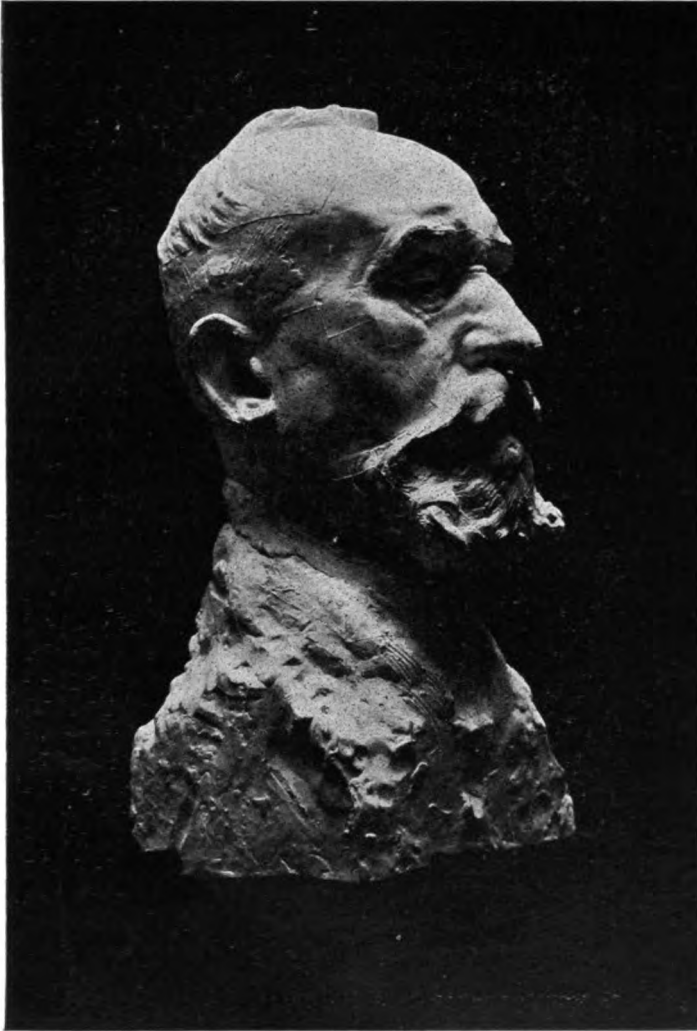
"No nation is so swift in its recognition of talent as is the French. No other nation offers such encouragement, or confers such honors upon her poets and prophets who in other countries are stoned, while France bestirs herself to offer them prizes and places and privileges. There is an institution called the '*Maison des Artistes et Littérateurs*,' which offers a gracious hospitality to the helpless



STATUE OF JEANNE D'ARC.

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

artist; there is the 'Thiers foundation,' which assures a basis of living for three years to young aspirants, with the conviction that if their talent is genuine, it will by that time enable them to rely upon it. The Académie Française includes several prizes for poetry among its rewards, and one of the latest of these is that bearing the name of François Coppée."



BUST OF PUVION DE CHAVANNES.

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

The present volume is rich in vivid pen-pictures of Paris past and present; fine descriptions of the streets and boulevards, the great galleries, museums, libraries and schools which are the glory of the city. Here, too, are delightful historical reminiscences, legends and anecdotes relating to various scenes and lives that are intimately connected with the story of the city and the greatness of the nation. There are also many pen-pictures of the great men of the age, and descriptions of immortal paintings, with something of their genesis.

together with delightful glimpses of many of the world-famous works of the modern masters.

Take, for example, the following description of one of Rodin's works and the futile effort of his enemies to undermine his reputation:

"Rodin's statue of 'St. John' recalls to the observer the story of its creation. In the Salon of 1877 Rodin had exhibited a statue called 'The Age of Bronze,' which, writes Rudolf Dircks, 'has become one of the familiar things of the world—except to the guardians of the gardens of the Luxembourg, as I have had occasion to notice. From its place in the Luxembourg Gardens it has been removed recently to the Musée du Luxembourg; and it may be mentioned that M. Rodin prefers the open air for the statue, as sculpture, particularly when it is cast in bronze, needs an equal diffusion of light which does not always exist in a gallery. On its exhibition at the Salon the figure was badly placed, and criticized adversely. But its position, and the commentary which within a few years has become

entirely reversed, were small matters compared with the grave charge that Rodin had made his figure with moulds cast direct from life. Rodin found this accusation sufficiently disconcerting. The offense was not unknown among sculptors; but it would be difficult to formulate a charge more likely to wound the feelings of a sculptor with a conscience; and it was particularly irrelevant in the case of Rodin. He had neither money nor friends to back him in the matter. So far as the world was concerned, he was simply an employé of Belleuse.

But, after all, the charge was groundless, and that was the main thing. Photographs and moulds taken from his model, a young Belgian soldier, which he procured from Brussels, were not sufficient to clear the air. Whereupon Rodin determined to convince his opponents by producing a figure, equally true to nature, but on a larger scale than life. This figure, St. John the Baptist, was exhibited at the Salon two years later.'

"The group of artists chosen to investigate this charge against M. Rodin was composed of Falguière, Chaplin, Belleuse, Delaplanche and Paul Dubois. They united in vindicating him, and the purchase of the statue by the French government gave the final affirmation in favor of his artistic conscience."

Here is a sympathetic characterization of the different modern movements in art, with a special word for the latest school:

"The new note in French art is the portrayal of those secret analogies which pervade life and make up the texture of character and circumstance, and their result on human destiny. 'The soul contains within itself the event that shall presently befall it,' says Emerson; 'for the event is only the actualization of its thoughts.' The artist must also be the seer. He must be the diviner of mental states, the poet of moods, the reader of the unwritten, the discernor of the invisible. To Romanticism succeeded Impressionism; to Impressionism succeeds Intimism. All the merely dogmatic laws of academic rule are swept away, or, rather, are surrounded by and engulfed in the high tide of intimate insight



"THE TWO SORROWS."

From "Paris the Beautiful," by Lilian Whiting. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

and constructive sympathy. The artist is quickened by the magnetic suggestion of that which lies beyond the surface. He paints with thought as well as with the brush. A ruined castle on a hillside, silhouetted against the blue sky; the flush of sunset; a reflection in the water; a shadow on the path—all these subtle hints transpose themselves, in the artist's mind, into new creations and groupings. To what extent has this brilliant, subtle, mercurial and psychological art of the day affinity with the great achievements of the Renaissance, is a question that occurs to the mind. In the

Salons of recent years portraiture is seen as an instantaneous, nervous grasp of character and mood and temperament; an impetuosity that seizes on characteristics with a kind of electric verve, as in the portrait of a young man in hunting costume, exhibited in the Spring Salons of 1908, with two tall greyhounds beside him, seen standing on a hillside silhouetted against the far horizon, his right hand raised to hold down his hat, a great coat slung over his left arm, his garments all flying in the wind, and two or three lonely stone-pines on the hill. What an electric impression has M. Bernard Boutet de Monvel depicted in this scene, which is not only a portrait, but a picture, a biography, and the rendering of the very life of the subject. No artist has more wonderfully and impressively illustrated the new note in portraiture than has M. de Monvel in this work.

"Less elaborate but even more penetrating than Sargent's brilliant audacities, is the work of a group of the French, Italian and Spanish painters, typically represented by Boutet de Monvel, Besnard, Boldini and Degas, who, though his irony is always apparent, is a student of truth. In M. Albert Besnard is fairly initiated a new period in art. Intellectually, he is in touch with science, with ethics, with the new social ideal. The superficial critic proclaims his fantastic; but he has the poet's mind, the poet's intricate subtlety, and he who penetrates beneath the surface, and has the intuitive recognition of the hidden significances of M. Besnard's mental processes, finds him singularly luminous, and an artist whose work is a very lens through which one sees that which was before invisible."

Space prevents more extended quotations from this thoroughly delightful work, which is as rich in information as it is fascinating in its manner of presentation. *Paris the Beautiful* is a volume well worth the reading. It will make a beautiful and appropriate gift for a discerning friend.

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*Sun and Shadow in Spain.* By Maud Howe.

Illustrated with four color-plates and many half-tones from photographs. Cloth. Gilt top. Pp. 410. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

SELDOM does the discriminating reader come across a volume of travel that is at once so informing and so beguiling as is Maud Howe Eliot's latest work, *Sun and Shadow in Spain*.

Those who have read this author's previous writings need not be informed that she possesses a graceful and easy style, which is rendered particularly pleasing by frequent humorous touches that are spontaneous in character. As a rule we soon weary of the professional humorist who essays to write of travels. He is constantly striving to say something funny, and frequently his strained attempts are painful to the reader, while, by distorting facts, they render his writings untrustworthy. No such criticism can be advanced against this author's work. Her humor is artless and natural. It flits over her pages as the sunshine breaks over the landscape on a cloud-flecked April day. She brings to her subject the knowledge of a well-informed writer and the sympathy that is so important if one is to throw a subtle spell of fascination over the story of journeyings to haunts rich in historic, romantic and artistic interest.

The author enjoyed peculiar advantages. Her husband was painting under the direction of Villegas, the famous court painter of Spain; while her acquaintances and the letters of introduction which she carried gave her access to many places that would be closed to the ordinary traveler. Spain is comparatively little visited by the tourist public. Hence the story of this author's wanderings with her artist husband will delight all lovers of well-written travels through lands out of the general pathway of the tourist.

The volume contains seventeen chapters. Most of them are descriptive of interesting places in Spain, although several pages are given to a description of the royal wedding and court ceremonials, and one of the most charming chapters is devoted to a trip to Tangiers. The opening pages, which appear under the apt title of "The Thorn in Spain's Side," contain a vivid description of Gibraltar and the experience of the author's party at the great fortress of Britain that guards the entrance to the Mediterranean. The description of Spanish cities and other points of historic interest will especially charm the general reader.

The work is magnificently gotten up. It contains four color-plates and over forty half-tones from photographs, many of them quite rare. It is a book that it is a pleasure to recommend.

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*The Shadow World.* By Hamlin Garland. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price, \$1.35. New York: Harper & Brothers.



**THE DOGARESSA. *Villegas***

From "Sun and Shadow in Spain," by Maud Howe. By permission of Little, Brown & Company.

IT WILL not be necessary to assure persons familiar with the writings of Hamlin Garland that his latest work, *The Shadow World*, is a volume written in so engaging a style that he who commences it will not care to lay it down until he has read the last word. It is a semi-scientific work—the story of a number of sittings of psychical investigators undertaken in the most important instances by a group of well-known parties, several of whom were confirmed materialists whose mental attitude was marked by the complacency and arrogance of the modern evolutionary scientist of the Haeckel school, who looks down in something like pity or commiseration on those who see and feel that the physical universe is but the changing order that up to a certain point veils the world of the real; that the life of the sensuous is as Plato taught, the shadow life. It is the custom of these materialistic thinkers to seek to veil their ultra-dogmatic spirit behind a spirit of seeming humility. They will tell us that they are agnostics: they simply do not know. Yet it does not take long to discover that in their heart of hearts they think they do know; and starting out with the materialistic hypothesis as the only possible working theory, they mentally rule out of court the idealistic theories and seek to bend, distort or warp every fact and group of facts to fit their preconceived notions. They will at first tell us that certain phenomena are impossible; that they are too absurd to be introduced; that they run counter to all the laws of physics; that only the over-credulous could accept such things. Then, when they themselves have been brought face to face with the phenomena they have derided and sneered at and are forced to admit the verity of what they have seen, they shift their ground and seek to explain it away by what the Rev. M. J. Savage once remarked to us were explanations far more wonderful and impossible of credence than the phenomena. When, again, the explanations they have advanced are proved to be inadequate to explain certain other phenomena and tests they themselves have demanded as necessary to convince them, they are no more ready to accept the spiritualistic or idealistic hypothesis than they were at the beginning, when they denounced all the phenomena as impossible. They merely again shift their position, still pretending to humility in thought, still professing to be agnostics, while they vaunt their own superior intellectual acumen and seek by inference to belittle those who see farther and

are able to penetrate nearer the throbbing heart of the universe than is possible for those who are the apostles of the materialistic concepts. They stubbornly persist in their original hypothesis, even after they have been compelled to shift their position time and again. Their position is well expressed by Mr. Garland in one paragraph of the present work, when he says:

“I am a scientist in my sympathies. I believe in the methods of the chemist and the electrician. I prefer the experimenter to the theorist. I like the calm, clear, concise statements of the European savants, who approach the subject, not as bereaved persons, but as biologists. I am ready to go wherever science leads, and I should be very glad to *know* that our life here is but a link in the chain of existence. Others may have more convincing knowledge than I, but at this present moment the weight of evidence seems to me to be on the side of the theory that mediumship is, after all, a question of unexplored human biology.”

The above sounds very plausible and to those unacquainted with the history of psychic research and the experience of the really great and truly scientific men who have been forced by their exhaustive personal investigations to conclude that the phenomena they have witnessed cannot be rationally explained on any hypothesis that excludes the theory of disembodied intelligences, it might be convincing. But the trouble here is with the false impression conveyed as to the leading basic statement made. Mr. Garland dismisses the great scientists—many of them men foremost in the world of critical and rigid scientific research, as men whose conclusions have been invalidated or at least weakened because they have been bereaved by the loss of dear ones. He might have added another alleged influence not unfrequently advanced by materialistic thinkers in order to weaken the weight of the testimony of men whose position in the scientific world is far higher than the critics', and that is personal desire for another life is a controlling factor. Yet no fact is, we think, more clearly established or better known to men who have exhaustively examined the experiences of distinguished men who have been forced to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis, than that neither of these considerations weighed in the scales. Certainly, they have weighed far less materially than the dogmatism of the materialistic thinker weighs on the other side. In very

many cases the great men have been pronounced enemies of the spiritualistic hypothesis, and they have entered upon their investigations determined to expose the pretensions advanced and to prove the fallacies of those who stood for the truth of psychical phenomena tending to demonstrate continuity of life beyond the grave. Men like Lombroso, the great Italian scientist and criminologist, for example, and Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the evolutionary theory, are striking examples of what our own investigation convinces us is the rule and not the exception with men preëminent in the world of scientific thought who have been forced to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis.

Dr. Wallace in his great work, *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*, clearly explains that no consideration of bereavement or any fear of death weighed with him. He had in the Malay Archipelago more than once faced what seemed certain death, and save a mild regret at leaving such a beautiful world, he experienced no other sentiment or feeling. He began his investigation precisely as he as a scientist investigated all other questions which he felt sufficiently important to receive his consideration. He was actuated by but one desire, and that was to arrive at the truth or falsity of the claims involved. And the result of these investigations, as in the case of numbers of other of the foremost nineteenth-century investigators, was the forced acceptance of the spiritualistic hypothesis.

Space prevents our giving the experience of Lombroso, Sir William Crookes and others, numbers of whom were biased by either a fear of death or a strong desire to meet friends who had died. We have in the past twenty-five years made a very careful study of the experiences that led to a change of views on the part of eminent thinkers who became converted to spiritualism and are convinced that in comparatively few cases could either of the facts above mentioned be by any reasonable inference set down as determining factors. Most of these men have been long trained in the modern scientific or critical methods. They are investigators who have been accustomed to sifting evidence and rigidly scrutinizing facts. They have been preëminently judicial in spirit and they have been influenced only by a passion for truth. This has been their overmastering impulse. To us it is clear that nothing is further from the truth than that the great scientists who have accepted the spiritual-

istic hypothesis have been influenced perceptibly by either considerations of bereavement or fear of death.

We have mentioned the fact that in this little group of investigators before whom occurred the most remarkable phenomena described by Mr. Garland in this work, were two or three persons of strong materialistic bias, because it makes the phenomena all the more remarkable, and, also, it cannot be claimed that the investigations were conducted loosely or by persons credulous or desirous of believing that the phenomena took place without resort to fraud.

We have characterized this book as semi-scientific. Let us explain our meaning. The characters introduced were in many instances actual personages, but for obvious reasons Mr. Garland has somewhat disguised them by descriptions that do not describe the persons. This is well explained in the following introductory note by the author:

"This book is a faithful record, so far as I can make it, of the most marvelous phenomena which have come under my observation during the last sixteen or seventeen years. I have used my notes (made immediately after the sittings) and also my reports to the American Psychical Society (of which I was at one time director) as the basis of my story. For literary purposes I have substituted fictitious names for real names, and imaginary characters for the actual individuals concerned; but I have not allowed these necessary expedients to interfere with the precise truth of the account.

"For example, *Miller*, an imaginary chemist, has been put in the place of a scientist much older than thirty-five, in whose library the inexplicable 'third sitting' took place. *Fowler*, also, is not intended to depict an individual. The man in whose shoes he stands is one of the most widely read and deeply experienced spiritists I have ever known, and I have tried to present through *Fowler* the argument which his prototype might have used. *Mrs. Quigg*, *Miss Brush*, *Howard*, the *Camerons*, and most of the others, are purely imaginary. The places in which sittings took place are not indicated, for the reason that I do not wish to involve any unwilling witnesses."

The language also is Mr. Garland's, and he has greatly extended the theoretical discussions introduced. Furthermore, he has written the book in the bright, breezy style that appeals to the general reader and which con-



tributes in no small way toward making the work as interesting as fiction. On the other hand, the astounding phenomena described are set down accurately and with that careful precision that modern scientific or critical methods require in a work that deals with unusual phenomena. This is the crowning excellence of *The Shadow World*.

We were of the group of investigators who witnessed much of what is described as taking place in the presence of Mrs. Smiley and can testify to the accuracy of the descriptions of what happened when we were present. We knew Mr. Garland was making extended notes, and this doubtless accounts for his clear and detailed narration of the extraordinary happenings in the presence of the psychic, who, it will be remembered, came to the society or group at her own expense, gave the sittings without a cent of pay, and urged us to make the test conditions as conclusive and satisfactory to us as we desired.

In this work we have the graphic description of a series of séances held in the homes of well-known citizens under far more conclusive test conditions than usually obtain in what are known as "dark" séances. The character of the persons constituting the group, the precautions taken to render it impossible for the psychic to rise from the chair or use her hands and arms, and the almost incredible phenomena that occurred, are here given, interspersed with discussions by prominent members of the group, in which the opinions of various eminent psychical investigators of the Old World and the New are given, the whole forming the most popular presentation of certain psychic phenomena, together with views and explanations that have been advanced by world-famous savants, that has yet been published.

*The Shadow World* is preëminently a popular treatise. It is not, of course, nearly so exhaustive or satisfactory a work as F. W. H. Myers' masterly work, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, nor so valuable from a scientific point-of-view as many other works; but by the general reader who desires to know the conclusions of the world's great thinkers and who wishes to be acquainted with some of the strangest phenomena that have called forth hundreds and perhaps thousands of pages of discussion from the pens of master-minds of the age, this book will be read with interest, profit and pleasure.

*Jesus of Nazareth: A Life.* By S. C. Bradley. Cloth. Pp. 575. Price, \$2.00 net. Postage, 20 cents. Boston: Sherman, French & Company.

THIS volume is one of the most notable religious works of the season. It is a book that in spite of some serious defects in style, abounds in passages of strength and beauty. Its treatment of the life of Jesus will awaken varied emotions. It will neither please the rigid orthodox nor the liberal Unitarian. And yet it is safe to say that no person who reads its pages will fail to have a far clearer idea of the moulding mental forces that played around the mind of Jesus during his life prior to his public ministration, and of the environing influences of his life, than he had previous to its perusal. The wonderful panoramic picture of the Judea of Jesus' day and the influences from without that beat upon the brain of the nation, as here presented, will make perfectly clear many things that have puzzled many persons of a thoughtful turn of mind when reading of the teachings and acts of the Great Nazarene. Indeed, to our mind, here lies the special value of the work—an excellence that it is difficult to overestimate.

The author has made a profound study of all sources of information that would enable him to make a faithful setting for the life of Jesus from the time of his birth to his exit from human vision, and in this very important work it seems to us that he has succeeded beyond other authors who have essayed the same task. The side-lights that he throws on the scene are illuminating and must help greatly in humanizing and making real and conceivable the life of the great Prophet of Galilee, which during the dark ages of superstition was lifted beyond the range of credibility and became the object of blind adoration born of ignorance and superstition.

From the contents of the book, we should judge the author to be a modernist, a liberal orthodox Christian who frankly accepts the rich results of the higher criticism, which is already forcing the change of opinion of the more thoughtful people throughout the world where God-given reason is permitted to go hand in hand with reverent love for all that is holy and true.

In taking the position he does, the author naturally and inevitably discredits the Virgin Birth and the wonder-stories relating to the

birth of Christ, as he does the miraculous character of much in the New Testament which higher critics have discarded; but while doing so he adheres very closely to the New Testament narrative and embodies the words, the life and the teachings of Jesus as they pertain to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The ethics of the Nazarene and all that is so supreme in its excellence in the life of the Wonderful One are beautifully brought out. He makes Jesus at once a very real character and an incomparable manifestation of the spirit of the All-Father whose name is Light and Truth and Love.

We think it is very unfortunate that the author has seen fit to phrase his work in present-day language. By adhering to the methods of speech of the time and place in which the great drama was enacted, much would have been gained in many respects. There are some other defects that are unfortunate in a work rich in worth and so profoundly suggestive.

In this book the life of Jesus is traced as in all probability it might have been lived in a land and under conditions that, as we have observed, are faithfully portrayed, based on the facts and data obtainable, up to the time when John the Baptist appears as a voice crying in the wilderness. After that, the New Testament narrative of course furnishes the bulk of the data employed. Here we meet not only Jesus' family and friends in Galilee, but Nicodemus and Gamaliel, Joseph of Arimathea and various other Scriptural characters, the lives of whom are well drawn. There are many chapters that are strikingly impressive, in which a lofty spiritual atmosphere pervades the simple, vivid, forcible and eloquent description of thrilling events that are instinct with human interest.

*Mind, Religion and Health.* By Rev. Robert MacDonald. Cloth. Pp. 368. Price, \$1.30 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS work, which appears as an appreciation of the Emanuel movement, is by the minister of the Washington Avenue Church of Brooklyn, New York, and is in our judgment one of the most deeply spiritual of all the books that have appeared in defense of the present-day effort on the part of certain orthodox clergymen to check the drift from the communions to that of Christian Science. Dr. MacDonald's attitude, though out of harmony

with the tenets of Christian Science, and in spite of the fact that he makes some sneering remarks occasionally in regard to it, is broader and more Christ-like in spirit than that of most of its critics who have appeared as apologists for the religious movement which frankly expresses a disbelief in the possibility of curing organic disease and which relies for its curative agent on mental suggestion rather than a faith that realizes the oneness of man with Deity.

At times Dr. MacDonald seems to have penetrated much further than those who are intimately identified with the Emanuel movement. He seems to have a deeper and more living faith and a clearer concept of man's relation to the Cosmic Mind and what that relation implies, than his orthodox brethren who are so fearful lest they be accused of even believing that organic disease can be cured by any other means than those endorsed by the regular medical profession. Thus, in his remarkable chapter entitled "The All-Power of the Universal Life," the most luminous discussion in the work, Dr. MacDonald says:

"How came our earth with all its teeming life, into existence? Our planet's history stands first an incandescent nebula spread over vast infinitudes of space. Then it condenses into a central sun surrounded with glowing planets in all stages of development, each evolved from that plastic primordial matter. Then follow untold millennia of slow geological formation, and the upspringing of all forms of vegetable and animal life, until through a never-ceasing, never-hurrying, majestic forward movement creation is fitted for man's residence. Then he appears, a spark of intelligence out of the infinite light, born with equipment that enables him to cooperate with God in carrying out the divine designs into all truthful and beautiful relations.

"Jesus postulated it all when he said, 'God is Spirit.' The writer of Genesis said the same when he exclaimed, 'In the beginning God.' That wonderful description of creation which follows the sublime declaration may not be scientific, but it is true nevertheless, simply, strongly, beautifully true, because it ascribes it all to God. It shows concisely that all visible things must have their origin in God, who is spirit, with intelligence, its supreme characteristic—an intelligence filled with thought images. Every one is an ideal pattern to be worked out in some created thing. No other occupation for spirit can be conceived than the production of thought-images, prior to its

manifestation in matter. These thought-images or ideas are what Plato of old referred to; in his theory of ideas when he mentions them as infinite models which God contemplates and actively directs unto the creation of all finite order and beauty.

"All nature, then, is pervaded with ideas of the good, the beautiful, the true. And for animate nature it is an ideal of health, harmony, wholeness. The animal existence realizes this much more universally than the human. They enjoy as man does not. They are as one with inward and outward conditions. The universal life is admirably though not fully embodied there. Why should man, the highest expression of this life, be so out of sorts in every department of his nature? Well, because of both actual and ideal considerations. He is made in God's image. God's very being, an infinite actuality, is the idea that is to be worked out in him. Hear the sublime command, 'Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect.' What a contract has God upon His hands! What an infinite undertaking has man!

"Then when you realize the odds against which the struggle must be waged! What separates humanity from the life universal, with all its rich wholeness, is volition. Because in God's image, he is endowed with power of choice. That is the great divisional force which makes for realization of selfhood, but alas! also for independence. All the universe of God is his to share, all the resourcefulness of nature his to claim. He draws upon it all, each moment of his living, appropriates all natural blessings, and when he can, he puts a wall around it and calls it his. His selfishness, his incessant striving, make everything wrong. Bound to bend everything to himself, he encounters obstacles, blunders into difficulties, endures friction, experiences manifold ills—all this in the vain attempt to be independent, foolishly thinking that independence is strength. But he can't embody all the centrifugal forces. He must be played upon by the centripetal forces, too. He must, like the star, be held in his orbit. He must respect the all-comprehensive law of compensation.

"Let us hope that he, after seeing the fruitlessness and emptiness of such low striving, learns his lesson and fits into the plan of God. Now, the very equipment, that superb volitional power which served him ill in separating him from the all-power of God, shall serve him well in enabling him to make the necessary

connections with the infinite supply. He fits himself into the divine plan, he chooses life. God's creative power is a recreative power, too, ready and glad to enter into every little human receptive doorway. Man's whole being may be made whole and harmonious and at ease. The very will-power that seemed to be his curse will prove his blessing now. It puts him in touch with that boundless storehouse of life and good we call nature. He has within his grasp the key to all its treasures. His mental ability is that key. Whatsoever he asks for, in faith believing, he shall receive. For nature is not dead uniformity of law, but all alive with creative and curative life-power, the life-power of the infinite God."

The volume contains eleven chapters which were originally delivered as sermons, and several pages devoted to questions and answers.

Personally, as we have before pointed out, we believe that the position taken by the orthodox advocates of the Emanuel movement is an illogical and untenable position for those who hold to the cardinal dogmas maintained by the orthodox churches. The book, however, is full of luminous thoughts and suggestive truths.

*The Economic Functions of Vice.* By John McElroy. Boards. Pp. 60. Washington, D. C.: The National Tribune.

How vices eliminate from society those the least fit to live and propagate their kind is the theme of this beautifully-written essay. As a historical illustration the author cites the "Bourbons whose stupidity and tyranny have passed into a proverb. In the last century their worse than worthless personalities filled nearly every throne in Europe. They seemed to breed like wolves in a famine-stricken land, and their fangs were at every people's throat. Fortunately they had vices. Wine and lechery did what human enemies could not and the pack of wolves rotted away like a flock of diseased sheep. . . . The only Bourbon still remaining on a throne is the King of Spain, and his teeth are on edge from the sour grapes of unchastity which his fathers and mothers ate. He is a sad physical weakling."

The foregoing gives some idea of the scope and trend of the essay. The author believes in religion, in law, in every legitimate means to save human life, but he adds: "For the hopeless defectives—the misfits in her tireless productiveness—religion, laws and society are alike weaker than women's tears. They

themselves sharpen the scythe of the Grim Reaper who brings the only remedy."

The book will awaken thought if not assent. It cannot fail to fascinate any one who looks into it.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The South Americans.* By Albert Hale, A.B. M.D. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 360. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is the story of the South American republics, their characteristics, progress and tendencies. It is written with special reference to the commercial relations of these countries to the United States. The volume contains sixty-six maps and illustrations. It is well written and contains much of interest, but in the nature of the case its substance cannot be condensed into a brief review. A single extract is given to show the characteristics of the author's style and the trend of his thought.

"The South Americans are not naked savages, waiting to be clothed, grateful for the cast-off garments of a higher race; it is not the necessities of life which they lack, but some of the comforts, many of the luxuries, and, above all, the means to increase their productive capacity. This implies the better grade of manufactured goods, especially machinery, either for individual effort or for the larger industries by which manufacturing plants of their own can be set in motion. American sellers must have their own agents and independent exhibits; it will not do to select an English or a German house through which to offer American wares. Dignified, high-grade American establishments in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires will do much to attract trade our way. This would encourage the location of an American bank, and would help solve the vexing question of an American line of steamers to South America. It is not necessary to subsidize steamers."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Psychical Research and the Resurrection.* By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 410. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

IT is hard to make much out of this volume of essays by Professor Hyslop, so profuse is the style, so uncertain the phenomena, and so inconclusive the reasoning. The general impression it leaves on one is to the effect that not much is really known as yet concerning the future or spirit state.

Even telepathy, we are told, is something

concerning which the most extravagant conceptions are entertained. It is a very rare phenomenon and has far greater limitations than the public imagines. It is merely a name for a group of facts, not for any explanatory process regarding them.

The volume concerns itself largely with an account of experiments made through mediums, many of them being attempts to identify the spirit of Dr. Richard Hodgson who was formerly associated with the author in psychical research. At times the identity seems established, at other times doubt arises. On the whole, in the present state of knowledge, it is easier to believe in the communication with disembodied spirits than it is to attempt the explanation of the phenomena in any other way, and yet some fact may be discovered any day that will destroy existing theories. So the most that can be said at present is that all is uncertain. In other words, there is a strong tendency to believe in so-called spiritualism, but as yet no absolute demonstration, nor is there absolute refutation. The best one can do is to keep the open mind and await developments.

The author well says: "The phenomena still accumulate, and increase the duties of science to investigate and interpret them. There are growing signs that intelligent men see that a new world of facts promises to open to human vision and interest, and only self-complacent dogmatists any longer ridicule the subject."

The author puts forward the spiritistic theory as a working hypothesis, but promises to abandon it if a better and simpler hypothesis can be obtained and supported by evidence.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The American as He Is.* By Nicholas Murray Butler. Cloth. Pp. 100. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IN September, 1908, President Butler was asked to lecture before the University of Copenhagen; the three lectures there delivered have been published under the above title. It is not an easy task for one to describe himself or even his type, yet Dr. Butler did not decline because of the difficulties, but has striven to do his work with as much fairness as possible under the circumstances. No doubt he has described the American at his best, but in doing so he has been simply just, for anything is to be judged by its best product. We at home know there are many serious evils that do not appear in

these lectures, nor should they, for we who fight them would agree with the lecturer that they are not an essential part of American life.

The three lectures have for their subjects: "The American as a Political Type," "The American Apart from His Government," and "The American and the Intellectual Life." The first is especially good and we venture the assertion that there are few who will not learn some valuable things by reading it, and we are sure all will get inspiration from so doing. He says:

"The most impressive fact in American life is the substantial unity of view in regard to the fundamental questions of government and of conduct among a population so large, distributed over an area so wide, recruited from sources so many and so diverse, living under conditions so widely different."

Then he goes on to give the causes of this impressive fact, which are quite as impressive as the fact itself. Dr. Butler lays great stress upon the whereabouts of sovereignty in America. Such a brilliant political student as the Englishman, Walter Bagehot, said he never could find it. Perhaps some Americans do not know. Well, Mr. Butler tells us:

"The sovereignty is not to be found in the Constitution or under it, but behind it. It is vested in the people of the United States, who adopted the Constitution, acting through conventions of the people in the several states, and who may, if they choose, alter and amend it in ways which they have provided in the Constitution itself."

The remaining lectures are good and full of valuable information. Every American who wishes to get a good look at himself at his best should read this interesting volume.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*The American College: A Criticism.* By Abraham Flexner. Cloth. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

ABOUT two years ago a volume was published in France that within two months passed through its fifth edition, and we finally received it in a translation from the tenth French edition. The sensation it created in France was simply tremendous, and no wonder, for in a most thorough manner it laid bare the cause of what it assumed no one doubted—Anglo-Saxon superiority. The cause was the educational systems of England and America which trained young people to meet independently

the problems of life. Just at present many of our magazines are attacking our school system, especially that part of it known as secondary education, showing that we are not educating the children at all, and President Wilson of Princeton tells us we have not done it for two decades.

Now Mr. Flexner turns his attention to a pretty thorough criticism of the American college. His claim is that the college does not fit the boy for the life that he is soon to enter. This is exactly the criticism our French friend, M. Demolins, made of the educational system of France, and at the same time pointed out that the English and American systems did fit men for life. Strange as it may seem, we think that the American critic would agree with the French critic. For while Mr. Flexner says, "the important thing is to realize that the American college is pedagogically deficient," he also says it is on the right track and its aim is to vitalize education.

The criticism of the college's treatment of the secondary schools is especially good and the responsibility for their deplorable condition is properly placed upon the college. If the reading of this chapter will be the means of creating an interest in the secondary schools our author will be well paid for his work. Their importance is realized by the author. He says:

"The secondary school is the key to the college position. On the vigor and intelligence of the secondary school, the permanent solution of college problems now depends."

He has no words of commendation for the elective system, but seems to look upon it as a complete failure. "The elective system ignores the educational aspects of the inclusive social and human relationship," and it "impoverishes where it does not waste by aimless dispersion."

He has some good criticism on graduate work, and protests against graduates and undergraduates meeting in the same class.

The book is not a sensational attack on the American college. His position can be best understood in his own words:

"The American college is wisely committed to a broad and flexible scheme of higher education through which each individual may hope to procure the training best calculated to realize his maximum effectiveness. The scheme fails for lack of sufficient insight: in the first place, because the preparatory-school routine devised by the college suppresses just what the

college assumes it will develop; in the second place, because of the chaotic condition of the college curriculum; finally, because research has largely appropriated the resources of the college, substituting the methods and interests of highly specialized investigators for the larger objects of college teaching. The way out lies, as I see it, through the vigorous reassertion of the priority of the college as such."

We hope every one actively interested in American educational institutions will read this book.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*Our Own Columbia That is To Be.* By LEONARD BROWN. Cloth. Pp. 608. Price, \$2.00. Des Moines, Iowa: E. T. Meredith.

MR. LEONARD BROWN, the author of this work, was a pioneer settler of the state of Iowa and one of the workers and thinkers who have done much to mould the thought of our young. He is a fundamental democrat, a man who believes in the great underlying principles of social justice that must be recognized and put into operation before we can realize anything like the ideal of free government. The master purpose or the keynote of the volume, and also the author's high concepts and ideal of life are admirably expressed in the following lines from the preface:

"The true purpose of life cannot be, for man, barely subsistence. This purpose—an instinctive motive—is behind the efforts of all to 'get rich'—the laying up for a 'wet day.' But why does the millionaire reach and reach for more and more? Has he not acquired enough for all his natural needs to the end of his life? He was happy in pursuit of this sufficiency and the acquisitive habit stays with him and he needlessly keeps on getting more and more till death, of what he has, and can have no use for. Is there no work for civilized man to pursue above what animal instinct and habit compel? Yes, man has a work given him to do superior to this. What is it? Briefly, it is to 'save the world.' Save it from what? (1) From ignorance; (2) from want, and (3) from wrong-doing. But mainly from ignorance; for want and wrong-doing normally flow from ignorance. Intelligence has almost completely forced out want by means of inventions that have so greatly increased the production of the essentials of life; and, according to the Master's teaching, who prayed, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'—and according to Plato, ignorance is the cause of wrong-doing. 'No man,' Plato says, 'can

know the right and do the wrong.' So it would appear that the great end of human effort should be to dispel ignorance, that is to say, to do missionary work.

"The childhood of humanity has gone by; but we have not yet put aside our outgrown garments. This condition gives rise to unrest and violence. Hence there are anarchists—they who would enforce as an universal law the motto placed by our Virginia ancestors upon the seal of the Old Dominion pictured and in letters: '*Sic semper tyrannis*'—'Death to all tyrants.' But ye old schoolmaster of ye olden time holds to the other extreme of belief—that is to say, non-resistance. And why so? Why overcome evil with good? Why, if smitten, turn the other cheek? It is the only way evil can be overcome. Like begets like. Love begets love. 'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.'

"In but one way alone can tyrants be dethroned, and that way is by public opinion. We have not reached the end of tyranny, while every lawmaker is a tyrant, and while no government accepts the golden rule as the law of its action. What say the states of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and, too, the islands of the sea to-day? They say the same that Pagan Rome said—that every city says in its dealings with the 'submerged tenth': 'We prey upon the weak; might makes right'—that they say.

"While this is the voice of all organized governments and corporations the world over, at this moment, it is not that of the people; and by 'the people' is meant here the builders—the 'Carpenter' and the 'Carpenter's Son.' What a sublime thought! The personification of toil under the figure of Joseph and his son Jesus! When organized labor has crystalized her voice in government and law universally, which ere long will be done, then shall we behold the United States of the World and all things common the world over. The toiling many have always stood only on the defensive and have never inaugurated any wars. They simply 'strike,' that is to say, refuse longer to be slaves, refuse to go forward in bondage. And they are then, with the points of bayonets, the edge of the sword and the bullets of machine-guns, cannon and small arms in the hands of regulars, national guards, cossacks, etc., held enchained.

"But soon there will be but one class—toolers: hence no longer wars; and but one

religion, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man—all men and all women baptized with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. In the building of ships of war, and of fortifications, the making of arms and all other munitions of war, the momentum is of Paganism. Pagan force is otherwise nil. When all men speak with one voice, as soon they will speak, warships and swords and guns and cannon will all go to the junk-shop for old iron, to be made over into plowshares and other useful twentieth-century implements of production and into the framework of skyscrapers and into railroad iron, etc., etc."

The volume is divided into two parts, the first "Out of Bondage," the second "Into Freedom." Many readers will not agree with all the views advanced, yet no one can read the volume without having his moral sensibilities aroused and his intellect nourished by the thoughtful presentation of ideals relating to social and individual development and advancement. The author is dominated by moral enthusiasm; he has much of the spirit of the old prophets; and he brings to his discussion a mind deeply religious without being narrow or bigoted, and not wanting in logical consistency and intellectual discrimination.

The God that the author places above all gods is Beauty, and above all in the realm of beauty, moral beauty. Hence ethics and aesthetics are the leaven of enlightenment. Therefore beautiful men, beautiful women and beautiful children morally will be flower and fruitage of the coming social order. He holds that the time is near when the consumption of tobacco will cease, when no one will take into his blood what will in the least be poison to it. While the author does not say with Tolstoi that animal food—the eating of flesh, should end with human beings, still it must end if beauty and harmony and love are the leaven of progress. And this leaven of progress is grounded in human nature. The love of the beautiful is the higher element in man's higher nature and dominates him, risen above the animal plane.

The author is not a revolutionist nor an iconoclast. He holds that what is, is the best we know; what is to be will be better.

The church, says our author, "is an heritage of good and cannot be given up. It is every patriot's duty to uphold the church, and every clergyman's duty to let down the medieval bars and bring in the sheep. . . . The church with all its grand edifices cannot be removed from

our European order of civilization and it ought not to be. It is in a transition stage just now and will shortly come to hold the place it ought to hold, and that it did once hold, that of headlight of the oncoming locomotive of progress. . . . What ails the Christianity of to-day? It is counterfeit. It is not the Christianity of the New Testament. The sects would have men 'go to heaven,' but the New Testament would bring heaven—the 'Kingdom of Heaven'—the Master's Kingdom, *down to men*, that 'God may dwell with them and be their God and they His people.' The Pentecostal church was that Kingdom—the realization of the Pythagorean ideal commonwealth in which those who were included in its membership would no longer live for themselves, but for the community of which they were members; and not only for the community of brethren, but for the common weal of humanity—the religion of mankind universally; for there is no man who will not accept and embrace it when rightly understood by him. . . . You may study every other religion—Buddhism, Confucianism, Zoroasterism . . . and you will find all of them terminating in self—selfishness—the individual helping himself. New-Testament Christianity is the reverse. It is the *individual helping others*. The power to do this perfectly well implies a perfect doer. Hence righteousness—hence perfection. 'Be ye perfect.' That is New-Testament Christianity and that alone—perfection of the individual in his character and his entire devotion to altruistic aims. This ideal belongs in so preëminent a degree to no other beside the Christian religion. But how may this end be reached? How build perfect character and implant in the universal mind the altruistic ideal? Only in one way, *viz.*, an ideal environment. Hence the Pentecostal society—the ideal commonwealth. That ideal commonwealth assures equality, the equality dear to the heart of St. Paul: 'That by an equality that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance may be a supply to your want, that there may be equality.'"

It would be well for the young of America if parents should make a personal effort to interest their children in the contents of this volume.

*The Realm of Light.* By Frank Hatfield. Cloth. Pp. 430. Boston: The Reed Publishing Company.

THIS is one of the best Utopian romances of recent decades. It deals in an interesting, human and spirited manner with the stirring adventures of three young men in quest of a wonderful land and people in central Africa—a quest which finally, after numerous thrilling experiences, is crowned with success. On reaching the Realm of Light the adventurous trio find themselves among a wonderful people and their experiences and adventures are quite as spirited and interesting after their arrival as they were before reaching the land which to them is an enchanted realm. The description of the new-found civilization which is many centuries in advance of that of the lower world from which they have emerged enables our new Utopian philosopher to picture a civilization in which the ethics of the Golden Rule is the vital governing law of the people. In this land life is sacred. Not even a butterfly is allowed to be slain. Here the fierce struggles and savagery born of greed, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and ambition, are unknown. True, there is emulation, but it is the emulation akin to that of the great philosophers, scientists and singers of the ages—the passion to discover something that will add to the sum of truth which is the heritage of the ages, and the giving of something that will increase the happiness of the people.

There is a double romance, prettily told, and indeed the novel as a story is much superior to most of the social or Utopian romances of recent decades. The author's imagination is as rich and fertile as that of Bulwer-Lytton or Jules Verne. The reader will at times be strongly reminded of Bulwer as he follows the heroes during their exploration of the Realm of Light.

Apart from the story as a novel, the book possesses real merit because of the high, fine idealism that marks the lives of the people who have sought first the Kingdom of God, or the acceptance of the great eternal ethical verities, and through their acceptance have opened the door to spiritual progress that is splendidly reflected in the material happiness and development of the people.

*The Sun-Dial.* By Fred. M. White. Cloth. Pp. 344. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge Company.

THIS is the best mystery story we have read in months. All romances of this character are largely descriptive, but usually they are want-

ing in atmosphere and background. They remind one of an outline drawing rather than a finished painting. In this respect *The Sun-Dial* is incomparably superior to most mystery tales.

It is a romance dealing with two strange deaths which enlist the attention of a prominent electrician and a distinguished Italian criminologist. But incidentally, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, side by side with the story of the mysterious deaths we have a vivid sectional view of life in its various phases. Among the prominent actors are a famous artist and his beautiful but superficial and unfeeling wife; a young society man who leads a double life, treading the pathway of crime while posing as a scientist and an ultra-respectable member of society; the high-minded mother of this young man and her beautiful niece, together with several frivolous, card-playing members of modern fast society life.

The flight of the beautiful wife of the artist with the society man, and the miscarriage of their well-laid plans is followed by a series of startling and tragic events which open the way for a bright and happy life for the two people who had in different ways suffered greatly from the wrong done by the guilty pair.

Though there is here as in most mystery tales the element of improbability, it is not so obtrusive as in most similar romances; while the action is so swift, the interest of the reader is so well sustained, and the human appeal is so evenly balanced with the exciting description of the unraveling of what long promises to be a baffling crime, that most persons will doubtless overlook its weakness in this respect. Those who enjoy a well-written mystery tale which will hold the interest from the opening page to its satisfactory ending will go far before they find a better romance than *The Sun-Dial*.

*The Stuff of Dreams.* By Edith Sessions Tupper. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 292. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS novel of New York society life, although highly melodramatic and not free from the element of improbability, displays much ability of the kind that is demanded by the general lover of romantic fiction in the weaving and developing of the story. It is a threefold romance of love, abounding in highly exciting incidents and dramatic situations. If put on



the stage it would doubtless prove a pronounced success before audiences devoted to melodrama.

The story opens with the introduction of Gerald Sunderland, a young man of the world and the son of a rich New York capitalist, and the beautiful daughter of a Western miner who in dying left the young woman under the guidance of Sunderland, Senior. Gerald imagines he is in love with the fair ward of his father. She thinks of him, however, only as a brother. Neither the father nor the ward, whose name is Lily Adriance, dreams that Gerald is dissipated or wild. He, however, has only escaped from serious trouble and complications through the industry and tact of his intimate friend, Jack Tyson. A scheming woman of the world has set out to ensnare Gerald, while in an uptown flat is a country girl whom he is supporting—a girl lured to New York under the promise of marriage. She is the mother of a little babe of whom Gerald is the father. Lily, in ignorance of all this, finds her guardian and her mother greatly desirous that she shall marry Gerry, and though thinking of him more as a brother than as a lover, she finally consents to become his wife. In the meantime, Beatrix Evans, the scheming society adventuress, sets out to prevent the marriage. A dinner is given at which the betrothal is to be announced, but the adventuress induces the mother of Gerry's child to appear before his father with the tale of her shame and wrong. The father compels his son to marry the girl. This the boy does, but refuses to live with her, whereupon he is disinherited by the father, while he gives his son's wife a place as his daughter and as mistress of his home. Lily and her mother go to Europe for three years. Gerald steals his child and with the connivance of a woman of his acquaintance keeps it out of sight during the months when the city is being scoured for the child. Gerald goes west. Three years later the little boy is the means of changing Gerald's whole course of life. He returns East and finds that his wife has developed into a strong and beautiful woman; that she is the constant companion of his father. At the time of his return Lily and her mother also arrive from Europe, and a general reconciliation follows.

*An Adventure in Exile: A Romance of Normandy.* By Richard Duffy. Cloth. Pp. 359. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS romance deals with the loves of some idle rich Americans in France, and with three French characters: an elderly lady bent on marrying her son to a rich married woman whose husband, a *roué*, it is hoped the wife will consent to divorce; the son, an impressionable, passionate and rather fickle youth; and the rich but abused wife, one Stéphanie Lescure. Among the Americans, the hero, Lloyd Avery, and a brilliant young widow, Margery Herbert, occupy the most conspicuous positions on the author's puppet stage. The hero falls in love with a mysterious woman, a cheese-maker in Normandy, who turns out to be none other than Stéphanie Lescure. The timely death of the wayward husband leaves the field open to the rivals. The story is cleverly conceived and written in a bright, easy style. It is artificial and not wanting in the element of improbability, but it is a romance that will be thoroughly enjoyed by many not over exacting readers.

*The Harvest Moon.* By J. S. Fletcher. Cloth. Pp. 380. Price, \$1.50. New York: The John McBride Company.

THIS is a well-written novel pitched in a minor key. It is divided into three parts. In the first division the heroine, a beautiful English girl of Dutch descent, falls in love with an engaging artist who is sojourning at her father's home, with the old, old tragic aftermath. The girl gives herself to her lover, who shortly afterwards leaves and all trace of him is lost. She leaves her home and, companioned by a loyal girl friend, goes to live in Bruges. Part two opens twelve years later in that city, where the mother and son are residing. Later the scene shifts to Rome, and it develops that an Italian nobleman who had been greatly attracted to the boy is his father. A tragic incident in which the child loses his life brings the parents together, but the father is now married to an Italian woman, and the grief-stricken mother returns to England. Later the count's wife dies and he sets out in search of his early love. The meeting and reconciliation of the lovers constitute the closing scenes of the story.

*The Wolf-Hunter.* By James Oliver Curwood. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 319. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a story of the thrilling adventures of two youths, one Roderick Drew of Detroit, a

youth of eighteen; the other Wambi, a half-breed Canadian, in the northern wilds of Canada. The latter has fallen heir to a mortal feud that has existed for many years between the remnant of the tribe of which his father was the chief, and the scattered bands of another once powerful tribe. The hostile Indians, the great packs of half-starved wolves, and other foes constantly threaten the lives of the young hunters. Their hairbreadth encounters and escapes are portrayed in so vivid and natural a manner that it is safe to say it will prove one of the most popular books for boys of recent years. From a literary viewpoint it is incomparably superior to most boys' books, and while personally we question the wisdom of placing stories dealing with the slaughter of men and animals before our youths, it is, we think, the best tale of this kind that has appeared in years.

*Live Dolls' Play Days.* By Josephine Scribner Gates. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 108.

Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

LITTLE children who have been fortunate enough to have read any of Josephine Scribner Gates' *Live Dolls'* books will be delighted to learn that this charming author has written a new volume entitled *Live Dolls' Play Days*. Here, told in a way that will go straight to the hearts of little girls who are old-fashioned enough to love their dolls better than the Teddy bears, is a story of the wonderful doings in Cloverdale, the home of the Live Dolls. True, at the opening of the story we find the dolls very unhappy because their noses are out of joint. The Teddy bears have usurped their places in the hearts of the little mothers, and the Live Dolls almost desire to cease to live, since they are neglected and shunned by their once loving mothers. But with the coming of Patty and her aunt, who form the Happy Hearts Club, all is changed and golden days come again for the little dolls.

This is a delightful book for very little girls, and its atmosphere is fine and wholesome.

## SOCIALISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF PRACTICAL IDEALISM.\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

**D**URING the past thirty years the real builders of civilization, the wayshowers and the prophets of progress, have been more largely concerned in the political, social and economic welfare of the people than at any period since the advent of the democratic era. These men and women, profoundly concerned as they have been in the larger and more vital things which are the wellsprings of national and individual life and growth, have noted with a perplexity only equaled by their disappointment the failure of democracy to fulfil its promise in the large and full-orbed way that its apostles of a century and a quarter ago anticipated. They are not blind to the immeasurable blessings that have followed in its wake; they are not unmindful of the fact that it has immensely broadened, elevated and enriched

life in general; that it has fostered science, education, and that freedom of thought and research which is absolutely essential to growth of mind and soul. They note with pleasure and gratitude that the more free and democratic, the more liberal and just a nation has become, the more rapid has been its progress along material as well as intellectual and truly spiritual lines. Yet in recalling the glowing pictures painted by the fathers, they see that in many ways democracy has failed to realize the ideals of her prophets and apostles; nor can they close their eyes to certain present-day tendencies that are grave and sinister in character, which are menacing in greater and greater degree the various strongholds of democracy and most of all are in evidence in the great Republic. They see that oppression and class-rule in a new guise or changed form have invaded the domains of free government, due to the fact that the fathers failed to safeguard the people's rule at all points—failed, indeed, to

\*The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism." By John Spargo. Boards. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

make the necessary provisions which would render it impossible for their representatives to become misrepresentatives without the people having the power to promptly discipline the guilty and to finally pass upon their actions, so as to prevent the incalculable blessings of free government from being nullified. As one result of this weakness in the armor of democracy, they witness with alarm the slow but steady advance in control of government of a new feudalism, identical in spirit with but changed in form from that which oppressed the masses in the Middle Ages.

But this failure of democracy, which can be promptly met by De Tocqueville's remedy of giving the people more democracy, is by no means the only failure to realize the dream of the fathers.

Political independence or emancipation has fallen short of giving to the people the blessings anticipated, because it has not been companioned by industrial or economic independence. The friends of justice and human brotherhood have seen in every great city thousands of girls and women, owing to economic dependence driven from the path of virtue to lives of shame. They have seen the relentless hand of greed stretch forth and seize the little children by the thousands and place them in factory, mill and mine. They have seen a mighty commercial oligarchy rise upon the ashes of the old kingly and aristocratic oligarchies of the past. And seeing these things, they have been led to seek the fundamental causes of the evils that are striking at the vitals of democracy, and for the effective complementary remedies to render possible that degree of equality of opportunities and of rights which will complement political independence with economic independence for the workers of the world. It is with this last great problem that modern Socialism concerns itself.

## II.

The works that have leaped from the brain of chosen prophets and wayshowers of progress, since Karl Marx wrote his immortal *Das Kapital*, and Frederick D. Maurice and Canon Charles Kingsley laid the foundations of the movement known as Christian Socialism, would constitute an extensive library. Of late years, in England and America, a group of exceptionally brilliant young men and women, fired by the spirit of true democracy that breeds a passion for justice and human

brotherhood, have given to the world a number of books of great value in a time like ours, when the thought of the people is in a state of flux and when on every side the evils that have become giant-like are being recognized by the serious-minded.

The latest and in many respects one of the most important of these recent books is Mr. Spargo's *The Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism*. It is distinctly a great little book, for here, crowded into less than one hundred pages, we have a most concise and informing exposition of the practical idealism that is one of the great motor powers of modern Socialism—an engine whose dynamic force has made this new philosophy a veritable evangel or gospel to millions of men and women, filling them with an enthusiasm rarely matched since the days when Primitive Christianity swept irresistibly over the pagan world.

The enemies of Socialism attack it as being grossly sordid and materialistic—a philosophy without moral idealism; or else as being visionary and Utopian, a fantastic philosophy wanting in practicality. The second of these objections has been largely discredited by the practical success that has attended the public operation or conduct of great functions of modern collective life, such as the post-office, the public schools, railway, telegraph and telephone systems, in nations where these latter have come under popular management, as well as national operation of mines, insurance and other great enterprises which have been successfully carried forward by the government of New Zealand, and by the great success which has attended the coöperative experiments in Great Britain and elsewhere.

But the first objection, though often answered, is advanced with great tenacity by the enemies of Socialism, who derive much aid and comfort from strident and iconoclastic voices in the camp of the Socialists. It is to answer these great objections that Mr. Spargo addresses himself.

## III.

In the first place, he calls attention to the fact that men of genius are many-sided and "compels criticism and appreciation from minds of varied temperaments and interests."

He points out the fact that:

"The life of a great man is like a diamond that is cut with many facets, from any one of which the beauty of the stone may be seen and

appreciated. All the facets cannot be seen at once, just as no one vision of a great life comprehends all its sides.

"As with men, so with movements. As with the individual, so with individuals in the mass. The same test can be successfully applied to any great historical event or to any of the great movements in history.

"Not the least of the signs of the greatness of the modern Socialist movement, then, is the fact that it appeals with equal charm and force to men and women of many diverse points-of-view. It is, I think, the supreme glory of this great world-movement that so many temperaments and passions, so many qualities of mind and character, are attracted to it; each finding in it something that answers its own peculiar needs."

It is not strange that a great world philosophy like Socialism should appeal to different classes of thinkers, workers and dreamers in an overmastering way, should seem to be the peculiar heritage of those who feel that its message is as the water of life to them. The poor who heard the Great Nazarene gladly and followed so eagerly in his footsteps, felt that his Gospel was peculiarly their evangel—and so it was; but its appeal, based as it was on eternal spiritual verities, was far more than glad tidings to the proletariat. It was in its great ethical bearings a gospel of world-wide application. And so it is with Socialism, as Mr. Spargo thus clearly shows:

"To the wage-worker, engaged in a daily struggle for existence against the forces of capitalist society, Socialism signifies primarily a movement for his economic deliverance. It means security of employment. It means work that is worthy to be done and proper conditions for doing it, conditions which do not debase body or brain. It means freedom from Want and the haunting fear of Want. It means a larger share of the Good in life and less of the Ill. It means, in a word, material gains in the form of better shelter, better clothes, better food—and these secured against assault. Socialism thus becomes to the wage-worker the political expression of that struggle of which his labor union is the economic expression. It is his means of expressing in the state the claims he is continually advancing in the workshop.

"Thus the wage-worker interprets Socialism

in terms of economic gain. It is for him a philosophy which explains how and why others reap where he sows and take what he makes. It means to him a movement of the exploited to make exploitation impossible; to drive away by their concerted action, the dreaded foe, Poverty, and to enthrone Plenty in its place. And his conception of Socialism is a perfectly just one. Socialism means all that."

On the other hand, here is a worker who is very differently environed, to whom this philosophy comes with compelling force.

"He is, perhaps, a professor in one of the great universities. He has never known the pain and misery of want, or the fear of it.

"But in his life he has experienced another kind of bondage than that which the wage-worker knows. He sees that under the present system there is a bondage of the intellect, and he is quick to resent it. He finds that he is not free to teach the truth as he sees it; that chains of class-interest and greed are laid upon the mind and that Truth is muzzled in the temple. He sees, what the wage-worker only vaguely suspects, that the fountains of knowledge are poisoned at their source by the sinister forces of class-interest. The world in which he lives and moves is blighted by capitalism, and he conceives Socialism as the great Liberator of the Mind. He turns to the Socialist movement as the force which alone can rend asunder the chains which hold the intellect in bondage. His faith in Socialism is not less intense than that of the wage-worker but it is motived by a different impulse and passion. And his conception of Socialism is likewise a perfectly just one. Socialism means all that.

"Yet another man approaches Socialism from the religious approach. Cradled in religious faith and inspired by an intense enthusiasm, he adds to the ethical view of life a mystic and poetic interpretation of the universe and of his relation to the *cosmos*. In that mystic and poetic interpretation he finds the vitalizing force of all his ethical precepts, and he believes that without it they would be barren and fruitless.

"Such a man sees that the religious life is impossible under capitalism. Everywhere, at every turn, the spirit of capitalism kills Religion. . . . Brotherhood in any real sense is impossible under capitalism. Life is all bound down to its ledger accounts of profit and loss. To live the Golden Rule is impossible. There

is no individual salvation from social evils.

"Seeing these things, seeing that under capitalism the ethical heart of religion dies and faith degenerates into a cold, barren, futile creed of formulas for vain and fruitless sermons, many a religious enthusiast turns to Socialism and finds in its teachings inspiration, solace and hope. To such a believer Socialism appears as a great, vital and vitalizing principle. And that conception of Socialism is as legitimate and just as any.

"The man who, because his life is torn by the coming struggle, sees in Socialism economic redemption is right; the man who, because his soul rebels at the bondage of the mind, sees in Socialism mental and intellectual freedom, is right; and the man who, because his religious faith withers under the blight of capitalism, sees in Socialism the force which will make the religious life possible, is right. Each point-of-view is legitimate and all are necessary to a full comprehension of Socialism. And there are still other points-of-view—the point-of-view of Woman, for example, seeing in Socialism the breakdown of the last remnants of her servitude and the triumph of Sex Equality; or of the Artist, seeing the source of ugliness in the spirit of greed which pervades capitalism, and looking to Socialism as the only hope for the Life Beautiful."

In the above extracts we see the spirit of the young, progressive Socialism of the twentieth century, the spirit which will win to the cause hundreds of thousands of the finest conscience-guided men and women who are themselves under the imperative sway of moral idealism and who have long shrunk from Socialism because they have been led to believe that it is a philosophy devoid of ideals or spiritual verity. This widespread misconception, as our author shows, is not wholly due to the criticism of the enemies of Socialism. In the elder day the apostles of the new economic philosophy, like the Great Nazarene and his immediate disciples, fond conventional religion bulwarking the existing order and opposing all broader, juster, nobler and more humane social concepts. Often the church was the right arm of the throne, the ally of despotism and entrenched injustice. It is not strange, therefore, that men who were persecuted and exiled, as was Marx, should confuse religion with churchianity. Later many radicals attracted to Socialism strove to commit it to an anti-religious program, but they were power-

less to guide the movement along narrow lines. More and more the Socialist movement has come to insist on religion being left to the individual, and more and more has the movement grown idealistic and spiritual in its emphasis. It is to-day as never before attracting to it men and women who are above all else idealistic, conscience-guided children of justice who yearn to see an era of general coöperation supplant the ghastly cut-throat and oppressive present-day order. More and more are the truly religious people coming to see that "under capitalism, society rots at both ends—the poor from their poverty and the rich from surfeit."

Mr. Spargo insists that a spiritual interpretation of Socialism is essential to its proper understanding. "The Spirit of Socialism cries out:

"I am 'Religion, and the church I build  
Stands on the sacred flesh with passion packed;  
In me the ancient gospels are fulfilled—  
In me the symbol rises into Fact."

In confirmation of his claim that Socialism is idealistic and that a spiritual interpretation is essential to a true understanding of it, our author points out these tremendously significant truths:

"Here we have the greatest political movement in history, embracing men and women of all the nations of the earth of all colors and all creeds. At the very threshold, we are confronted by the fact that there is in this international movement a power of appeal strong enough to overcome all the barriers and distinctions of race, of sex, of speech, of tradition and of belief, uniting all in one vast aim and kindling in the hearts of all its adherents one sublime enthusiasm for freedom and brotherhood.

"In the past races have been born to a heritage of hatred, race hating race and nation hating nation. Even the religions of the world have not united mankind. Christians have persecuted and butchered Jews; Protestants and Catholics have vied with each other in the bitterness of their hatred. Over the pages of the history of civilization rests the scarlet shadow of man's hate for man born out of cruel perversions of the religious instinct. Visions of bloody battlefields, vast acreages of bleached human bones, gibbet and rack and thumbscrew, flames from funeral pyres leaping in mad fury around the writhing forms of 'unbelievers,' brutal and dehumanized mobs filled with worse than brute passion—such visions rise out of the pages of history, terrible

witnesses of the failure of organized religion to bind the nations of the earth together. This I say with no desire to attack organized religion, or to disparage it, but with reluctant spirit.

"Never before in all the centuries were so many millions of people of diverse races and religions, born to such widely varied traditions and environments, united in one great movement.

"If that were all—if uniting into one great movement all these strange elements of humanity, subduing all racial and religious hatred and distrust, were the only achievement of the Socialist movement, I should confidently assert its claim to be counted among the greatest spiritual forces of the world. Think of the world's more than eight million Socialist voters voting their declaration that equality of opportunity must take the place of our system of privileges and handicaps; that economic justice alone will satisfy them, because that is the only basis upon which the divine fabric of human brotherhood can be raised!

"Not only by reason of the fact that it unites mankind in a glorious brotherhood is Socialism to be regarded as a spiritual force in modern life, but by reason of the faith which is the secret of its power to unite men as nothing else in the whole stretch of the centuries has done. Great and wonderful as the result is, the impelling cause is, from a spiritual view-point, yet infinitely greater. In an age of unfaith, these Socialists, despised, reviled, hated and feared as they are, have a matchless faith in mankind and the future of mankind. To the prophetic visions of 'peace and good-will,' of days to be when swords and spears shall be broken into plowshares and pruning-hooks, the Socialist to-day answers with heartfelt 'I believe!'"

True, the Socialists attack modern churchianity, that discredits the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. Their attitude is very similar to that of James Russell Lowell in his poetical parable descriptive of the second coming of Christ.

"Socialist and other agitators," says our author, "hurl thunderbolts of superbly passionate invective against *Churchianity*, against what they feel to be an organized masquerade, but there is ever reverence and love for Jesus. They resent the perversion of his teachings by the churches and cherish in their hearts the pictures of the New Testament in which

Christ's humanity is portrayed. They think of the homeless proletarian, less fortunate than the foxes and the birds, with no resting-place for his weary head. They think of the Compassionate Christ, too big in his humanity to judge the woman at the well; tender in his love for the little children; withering in his scorn and contempt for an unfaithful and corrupt priesthood; sublime in his denunciation of an empty creedal caricature of religion; heroic and majestic in his anger at Mammon's desecration of the temple. This Christ, the Christ of the Gospels, they revere as a great comrade.

"The average workingman feels in his dumb struggle what Theodore Parker felt when he declared that if Christ could return to earth he would have to fight Christianity."

We have on more than one occasion called the attention of our readers to the significant fact that Socialism was one of the greatest if not the greatest enemy of militarism in the world to-day. It is also one of the mightiest forces aggressively working for world peace. This very inspiring truth is thus admirably pointed out by Mr. Spargo:

"The dream of universal peace, faith in the coming of a time when wars should cease, came not from the priesthood but from the prophets. In all ages the organization of the forces of religion has tended to narrow the religious concept. And in all ages the prophets, either from within or without the Church—but oftenest from without—have struggled to correct the tendency, denouncing the priests for their reactionary influence and their lack of faith, and holding up the wider ideal to the world. Not the priests, but the prophets, in ancient Israel held up the glorious ideal of a world redeemed from the curse of War and given to the reign of Peace.

"The International Socialist movement is the greatest force in the world to-day making for universal peace among the nations of the earth.

"The great Peace Congress at The Hague, occupied in formulating a multitude of rules for the regulation of warfare, intended to be for international wars what the Marquis of Queensbury's rules are for pugilistic fights, was far less significant, and far less potent for peace, than the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. Said the representatives of the governments of the world with unblushing cynicism: 'Though we meet as a Peace

Congress, it is perfectly idle to think that war can be done away with. It is useless to talk of disarmament, or even of the limitation of armaments. All we can do is to provide a code of rules for the regulation of the great game of war.' On the other hand, the representatives of the workers, in their International Socialist Congress, not only declared unequivocally against all war, but also pledged themselves to the promotion of such a feeling of solidarity among the workers of the world as would make war an impossibility—except small armies of the ruling class should decide to fight their own battles. And this last is, of course, unthinkable. It is, indeed, the Socialist who is entitled to repeat Tennyson's prophetic lines:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see;  
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;  
Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled  
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.'

"By reason of the fact that it unites peoples so diverse into one great fraternal movement, and by reason of the profound faith in human brotherhood which makes that possible and tends to promote universal peace, the Socialist movement of to-day must be looked upon as a spiritual factor of profound significance in our modern life."

But this is not all. We are in the midst of an age of pessimism and unbelief. True, great cathedrals, temples and churches rise on every hand. But never before has the empty pew given greater cause for concern to the thoughtful Christian. Rome under the Cæsars gloried in her multitudinous magnificent temples, and outwardly the forms and rites of paganism were observed with pomp and circumstance; but the old faith had died in the hearts of men. And so to-day under the splendor of man's material achievement and advance, living faith is almost everywhere waning. Thus our author well observes:

"I am no alarmist and my spirit is inclined to err in the direction of optimism rather than in the direction of pessimism, but I confess that the crass materialism of the age, with its absence of inspiring and uplifting ideals, oppresses my heart. Where to-day are the dreamers of dreams setting the hearts of men aflame with holy enthusiasm, setting the feet of the young men and maidens marching toward the vision? Where is there faith in

mankind, faith in the future of the race, in the capacity of mankind to rise higher and higher, to complete the chain of evolution from brute to brother?

"Only in the Socialist movement does this faith abound, only in the Socialist movement do we find the stirrings of the heart caused by the dream of a revived world. The churches have, for the most part, lost all their social ideals and their faith. Here and there a voice is raised in affirmation—may these few voices prove to be the leaven of the whole movement! The Socialist dreams and believes, but Mammon and the Church mock the dream and the faith.

"There is nothing more pathetic than the helplessness of the churches which the spirit of Socialism has not touched with its fire, kindling the flames of social faith upon the altars. They complain that the workers do not attend the services of the church and lament the fact that they have no longer the power to win the masses. Most of them seek the reason in all directions except that of their own lack of faith. They do not realize that the average church to-day is little more than the tomb of what once was a splendid faith—and men do not seek life in the tombs."

Nor is this all. Not only is the conventional church wanting in living faith: she is developing more and more an appetite for the flesh-pots of Egypt. She screens, nay, more, she permits not only in her membership but in high places men of great wealth who are morally unclean and spiritually dead—men whose corrupt influence in business and politics is the supreme menace of the hour.

"Even to-day," says our author, "in every city, it is well known that among the prominent 'Christians' will be found many of the worst exploiters of labor; owners of man-killing tenements, corrupters of legislatures, leaders of political 'machines' that traffic in votes and draw tribute from gambling-hells and brothels. And this condition of affairs arises from the fact that formulas and creeds have supplanted the ethical precepts of Jesus in organized Christianity.

"Happily, there is observable a healthy reaction from this. There is a very strong current of tendency in the church toward the ethical teaching of Jesus. There is deep-seated unrest in the churches: men are turning away from dogmas to the principles of social righteousness and justice. . . . We are in the midst of a great spiritual reformation un-

matched in the history of the world. Faith in man, faith in his power to rise, to realize his noblest aspirations and dreams, is the dominant spiritual impulse in this world-circling movement.

"How much this means to our American life cannot be readily estimated. Certain it is that over-estimation of its importance is almost impossible and unthinkable. It means nothing less than the redemption of our national life from crass and soul-destroying materialism. It means the birth of a nation's soul.

"In spite of all our much vaunted progress, if we except the strivings of the Socialists, the spiritual note is almost wholly lacking in our national life. Everywhere there is crass materialism, an absence of ideals of social justice and righteousness. The dollar standard rules everywhere. We boast loudly enough about our material wealth, but we are careless of those purple fountains of wealth, the blood of human beings. An assault upon any of our markets anywhere is quickly repelled, but not so an assault upon the lives of human beings. The dollar still holds a higher place than man in our social economy.

"With unwavering courage and eloquence fired with the elemental passion for liberty, the Socialists are incessantly demanding that human beings be placed above dollars in our social reckonings. Echoing Isaiah's exhortation, the modern Socialist agitator is forever crying, 'Come, let us reason together! Let us take stock of our national life! Are our possessions worth the price we pay for them? Is Mammon a good paymaster?' The challenge of Jesus to the individual our Socialist agitator hurls at the nation: What doth it profit a nation if it gains the whole world but loses its own soul?

"Granted the glory of 'our far-flung battle-line,' do we seek to pay for it by robbing childhood's cheeks of their bloom and joy? Granted the impressiveness of the tables of exports and imports, with their 'balance of trade' gains, are we sure that all the cost is counted, all the cries and tears, all the wrecked hopes and damned souls? Granted the splendor of the palaces of our millionaires and the cathedrals in which they worship, can we be indifferent to the number of human lives paid for them? Is it of no moment to us that for the splendor of the palace we must endure the squalor of a thousand noisome, body and soul-destroying hovels; that for the grandeur of the

cathedral we must endure the shame of the brothel and the reproach of the harlot?"

If Socialism wars against present-day churchianity, it is because churchianity has so largely abandoned the ethics of the Founder of Christianity. Socialism stands for, nay, more, is aggressively battling for the great social ideal of the Nazarene—the ideal of coöperation based on love—the ideal of the Golden Rule made the rule of the collective life.

Again, Socialism is working for the full-orbed development of man. Grounded and rooted in the eternal moral verities, it would provide conditions that would foster the best and tend to call out the latent greatness in mind and soul.

"It is unfortunate," says our author, "that Socialism is commonly conceived of as the antithesis of individualism; that its aim and program are supposed to be directed toward a leveling down process, toward a uniformity of development possible only through the repression of exceptional talent and enterprise. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that modern Socialism does not aim at, nor hope for, equality and uniformity. Its ideal is not a great level plain of comfort, but a free, unhampered social life expressing every variation of culture and genius; not a world of mediocre equality but of glorious inequality such as only true equality of opportunity can ever make possible. The only equality aimed at by Socialism is equality of right, equality of opportunity, out of which will develop a diversity of genius and attainment undreamed of as yet.

"Given such equality as this there would be no need to fear that life would become a dull plane of mediocrity. There would be no danger of a famine of genius. Not every one would be a poet any more than at present, but no 'mute, inglorious Miltons' would perish in silent misery, no splendid poem die unborn in the dark prisons of poverty and despair. Not every one would be a painter of inspiring pictures any more than at present, but no dream of beauty would go unexpressed because the torturous pain of poverty drove the dreamer to Lethean silence and forgetfulness.

"Could we but see it and reckon it, the most terrible cost of our present system is its waste of precious genius. . . . It is to-day, under the rule of capitalism, that life is a dull level.



"It is to-day that for the great mass of humanity anything like individuality is impossible. Where is the individuality of the wage-workers, for example? Not one in a million is free to put into the work which consumes most of his life any trace of his own feeling or desire.

"To free the wage-worker from economic exploitation is indeed the primary object, the immediate aim, of Socialism, but it is not the sole object. It is not the end, but the means to an end that is far higher, the liberation of the soul. Labor, like another Prometheus, is bound to the rock of private profit and greed, and Socialism comes as the mighty Hercules to cut the cords and break the chains that bind the soul of man, setting it free for its upward and Godward flight. Mazzini used to declare that whoever could spiritualize democracy would save the world. But no one can spiritualize democracy for the simple reason that democracy is essentially spiritual; no one can make it a religion by bringing something to it, for the simple reason that it is religion. Democracy is the motor-power which makes for brotherhood, the grand passion of all religions."

Very able and admirable is the discussion of the marriage relation, in which Mr. Spargo shows the groundlessness of the charge made by enemies of Socialism, that it contemplates an attack upon the monogamic family. "The vitality of this hoary libel," he observes, "is remarkable. Refuted thousands of times, it still appears in every attack upon Socialism."

As showing the absurdity of the alarmist cry, our author concludes:

"Modern Socialism, as an ideal, and as a program, means equality of opportunity. It implies an equal chance for every child born into the world, so far as that condition can be attained by consecrated social effort. It implies giving all an equal chance before birth, and an equal chance to be well born, so far as that can be attained by human endeavor. It means that the collective strength shall supplement individual weakness wherever possible, social wisdom supplement that of the individual. No worse attack upon the family can be imagined than to say that these things would destroy it. To make the charge is to set the family against Justice and Humanity!

"The Socialist program not only does not contain any such proposals, but it is directed

against those factors which in present society tend to the disintegration of family life. It aims to so change economic conditions as to prevent the evil commercialization of marriage which takes place when a woman enters into a loveless marriage 'for a home' as surely as when another marries for great fortune or a title and patent of nobility rather than for love. It aims to put an end to those economic conditions which make the cry of a human child bearing the divine imprint of less importance than the cry of a machine, force the mother to leave her babe in order to become a wage-slave, servitor of the machine, and compel the child to enter into industrial competition with its father. Socialism is the only movement in the world to-day actively and aggressively struggling for these things; Socialists can claim with perfect candor and confidence that they are fighting those things which prostitute Love and menace the family. for conditions under which marriage and the family can flourish."

The discussion of the marriage relation is followed by an equally satisfactory and thought-stimulating final word on Socialism and religion. The volume closes with the following fine peroration:

"I ask you, then, for the reasons I have tried to indicate, to think of this Socialist movement as being something more than an effort to improve Man's material conditions, as being that indeed only as a means to the liberation of his soul. Long ages ago, in the infancy of the race, men saw the star of hope rise in the far distant sky over the hills of pain. A few, men of infinite courage and faith, followed the star, only to perish upon the lonely desert. To-day we can look back upon the desert and down upon the plain as we sing our marching songs. For we belong to an army of many millions, and have already marched far up the mountain where the star still shines over the Holy Temple which we seek.

"We shall reach the Holy Temple if we have faith and keep marching on; our children and our children's children will worship there and fill its aisles with the sweet songs of Freedom and Fellowship. Aye, this million-voiced giant with the scarlet banner in his grasp, whose tread is shaking the world with the force of an earthquake, and whose cry is like the primeval thunderings which woke the first gray dawn, will reach the Holy Temple at length and seize the star for a sign of victory and a crown of glory:

“This is the Earth-god of the latter day,  
Treading with solemn joy the upward way,  
A lusty god that in some crowning hour  
Will hurl Gray Privilege from the place of power.  
These are the inevitable steps that make  
Unreason tremble and Tradition shake.  
This is the World-Will climbing to its goal,  
The climb of the unconquerable Soul—  
Democracy whose sure insurgent stride  
Jars kingdoms to their ultimate stone of pride.”

This little book should be read by every thoughtful man and woman in the Republic. It is in our judgment one of the most vital and timely messages of recent years and cannot fail to do great good in clearing up popular misapprehensions in regard to Socialism.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

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## IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

### NATIONAL ENRICHMENT BY MEASURES THAT SHALL MAINTAIN SELF-RESPECTING MANHOOD.

#### **The Two Supreme Demands Upon Twentieth-Century Statesmanship.**

**T**WO GRAVE demands urgently press upon American statesmen who would place the highest interests of the people and free government above all baser considerations—demands that call for the same fearlessness, wisdom and conscientious service as marked the statesmanship of Franklin, Jefferson and Washington.

The first relates to effective measures which shall protect and bulwark the great fundamental doctrines of democracy which differentiate popular government from class-rule—the sovereignty of the voters, by the introduction of practical measures that will compel the people's representatives to represent them instead of representing interests antagonistic to the will and the best interests of the people, and the steady pressing forward of fundamentally just measures that make for equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people—measures that shall, by complementing political independence with economic independence, secure for the people the blessings of a full-orbed democracy.

The second imperative demand which the twentieth century makes upon the conscience-guided statesmanship of America is less fundamental, yet no less pressing, and that is the introduction and fearless and persistent pushing forward of a comprehensive national plan for internal improvements which shall enor-

mously increase the nation's wealth and provide a fabulously rich heritage for the oncoming generation, while at the same time it shall meet one of the most sacred demands of enlightened government by checking the downward pressure of poverty which is weighing on hundreds of thousands of willing workers, by providing remunerative labor through which they can escape the abyss, becoming neither tramps nor denizens of the slums. It is this second demand that we wish to consider at the present time.

#### **A Retrospective Glance at "The Arena's" Battle for Self-Respecting Manhood and National Enrichment.**

In the nineties, during the great industrial depression which threw hundreds of thousands of American workers out of employment and gave to the United States an army of tramps while enormously enlarging the boundaries of those moral and physical plague-spots of civilization, the city slums, *THE ARENA* was the pioneer American magazine to outline and urgently advocate a broad, systematic and practical program for internal improvements to be undertaken by the Federal government for the systematic development and reclamation of idle and useless areas that could be made ultimately to largely, if not wholly, pay the cost of reclamation, and which would increase in a fabulous degree the wealth, resources and income of the nation while supplying ample

work at a living wage for all able-bodied men who were genuinely seeking employment. The transformation of this idle army into an army of wealth-creators would instantly have created a demand for food, clothing and life's comforts and necessities, because an army of workers could and would buy, while the army of the idle had to submit to charity. Moreover, it would have taken from the workers in cities, towns and fields the shadow of the gaunt out-of-works eager to obtain the jobs of those then enjoying the privilege of toiling.

To indicate the practicability of such a plan, we secured papers from ex-Governor Lionel Sheldon and other competent writers, to illustrate what might be done. Governor Sheldon showed the need and practicality of a great permanent levee for controlling the waters of the Mississippi. Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan and other thinkers touched upon various aspects of the question, while editorially and by numerous letters to Congressmen and other publicists we strove to awaken our statesmen to the pressing need and the eminently wise and practical character of the inauguration of a proper and systematic program for internal improvement which would through irrigation utilize the arid desert regions, and by reservoirs and levees enormously increase the acreage of land through a large part of the nation's domains.

On all sides objections were offered. The old spirit of initiation and moral enthusiasm that had made the nation in her infant days the moral leader of civilization and the wonder and admiration of the world, had waned. The old moral idealism that placed right in the forefront, that made the highest interests of the nation and the welfare of all the people the master concern of government, had given place either to a statesmanship timid, vacillating and wanting in clear vision and the faith and moral enthusiasm that makes men and nations invincible, or to self-seekers who were secretly bound to privileged interests. We were told that the government could not engage in any systematic work such as reclaiming arid lands by irrigation, building reservoirs and levees, or for giving employment to out-of-works, for all such measures would be unconstitutional. We replied by calling attention to the "welfare clause," Section 8, Article I. of the Constitution, as amply warranting such measures as were proposed, in which Congress is empowered "to raise and collect duties, imposts and excises, to pay and provide for the common

defense and *general welfare* of the United States."

But it was urged that there was no precedent and it was useless to attempt any work along these lines.

Because of the criminal neglect of the government during the industrial crises and times of depression in the nineties, thousands of hitherto hope-governed and self-respecting Americans became wandering tramps and dwellers in the slums.

The agitation inaugurated at this time was not altogether fruitless, however, and the practicality of the proposal appealed to a large number of editors, statesmen and publicists. Especially was this the case in regard to irrigation, where the citizens of various sections took up the matter and carried forward a vigorous educational agitation. The growing demand of the people for some adequate means for the reclamation of empires of fertile land to be undertaken by the government became more and more insistent and the cry that such work would be unconstitutional went down when President Roosevelt boldly championed the proposal.

The government has already made a splendid beginning along this line of practical work and has established a precedent all-important to the further extension of the work. Yet splendid as was the innovation and wisely beneficent as the results have already proved, it was a tentative and very inadequate carrying forward of a program that should have been as instinct with moral greatness as with commercial foresight. And surely we have now reached a stage in which the statesmanship of the land should evince sufficient greatness to frankly meet the two-fold need of the hour in such a way as to exalt, enrich and ennoble the Republic.

#### **A Practical Program.**

Gladstone wisely contended that it was the function of a just government to make it as easy for the citizen to do right, and as difficult for him to do wrong, as possible. The welfare of every citizen should be the sacred concern of the state, and every practical means should be employed to prevent men and women from becoming dependents. A state commits a grave and irreparable wrong against herself and her children when her people ask in vain for work in order to maintain self-respecting manhood, independence and an environment that makes life worth living. The great army

of men who through the neglect and indifference of American statesmanship have since the early nineties sunk to the position of tramps and dependents or have been pushed into the slums where often they become infected with vice and crime, are not only lost to the Republic as factors of strength and worth, but have become a terrible burden and a reproach to the Republic, and they have materially increased the size of the ominous shadow that already falls across the nation. To check this downward pressure, to remove the glut of the out-of-works that congests the labor markets, and to make of them wealth-creators and hopefulized citizens, is one of the noblest and most urgent demands of the hour. And when this can be done by a practical and extensive system for internal improvement, that can be made in many instances to largely if not wholly pay for the work performed—a system that shall give the Republic an increase in available fertile acreage that shall equal the acquisition of an empire of almost fabulous wealth, the ignoring of such work becomes a colossal governmental crime.

Through a wise and practical government-supervised system of internal improvement, the army of out-of-works and tens of thousands of persons that are toiling for little more than starvation wages, could be transformed into an army of wealth-creators who instantly would enormously stimulate home markets by becoming an army of wealth-consumers. This is a fact susceptible of proof, and being such, is it not the imperative duty of the government to inaugurate at once a broad, comprehensive plan of procedure with the double object of supplying employment to willing workers at a fair wage, and utilizing or reclaiming idle and at present useless areas of potentially rich and productive soil?

New Zealand has amply proved that a government can practically and efficiently undertake and operate any great work that corporations with enormous capital at their command can successfully carry on. And what New Zealand has succeeded so splendidly in doing, Switzerland, France, Germany, England and other European nations are also more or less extensively doing.

The splendid success of our government work for the reclamation of land by irrigation, and the magnificent results that have in late decades attended the broad and comprehensive work of the Agricultural Department of our nation, afford thoroughly practical illustra-

tions, right at our door, that prove that the success that has marked the government operations in New Zealand and other foreign lands is not due to the superior ability, patriotism and integrity of other peoples, and that we are not the driveling, inane and hopelessly corrupt people that the opponents of those who would protect self-respecting manhood and increase the wealth of the nation would have us believe.

#### **Some Suggestive Work That The National Government Could Inaugurate.**

If the government should appoint a commission of high-minded statesmen and practical engineers and experts, all of whom were interested in the double purpose here outlined, empowered to make a thorough investigation of the field and report on different means for greatly fostering the wealth production and distribution, a clear-cut program of advance could be soon presented, showing how the nation's potential resources can be practically developed and waste prevented, and how in many cases the work can be made to eventually pay, or almost pay, the original outlay.

Among these works, it will be found that irrigation can be further promoted. The Mississippi valley will also offer a splendid field for operation. Every few years there are great floods in certain seasons, when not only the Ohio and its tributaries, but the Missouri and other great western tributaries of the Mississippi, overflow their banks and pour vast volumes of water into the latter river, resulting in the destruction of many millions of dollars' worth of crops, stock and other property. This condition renders the cultivation of much rich land at all times hazardous and prevents large tracts of land from coming under productive cultivation. Yet this land, than which there is none richer or more productive in the Republic, by a permanent levee and drainage would annually enormously increase the wealth output of the nation, while in the course of a few decades the savings in property that is under present conditions being utterly destroyed from time to time by floods, would cover the outlay for the work demanded.

According to engineers who years ago made extensive examinations, the work of constructing a permanent levee, though it would entail a great expense, is practicable. The levee work could also be supplemented by a series of permanent reservoirs so constructed as to receive the water of the upper Missouri, Arkansas and other rivers when they reached

the top of their banks or threatened to become a menace to the lowlands on the Mississippi. Indeed, if a chain of these reservoirs should be made, not only in the West, but so as to tap the Ohio at intervals below the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the danger of loss by floods in the Mississippi valley would be reduced to a minimum, while vast tracts of land in southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois and in northern Kentucky, that annually suffer greatly from drouths, could be rendered evenly productive by supplementary irrigation. The western reservoirs would make thousands of acres of land potentially highly productive and render it possible to grow trees that in time would tend to greatly increase the rainfall. The levee and drainage work of the Mississippi would render available vast tracts of the richest land in the country, that is now idle, and this land could in part be used as is the irrigated land, for reimbursing the government for its initial outlay.

It may be urged that the land is either state-owned or the property of individuals. In the first instance an arrangement could easily be made for a portion of the land to be set aside to reimburse the government for improving the balance and protecting the property of the citizens of the state; while with the land under individual ownership, the government could condemn and take over a large part of this for making the balance productive, without being unjust in its action, and from the sale of this land a large part of the cost of improvement could be paid.

In this issue Mr. Roe contributes a luminous paper on a proposed protected Atlantic deep waterway, in which he incidentally refers to the large tracts of land at present idle, that by canals and drainage would be at once rendered available for use. The same provisions, if the work was taken over by the government, that we have suggested in regard to the Mississippi lowlands, could apply to the reclaimed swamp lands along the Atlantic canal course.

These are some of the national internal improvement works which could be taken in hand by the government with a view to fostering industry and independent American manhood by giving all able-bodied, willing workers the opportunity to earn a living wage, and which would at the same time enormously increase the annual wealth output of the Republic; while no race or community would be wronged, no lives lost, as is the case in aggressive annexation or foreign conquest.

No large body of men would slowly disintegrate as is ever the case when men are kept long out of productive work and as is the case in lands forcibly acquired, where soldiers are necessary. The work could be undertaken by the Agricultural Department, or a commission, such as we have suggested before, acting in harmony with the Department. The initial outlay would be small indeed in comparison with the results in the maintaining of effective manhood and the acquisition for use of territory that would vastly increase the annual wealth output of the land; while, as shown, ultimately a large part of the initial outlay could be paid back out of the holdings of the government.

#### **Some Gains That Would Accrue.**

Let us sum up this matter and consider for a moment some of the gains that would accrue from such an exhibition of constructive statesmanship.

(1) The growing army of out-of-works would at once be replaced, in so far as able-bodied and willing workers are concerned, by an army of wealth-creators in whose minds hope would have taken the place of despair. Gratitude to the government would spring where to-day angry discontent is rife. A chance to live a life worth the living, in place of a constant downward pressure toward the social abyss, would instantly change the horizon for all these workers. Manhood, self-respect, patriotism and ambition would once again claim these men who are now through unjust social conditions being made exiles of society.

(2) Vast tracts of useless and idle land would be reclaimed, and in many cases facilities for safe and cheap transportation of products would be greatly improved. Beautiful, prosperous and wealth-productive farms, plantations, grazing-runs, vineyards and orchards would dot these idle acres, each swelling the nation's wealth and affording sustenance for hundreds of thousands of happy human beings. Wealth created by means that reinstate self-respecting manhood instead of representing blood, misery, suffering and hate—is not this an achievement worth considering?

But there are incidental benefits that should not be overlooked. Let us suppose that here is an army of one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand idle men. Many of them have wives and children. Say that in all there are from three to five hundred thousand sufferers from enforced idleness. Now these persons

are unable to buy the food necessary for the proper sustenance of body and mind; unable to buy shoes, clothing and necessary fuel for their needs; and to this extent the agriculturist, the grocer, the clothing merchant and manufacturer, the shoe dealer and maker, and others fail to derive the revenue they would if the three to five hundred thousand were being properly supported.

But this is not all. With poverty and the winging of hope always comes the downward pressure. In periods of depression, vice and crime invariably abnormally increase. So the commercial losses are complemented by the great moral loss sustained by individuals and the nation, while through demands made on charity and the increased expense for courts and prisons, the government pays a heavy tax for her criminal indifference. Every day this army of one hundred or two hundred thousand

men are idle, the nation loses in its potential wealth products. But change this; give the men work, and they will be able to buy the food, the clothing and the creature comforts for themselves and their loved ones. They become wealth-creators and consumers, and the beneficent result is seen and felt throughout the whole social body.

Other benefits could be cited, but these are sufficient to show how richly worth the cost—nay, more, how imperative is the demand upon statesmen of intellectual grasp, of faith and moral integrity, to inaugurate a campaign for manhood and the expanding wealth of the nation that shall strike the early high moral note which dominated the fathers who gave us our great *magna charta* of freedom and who strove to establish on permanent foundations a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

## ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE ONWARD MARCH OF PRIVILEGED WEALTH.

### How The Religious Conscience of The Nation is Being Silenced.

**I**N THE December ARENA we dwelt at length on one phase of the systematic campaign of organized privileged wealth or the new commercial feudalism, to gain complete mastery of government as well as the control of the sources of wealth and its distributing agencies. We showed how the master corporations and trusts, of which the Standard Oil Company has been the head and front, were becoming the deadly menace to free, popular and pure government, because they had at once to a great degree destroyed the vision or moral idealism of the people which, as the Bible writer truly says is the life of a nation, while they had steadily advanced in their campaign for gaining complete mastery of the wealth-creating and consuming millions, and finally were absolutely though not theoretically coming to dominate the government. We showed how, through a systematic bribery of college, church and missionary society, the corporations or the plutocracy are paralyzing the moral energies of the churches in the presence of a community of privileged wealth whose ascendancy means the destruction of

lofty ethical ideals as controlling factors in individual and business life, and finally, the death of the soul of the Republic. And we might have added that during the past two decades this industrious campaign has been largely furthered by the elevation to positions of honor and trust in universities, colleges and wealthy churches of subservient clergymen, and the cashiering or disciplining of fearless ministers who dared to preach against tainted wealth and to point out the deadly perils which through the ascendancy of corrupt wealth were threatening free institutions.

Shortly after our editorial above referred to had gone to press, the Hon. Frank S. Monnett, one of the leading lay members of the Methodist Episcopal church, stole a march on a body of clergymen who had convened in New York City. Mr. Monnett made a stirring protest against the drugging of the conscience of twentieth-century Christendom by the lawless feudalism of privileged wealth.

"To reward," exclaimed this intrepid patriot, "the criminal course of Carnegie and the Steel Trust and of Rockefeller and the Oil Trust because of donations by these men for worldly obligations and approbation might

be characterized as granting twentieth-century indulgences. The Methodist Church," he continued, "has laid itself open to being called 'The Church of Holy Petroleum.'"

"The Kansas Methodists, Ohio Congregationalists and the Pennsylvania Dutch Reformed," he further observed, "were robbed of their oil, coal and iron lands, making men, women and children by millions, pay 100 to 300 per cent. more for cook-stoves, hardware, coal and kerosene than open, normal competition would effect.

"As a Methodist, son and grandson of Methodists, I want to protest against the receiving of stolen goods under the plea of sanctity, and the exoneration of international kleptomania. It is the duty of every minister and layman to help and protect the down-trodden and not to encourage pilfering by the trusts' nefarious work. Such ministers may have to go out without scrip and staff, but they will come back with more honors than will result from apology for those men who have been indicted, and those who have not been indicted by the courts but who have been indicted by the public conscience.

*"I consider it a burning shame that our ministry, splendid, intelligent, should be unmoved; be still, sit silent; not only sit silent, but commend the powers of the system to plunder the rank and file of their churches."*

Mr. Monnett, it will be remembered, some years ago as attorney-general of Ohio, insisted on faithfully carrying out his oath of office by prosecuting the Standard Oil law-breakers just as rigorously as he would have prosecuted a poor man. As soon as it was found out that Mr. Monnett was not playing to the galleries and pretending to be a reformer while he faced the public but behind the scenes was ready to prove himself a "practical man," the Republican machine of Ohio brought all its influence to bear to force him to be unfaithful to his oath of office, and because he persisted, his political death was decreed. He is a trustee of the Methodist Wesleyan University of Ohio and a prominent lay member of the Methodist church.

The hostile criticism called forth from several prominent Methodist clergymen by Mr. Monnett's protest strikingly illustrates the soul-deadening influence of corporate wealth already so painfully observable in the pulpit. On November fourth, the *New York World* published a protest on the part of sev-

eral prominent Methodist clergymen. The Rev. Wallace McMullen, of the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, in which John D. Archbold is a pew-holder, said:

"I do not agree with Mr. Monnett as to churches or schools profiting through gifts or bequests made by Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Rockefeller or any other wealthy man. . . . I would accept a gift for church or educational purposes from anybody."

The Rev. Charles Goodell, pastor of the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

"If Mr. Carnegie's money is tainted, let's take the taint out of it. I know of no way in which money could be better used than in the extension and encouragement of church work and educational work."

Any one who has witnessed the silencing of churches in the presence of Standard Oil and other crimes, since the systematic bribery of the church on the part of the great corporations was inaugurated, need not be informed that whether or not the taint can be taken out of the money which a brigand on the highway has obtained through robbery or murder, or which a corporation like the Standard Oil or the Steel Trust has obtained through law-defiance, extortion or corrupt practices, there can be no question but what the reception of such money effectively closes the mouths of the supposed prophets of God and watchmen on the outposts of Zion, while deadening the conscience and moral impulses of pulpit and pew. Dr. Goodell imagines that there is no way in which corrupt wealth can be used to better advantage than through the extension and encouragement of church work and educational work. The Standard Oil Company, the Steel Trust magnates and other master spirits in the feudalism of privileged wealth have long since found out that there was no better way in which to render possible a continuance of their reign of oppression of the people, corruption of government and defiance of law than by bribing the church and the college.

We most emphatically dissent from Dr. Goodell's views. We believe if the church in every instance had drawn back in horror from accepting gold from corporations like the Standard Oil Company, or if it had taken the money and had publicly burned the same as a witness that the church could not be bribed or silenced by the corruptors of government and the plunderers of the people, religion would

have been advanced a thousand-fold more than it could possibly be advanced if it enjoyed all the wealth that the Standard Oil Company, the Steel Trust and the high financiers of Wall street have gained through indirection, defiance of law and extortion.

#### **Corporation Control of The Daily, Monthly and Religious Press.**

Another phase of this systematic campaign by Wall-street high financiers and the corporation chiefs for complete mastery of government, has been more and more noticeable during the past eighteen years in the steady and rapidly accelerated control of the daily press, followed by an equally marked encroachment upon the domain of the monthly opinion-forming reviews and magazines, and lastly, by its grip upon the religious press.

Last month Mr. William Salisbury, a brilliant American journalist of more than nine years' experience in reportorial and editorial work on leading American dailies, in his able but disquieting paper on "American Journalism" showed the readers of *THE ARENA* how great New York dailies are owned, controlled or influenced by corporate wealth represented by such men as Morgan, Ryan and Belmont. In his notable volume, *The Career of a Journalist*, this same author has given a number of impressive illustrations of how Chicago and other Western dailies have been made the tools of trusts, monopolies and public-service corporations. He cited also the fact that when in Florida, en route for Cuba, he was informed by one of the editorial staff of the leading daily of the state that it was owned by the Standard Oil corporation.

The recently published Archbold-Foraker letters reveal the fact that the Standard Oil Company was ready to advance sufficient money to gain control of a leading daily in the capital of Ohio. In the recently published correspondence by Mr. Archbold it was further shown that in one instance Standard Oil funds had been sent, to the amount of three thousand dollars, for a subscription to a Maryland publication, and two thousand dollars forwarded at another time for a subscription to a Southern agricultural paper. Does any one imagine for a moment that the editors receiving these amounts of money were not forthwith beholden to the Standard Oil corporation? Does any one imagine that after the acceptance of such funds they would have dared to have been true to their trust as editors

in denouncing the lawlessness and law-defiance of the great criminal trust? Like the clergyman to whom we have referred above, they might put up the pitiful claim that they had taken the tainted wealth and cleansed it of its taint, instead of becoming the besmirched slaves of the lawless and odious monopoly.

Some years ago, the late Professor Frank Parsons related to us a personal experience which he had with one of the leading and most influential conservative dailies of this country. The editor at that time was a man of convictions and ideals. He desired to see the real interests of the community advanced and when he read some papers prepared by the professor, dealing with the wonderfully successful results of public-ownership of municipal utilities in the Old World, he became enthusiastic over them and desired the privilege of giving them to his readers. Professor Parsons granted his request, and the first paper appeared in a prominent place, with a strong editorial endorsement. It was intimated, if not positively stated, that the papers would appear daily as a special feature of the publication. Several days, however, elapsed before another paper appeared, and when the second contribution was published it was placed in an out-of-the-way position. There was further delay in publication, and the professor finally went to the editor to know the reason of the sudden change in his plans. He was then informed that the papers had raised a storm of opposition from certain stockholders. The editor informed him that he had gotten himself into very hot water by accepting the articles. "For you see," he said, "several of our stockholders are also stockholders in the street-car corporation of this city, and they have made indignant protests, declaring that they will not have one business in which they are interested publishing matters which would tend to cut off their princely incomes from another business."

If the city should take over the street-railway company, they explained, the large revenue which they were receiving would go to the city instead of into their own pockets.

We might cite numbers of such instances, where the daily press has been forced to either become silent or become the partisan of private corporations operating public utilities, and thus the enemy of the public, the engine for advancing private interests inimical to the best interests of the people, and the propaganda for misinformation.



**The Monthly Magazines in The Grip of Privileged Wealth.**

The history of the great monthly magazines as well as the weekly periodicals, since the day the country was amazed by the news that the great, old and honorable firm of Harper & Brothers had failed and that J. P. Morgan had taken over the concern, installing as his representative Colonel Harvey, to the present hour, has been replete with disquieting incidents. To those who know the inside facts regarding the history of many leading magazines in recent years, and the names of the men and interests that either control the publications, are large stockholders in the corporations, or hold a bludgeon of power in the form of a lien over the magazines, there can be no shadow of doubt but what the same silent, determined and systematic agency that is seeking to bulwark the feudalism of privileged wealth in other directions, is at work to gain mastership of the opinion-forming magazines of the country. The spectacular turn in a single month of one editor of a great popular magazine, by which the whole policy of his publication was reversed—a policy that had resulted in making the magazine one of the greatest successes of the age and one of the mightiest organs of public opinion in the land, is too well known to be more than referred to at the present time. Though the public was not permitted to see behind the scenes, the fact that in one week this great monthly dispensed with the services of the really great corps of editorial and special writers whose frank exposures of the Standard Oil, of graft and crime, of municipal corruption by public-service corporations, and other bold exposures of government-debauching phenomena, had done so much to awaken a sleeping nation, naturally aroused widespread speculation from ocean to ocean.

Other more recent facts in the history of leading popular magazines that were becoming a menace to the "interests," the Wall-street gamblers, the public-service corporation chiefs and their political handy-men, are equally significant and disquieting and all point to the same sinister fact.

Nor is this all. There is every reason to believe that the hand that is throttling the church and controlling the daily and to a great extent the monthly press, is also bringing its influence to bear upon the religious press. Numerous circumstances and facts might be cited in support of this conclusion. Space,

however, renders it possible to mention only the latest sensational fact in this connection—a fact that affords a melancholy illustration of the decline of moral idealism and the loss of the old-time aggressive moral rectitude of religious leaders.

**The Mystery of "The Outlook's" Reactionary Spirit Explained.**

To reformers and friends of fundamental democracy, pure government and social advance, few things have been more disappointing or perplexing than the Jekyll-and-Hyde attitude of *The Outlook* during recent years. It has from time to time exhibited a most amazingly reactionary spirit that seemed to ill accord with what we naturally had a right to expect from the great religious weekly that under the genius and idealism of Henry Ward Beecher, and later of Dr. Lyman Abbott, became almost a Bible to a large number of the most earnest and high-minded American citizens. In recent years it has from time to time been the vehicle for the promulgation of many amazingly reactionary sophistical special pleas in favor of private ownership of public utilities, in opposition to woman's suffrage, and in extenuation of lawless wealth, as, for example, in the notable paper published a little over a year ago, which so delighted the Standard Oil Company that that great trust circulated great numbers of the article in question.

Nor is this all. The editorial utterances have from time to time been as perplexing as they were disquieting to friends of progressive democracy and social righteousness. Only a short time ago a gentleman enjoying a national reputation as a leader in the cause of pure and efficient government and popular rights, said to us in the course of a conversation on the strange reactionary course of a number of papers, that owing to the reactionary character of so much that appeared in *The Outlook*, he had during the past six months refused to waste any time with the magazine.

A short time after this conversation, the nation was informed that Theodore Roosevelt had been hired by *The Outlook*, at a salary of thirty thousand dollars a year, to write exclusively for its columns. And following hard upon the heels of this widely advertised fact came the announcement that James Stillman, president of the National City Bank, better known as the Standard Oil Bank, of New York city, was one of the large stockholders of the Outlook Company. It was even claimed by

the New York papers that of the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of stock, Mr. Stillman controlled one hundred thousand dollars' worth. But though at first the *Outlook* Company refused to discuss the matter, later the treasurer and general manager claimed that Mr. Stillman held less than one-tenth of the company's stock. This declaration, however, is not material one way or the other, nor is it especially illuminating. It is quite possible that various directors in the *Outlook* Company, or other stockholders, may be as intimately connected with the Standard Oil and other trusts, monopolies and corporation-controlled banks as is Mr. Stillman; and though it may be prudent, it is regrettable that the management of a great public opinion-forming magazine like *The Outlook* should be indisposed, in view of the charges made and circulated broadcast, to give to the world not only the names of all stockholders, but also the exact holdings of each. But it matters not whether Mr. Stillman and his business associates of the Standard Oil Company hold a control or only a substantial block of the stock. The holding, in the words of Mercutio, though "not so deep as a well nor so wide as a church door," "is enough." The light which this fact sheds on the reactionary tone of much that has appeared of late in *The Outlook* may serve to awaken some good people who sincerely desire the advance of popular interests, but who do not like the trouble of thinking for themselves when they can have a great religious weekly tell them what to think.

Certain facts in connection with Mr. Stillman are suggestive in view of the fact that he is a large stockholder in *The Outlook* Company. It will be remembered that Mr. Lawson in his exposure of the cormorants of Wall street had considerable to say in regard to Mr. Stillman, and any mention of him will suggest to the well-informed reader the great Custom House scandal of a few years ago.

On the fourteenth of November, in commenting on the Stillman holdings in *The Outlook* Company, the New York *Daily Call* had this to say about the National City Bank and the Stillman connection with *The Outlook*:

"This is the bank which bought the old Custom House in Wall street under conditions which caused the charge to be publicly made that the United States government had allowed the 'Standard Oil crowd' to buy the Custom House with government money and pay for it when it pleased.

"The bank, according to the charge, was favored in the transaction by a large deposit of Federal treasury funds with it, whereby the Standard Oil institution practically got back in interest all it had agreed to pay for the extremely valuable Custom House property.

"There were other causes for criticism of the Standard Oil bank, namely, that it, and the crowd of capitalists with whose interests it was allied, had established the curious custom of providing lucrative positions for United States Treasury officials at the close of their terms.

"It was said last night, and not denied by a director of *The Outlook* Company that Mr. Stillman owns a majority of the stock of the concern. It was further stated that no change of ownership or control had been arranged for in view of the proposed connection of Mr. Roosevelt with the publication.

"The revelation of Stillman's connection with *The Outlook*, coming as it does after the disclosures in the recent Presidential campaign as to the industry of the Standard Oil Company in making large subscriptions to various periodicals and supposed accelerators of public opinion, caused one of *The Outlook* directors to exclaim:

"I hope the public will not jump at the conclusion that Mr. Roosevelt is going on the side payroll of the Standard Oil Company."

Washington press dispatches published on November fourteenth stated that after a Cabinet meeting the following statement was issued:

"The President has not the slightest concern with the question as to who are the stockholders of *The Outlook*."

Doubtless the President will claim that the character and business affiliations of the stockholders of *The Outlook* will not influence his writings; but one thing is certain: we will hear very little from his pen in *The Outlook* of the tenor of some of his recent fulminations against the "malefactors of great wealth," or denunciations leveled at the courts for failure to uphold decisions made against the Standard Oil, as miscarriages of justice. For Theodore Roosevelt is a thrifty gentleman, and, as he said to his erstwhile friend, E. H. Harriman, he is also a "practical man." Being a "practical man," it will not be necessary for his friend Elihu Root to tell him that he must be discreet and not strive to injure the business or hurt the feelings of the group of men of whom one of his employers is a leader.

The bribery of college, church and missionary society with a moiety of the great wealth

largely gained by indirection and evasion or defiance of law, the capture of the daily press and the systematic assault on the weekly, monthly and religious organs of public opinion, are by no means the only methods by which the plutocracy or the feudalism of privileged

wealth is advancing in its determined effort to destroy democratic or popular government by a despotism of corporate wealth acting through political machines and bosses and aided by the public opinion-forming influences of the land, as THE ARENA will later point out.

## A CLERGYMAN AND A PLAYWRIGHT ON ENGLAND'S PRESENT PERIL.

### **Will The Present Crisis be Met by The Statesmanship of a Peel or The Bourbonism of a Louis XVI.?**

**M**ORE than half a century has fled since England found herself confronted by so grave and sinister a specter as that which to-day, Sphinx-like, propounds a question which must be answered if the nation is to avert a night-time of strife, bloodshed and hatred.

Over fifty years ago, through the wisdom and lofty patriotism that evinced true statesmanship, Sir Robert Peel so met an acute situation as to prevent forcible revolution and enable England to front the morning and move toward the highlands of democratic idealism. Is the nation under the guidance of statesmen or of Bourbon politicians? That is the crucial question on which the glory or gloom of the mother country waits at the present hour.

Happily, to-day as never before in England's history, a large proportion of the clergy are evincing the Christ spirit, and this means more than most social reformers even dimly imagine. A new conception of duty is abroad; a new realization of the august demand of justice has touched the heart of hundreds and perhaps thousands of the more thoughtful and upright clergymen and ministers in the mother land. A strong new note now being voiced by the pulpit has found splendid expression in the distinctly notable work, *Christianity and the Social Order*, by the Rev. Reginald J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London, and also in many of the addresses delivered at the recent Pan-Anglican Congress.

### **An English Clergyman Who Feels God More Than He Loves The Flesh-Pots of Plutocracy.**

One of the latest and strongest expressions representing the new awakening was made by

the Rev. Schofield Battersby, Rector of Holy Trinity, Blackley, who in answer to a request from the Bishop of Manchester made upon all clergymen in his diocese, to take up a collection for the unemployed, wrote as follows:

"When, My Lord, will the Church through her leaders realize that the unemployed want justice and not charity? When will the Church understand that the present selfish system of government is founded on an ungodly and un-Christian basis?"

"Seeing that our present system of plutocracy is tumbling to ruin, will not the Church take the lead and head off the impending revolution as was done by the early Church before she was captured by money? Justice must come before charity."

### **Bernard Shaw Utters a Note of Warning.**

The brilliant playwright, Bernard Shaw, who is so often set down as a cynic, has long been one of the most influential spirits among the Fabian Socialists of England—that little band of aggressive intellectuals who have carried forward a practical educational campaign in a most effective manner. Recently Mr. Shaw has spoken on the crisis that confronts England, in the following Shawesque phrasing:

"One cannot but wonder gloomily whether Grayson's expulsion will be sufficient, or whether the unemployed probably will be ignored until an English city is burned and half its inhabitants stoned and beaten to upset order, and the other half shot and sabred to restore it. Our lords and masters, politely called 'the governing classes,' because, although they cannot govern, they won't let anybody else govern, are continuously inciting the masses and their leaders to violence and disorder by constituting themselves a permanent object lesson in uselessness to themselves

and everybody else. Nobody ever succeeded in teaching them anything, but any criminal can intimidate them.

"Carlyle, Ruskin and Dickens appealed to their consciences with angel pens, but got nothing but sympathetic interest, invitations to dinners and offers of knighthood.

"I have always thought it a pity that, although the French government of the eighteenth century would not allow their attention to be diverted from Marie Antoinette's gambling debts to the poverty of the common people by the reasonings of Voltaire and Rousseau, they forgot them immediately when the

Bastille was destroyed and the chateaux burned about their ears by the people with no manners and less sense."

England's problem is the problem of every Christian land. The voice of awakened manhood now calls for justice and the right to work. Let such governments as wish to avert forcible revolution hearken and act with a wisdom that shall recognize the fundamental demands of the great democratic epoch—justice for all the people; the ideal of brotherhood supplanting the domination of privilege; and the exaltation of the interests of all the people above the petty demands of selfish classes.

### ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., ON THE PROGRESS OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION IN AMERICAN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

**M**ORE and more the friends of pure, efficient and popular government are insistently sounding the cry, "Back to the people!" For some time the greatest ignorance prevailed among the voters as to the root causes of political corruption and municipal inefficiency in America. Men like Governor Folk, Lincoln Steffens, F. J. Heney, C. E. Russell, and other patient investigators have succeeded in clearly locating the chief root-cause both of corruption and inefficiency in city government. They have shown it to be the necessary fruit of boss and machine-rule working under the direction and in the interests of special privilege-seeking corporations, in such a way as to defeat anything like popular government.

That the people are at last everywhere awakening to the fact that the hope of pure and efficient government lies in getting it back into the hands of the voters is being more and more clearly evidenced by the increasing demand in state and city for the introduction of Direct-Legislation in municipal management, and especially in all matters relating to the disposal of public franchises.

The only intelligent objection to this demand that the fundamental principles of free government shall be effectively bulwarked, comes from the corrupt corporation chiefs and those seeking to fatten at the expense of the people, on the one hand, and the equally corrupt political bosses and their venal aids who make up the party machines, on the other, together

with the handy-men of these interests in the press and elsewhere.

The result of the revelations brought out by various exposures since the famous Lexow investigation, conducted some years ago, reinforced by the work of Folk, Steffens, Heney and others, has been to materially awaken the conscience side of American municipal life.

The recent annual convention of the National Municipal League and American Civic Center, held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, was one of the most notable civic gatherings in the history of American municipalities. There were delivered a number of addresses richly worthy of the consideration of intelligent voters. Among the ablest and most timely of these was that delivered by Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Massachusetts, in the course of which this stalwart champion of pure and efficient government gave the following interesting facts as illustrative of the steady advance of the recent recurrent wave of the democracy of the fathers—the democracy that characterizes the fundamental distinguishing characteristics between popular or a genuine representative republican government and class-rule:

"Direct-Legislation is rapidly becoming one of the leading questions in connection with the government of our cities. The referendum is an established principle in American government and not a new-fangled device. Apart from its use in the adoption of constitutional amendments it is used in many places to

decide questions of local option, issuing of bonds and the undertaking of new public enterprises. By Direct-Legislation the people themselves determine whether or not questions shall be referred through the referendum to a popular decision. The use of the referendum is optional with the people and may be secured by a petition of a sufficient number of voters. Similarly the initiative takes its rise from an initial action of the people.

"The government of cities is the conspicuous failure in American political institutions. Our cities to-day face grave problems arising from the great increase of population and the demand for a higher standard of comfort and necessities, and should be able to grapple with and solve these new problems.

"The progress of a general movement for more direct and popular control of municipal affairs gives the best promise of the ultimate solution of the problem. The movement is either advisory or mandatory in its operation. The advisory system aims to secure action by milder methods than Direct-Legislation. Voters are allowed to suggest legislation or express their opinion. Systems of this general nature are in use in Detroit, Grand Rapids and Buffalo. In Illinois a public-opinion bill permits referendums in cities upon petition of twenty-five per cent. of the voters. Advisory systems are in effect in Toronto and Victoria.

"In Augusta, Maine, a charter provision for meetings of citizens held to consider the public good and to instruct their representatives is construed as authorizing special elections for the expressions of public opinion. There is a similar provision in the Massachusetts constitution which is repeated in the city charters, and while some smaller cities have held public meetings at times, it is not known that any city has adopted Maine's sensible expedient. Constitutions of some fifteen states contain similar provisions.

"While the advisory system applies to franchises, there is a movement to require that franchises be submitted to popular vote for ratification. Iowa and Indiana each have optional referendum on water, light and similar quasi-public service franchises. Street-railway franchises in Ohio must be submitted to a referendum if fifteen per cent. of the voters

petition for it within thirty days after the granting of the franchise. The charter of Memphis contains a similar provision for quasi-public service franchises.

"In Nebraska an act providing for local initiative and referendum becomes operative in a town or city when adopted by the voters, as has been done in Lincoln and Omaha. Various forms of the same system have been adopted in South Dakota, Oregon, Montana, Maine and Oklahoma. Several California cities including San Francisco and Los Angeles, have secured initiative and referendum through their charters. In most of the California cities referred to above the recall is in successful operation and has been used effectively. Portland, Oregon, has the initiative and referendum, and Seattle, Spokane and Everett have Direct-Legislation.

"Great impetus has been given to the movement which we are considering by the discussion and adoption of the commission form of government. The example of Galveston has been followed, with the addition of more or less complete provision for Direct-Legislation, by San Antonio, Houston, El Paso, Fort Worth, Greenville, Dallas and Waco. Des Moines and Cedar Rapids combine the Galveston commission with the Los Angeles Direct-Legislation provisions, Lewiston (Idaho), Sioux Falls, Leavenworth, Haverhill and Gloucester have all adopted charters similar to that of Des Moines, and Kansas City's new charter provides for Direct-Legislation. At the other extreme from a commission government, Newport with a council of one hundred and ninety-five members has provisions for the initiative and referendum.

"Nearly every form or combination of forms in municipal government hitherto tried has been more or less of a failure. The mass of voters has been divided by party allegiance. The influential and wealthy classes have too often had financial interests at stake. Experience has shown that neither initiative nor referendum is abused by an undue number of petitions. Direct-Legislation increases the power of a community over its government and by concentrating attention on measures and not men lessens the interference of partisanship."

## THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT AMONG HEBREWS IN AMERICA.

THE IDEA is very generally entertained that the Hebrew has so instinctive an aversion to the cultivation of the soil that it is useless to attempt to make a farmer of him. We are told that he will prefer to live and die in sweating-dens, attics and cellars in the slums of the great cities, rather than become free, independent and prosperous through cultivation of the soil.

This claim, like so many generalizations of a similar character, is based largely on superficial observations and appearances, and though generally accepted, even by many Hebrews, is, we believe, thoroughly fallacious. It is true that a race that for two thousand years has been scattered over all Christian lands and during the greater part of that time has been the victim of cruel and unreasoning religious prejudice, not being in most cases permitted to live in peace on the soil or to own land for cultivation, naturally enough would lose to a great extent any love that it might once have possessed for the soil. Indeed, it must be remembered that for many centuries the Jews were practically compelled to huddle together in towns and cities, and over their heads the Damocles sword was ever suspended. Time and again they were the victims of insane hate and prejudice, of caprice and the lust of the all-powerful so-called Christian governments and communities in which they lived, as was notably the case in Spain and other lands during the halcyon days of the Inquisition, and as has long been the case in Russia. Such conditions would naturally destroy interest in the cultivation of the soil and would lead to the following of pursuits where returns for labor could be easily secreted and of a kind that could be readily carried on the person. Naturally enough, they have become traders and denizens of the great cities, not perhaps so much from choice as from necessity. But to claim that there is any deep and ineradicable aversion to agrarian pursuits innate in the Hebrew is to go far beyond the warrant of facts. It cannot be forgotten that when free and able to follow their own natural inclinations, in the early history of Palestine,

until after the successive conquests of Persia, Greece and Rome, the Jews were largely a pastoral and agrarian people.

We have long believed that all that was necessary to reawaken the normal and old-time love of the soil in the Jewish heart was the companioning of conditions of freedom and security, as they exist in America, with intelligent direction and a certain amount of individual instruction on the part of persons of ability and intelligence. The confirmation of this belief is seen in the success that has attended the efforts of the Jewish Industrial Removal Office of New York, assisted by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society during the last seven years to relieve the congestion among their people in the squalid centers of the Atlantic cities. During this time agents have been industriously seeking favorable locations for colonies and groups of families, and the placing on the land of those desirous of going who seemed fitted to successfully carry on agricultural pursuits. More than thirty thousand of these denizens of the slums and congested centers in our great eastern cities have by this means been successfully placed on farms in thirty-four states. The most successful and prosperous of the colonies established is that at Woodbine, New Jersey, in Cape May county. It governs itself, has its own mayor and other officials, and according to a recent writer, "Its streets are clean, the houses are detached and built with reference to plenty of air and sunshine. There are no saloons, no disorderly characters and no sweat-shops."

In western New Jersey much cheap land has been taken up by Jewish farmers and in most cases the results are proving most satisfactory. The people are industrious, law-abiding and courageous. Two agricultural schools for Jewish farmers have been established, one at Woodbine, and the other at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and already Yiddish agricultural papers have been started.

We believe this movement is destined to greatly expand and prove most beneficent to the race and to the Republic.

## JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS ON THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WE HAVE recently noticed at length the astonishing Socialistic trend of thought evinced at the Pan-Anglican Congress held a few months ago in London, where the extremely radical utterances of the Bishop of Manchester, instead of arousing hostility, were in almost every instance reinforced by similar or even more pronounced Socialistic sentiments. And now comes the eminent American sociologist, John Graham Brooks, with the news that great inroads are being made by Socialism among leading business men, college professors and the student body of Great Britain. In a special paper written for the *Boston Transcript* and published in that daily on November 21st, Mr. Brooks says:

"Socialism, so long an outcast in England, attracting only the sturdy contempt of the prosperous citizen, has now forced its issues upon English politics and upon popular sentiment. On the bus, in the railway-carriage, at the neighboring table in the restaurant, in the drawing-room, one hears the word 'Socialism' as if it were an obsession.

"From our American point-of-view, it is still more startling to find business men almost of the first rank who are so far in sympathy with some of the fundamentals of Socialism that they would be called in the United States very dangerous cranks.

"The head of an ocean steamship company is a member of a Socialist society. I was told

by a member of Parliament, who has made a large fortune in trade, that he did not mind being called Socialist, because he recognized that many of their leading proposals were merely the next steps in practical legislation.

"At the City Temple one hears Dr. Campbell before an immense middle-class audience preaching, not the old Christian Socialism, but an out-and-out economic Socialism. Any one wishing to convince himself has only to read this clergyman's last book, *Christianity and the Social Order*.

"A letter from an Oxford professor had given me before leaving home some warning of the changed sentiments among college students. 'It is n't,' he said, 'the dull boys, but the very *élite* of our men who are becoming Socialists.' Only men like Sir Oliver Lodge and our William James can compete with Socialist speakers in crowding the largest Oxford hall. It is an event to watch the enthusiasm when men like Keir Hardie or Philip Snowden speak.

"One of the most popular dons of the university openly takes the chair at Socialist meetings. It is no mere intellectual flirting with the subject, but an open and definite commitment to the cause. In several of the leading colleges I found teachers quite as outspoken.

"There is unquestionably a larger freedom of economic discussion in Oxford than in the average American college."

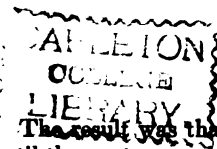
## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

THE ELECTION of November 3d furnishes a most striking illustration of the failure of the people to secure through the ballot the reforms really demanded. Too many questions are before the country at once in the ordinary political campaign, and the

voter is sure to become confused. Often questions of personality or party overshadow questions of state. The voter may be in favor of a candidate and at the same time opposed to many things that candidate stands for, or may fear the party to which he belongs. A



method better fitted than the present one to muddle the people is inconceivable.

Political questions of high importance should be separated from each other and from all considerations of personality. For example, the question of the guaranty of bank deposits has properly no relation to the question of party and candidates. It should be discussed and acted on by itself, and this is true of a score of other questions. With the power to initiate and to veto or confirm laws, the people will also be left free to choose much wiser administrators, for the question would be not what laws would our magistrates give us but what is their ability to enforce the laws the people decide upon. Every consideration of progress, of justice, of wise and efficient administration demands the Initiative and Referendum.

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#### **Victory in Missouri.**

THIS month we have the pleasure of recording a victory for the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri. Of eight constitutional amendments submitted at the recent election only two carried. The Good Roads amendment won by 19,000 majority, and the Initiative and Referendum by 30,942. Four years ago this latter amendment was defeated in the state by a majority in excess of 53,000. Here is proof positive that democracy is making rapid gains. In the next number of *THE ARENA* we will give the Missouri amendment in full.

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#### **South Dakota.**

A MORAL victory has been won through the Initiative and Referendum in South Dakota. We give the case as stated by the *Milwaukee News*:

"The South Dakota divorce industry has been brought to an end by a vote of the electors of the state and a law approved that prohibits the granting of a divorce excepting in open court and that extends from six months to one year the time in which legal residence in the state may be acquired.

"Two years ago the legislature of South Dakota enacted the law that has been approved by the voters. Under the Initiative and Referendum provision of the state constitution an act of the legislature may be suspended upon petition of a certain percentage of the voters until it may be submitted to a referendum of all the electors. When the divorce law was enacted by the legislature, the divorce 'interests' circulated petitions for a referendum vote on the measure and succeeded in obtaining the

required signatures. The result was that the act was suspended until the next general election, giving the divorce industry a two-years' reprieve.

"Submitted to the voters, the law was approved by a two-to-one vote. That any considerable number of voters should have opposed it, we may believe, was due, as explained by a South Dakota newspaper, to the confusion that arose over the referendum ballot, there having been three questions, including local option, submitted to the voters. There seemed to have prevailed an idea among a certain class of voters that to oppose local option, it was necessary for them to vote 'No' on all the questions submitted—an error that was cultivated by those that were interested in defeating the measure."

Now this South Dakota case is the very one that those papers which are opposed to the Initiative and Referendum used prior to the election as a warning against the danger of letting the people rule. The argument was that the few who were interested in the divorce industry would be active and use money freely while the people at large would be indifferent. As a consequence, it was affirmed, this bad law would remain on the statute books. Now that the result is so different, those papers for the most part maintain a vociferous silence.

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#### **Contemptible Methods of The Opposition.**

THE CONTEMPTIBLE methods resorted to by the opposition to defeat good measures when referred to the people is seen in the case just cited concerning South Dakota where an attempt was made to deceive the people by giving out the impression that they must vote "No" on all questions submitted in order to defeat an undesirable measure. A similar method was resorted to in Missouri to defeat the referendum itself. Dr. W. P. Hill, President of the Referendum League of that state, writes:

"The powers that fought us relied on the idiosyncrasies of the voters this time. When they found that our amendment was likely to be submitted by the legislature, they hurriedly passed a very unpopular amendment to increase the salaries of the members of the legislature first so as to have it at the head of the constitutional amendments and the first one the voter would see. Then they denounced this unmercifully as a salary grab by the legislature, thinking the voters would get started to vote 'No' and would vote 'No' all the way down the line—and I have no doubt



that it had a powerful influence in the country to cut down our majorities. But the long campaign that we fought successfully frustrated any attempt of that kind and enough voters discriminated in our favor to make the result. It was a great campaign and we have learned many valuable lessons therefrom that will be of use in the future work of making this state a truly democratic government."

But the climax of falsehood and treachery to the people was reached in the Cleveland case. The matter has been so clearly set forth by the Springfield *Republican* that we quote at length from that journal. Incidentally it affords us gratification to "unmask" at the same time the most pretentiously moral daily paper in Boston.

The *Republican* of November 16th says:

"Comment like the following from the Boston *Transcript* is far too common in the American press for the maintenance of its good reputation as an agency for municipal reform in the interests of the people against exploitation on behalf of private profit:

"Some men play their cards so skilfully that it takes the public a long time to find them out. It has taken the people of Cleveland seven years to unmask Tom Johnson, who, as mayor of that city, has hypnotized them with glittering promises. The Municipal traction company which was to carry the Cleveland public all over the city, was yesterday declared bankrupt and its affairs are in the hands of receivers. During the last few months the patrons of the street railways have been accumulating a store of wrath over the miserable accommodations afforded them."

"This is quite misleading. The Municipal traction company was not bankrupt. It was in a position to pay its current obligations and was meeting its rental charges to the old street railway interests. But the defeat of the so-called security franchise in the popular referendum created so uncertain a situation respecting the several parties in interest that a receivership has been decreed in order that the rights of the respective parties may be determined and satisfied.

"And then as to the 'unmasking' of Tom Johnson. He had simply expressed a belief, upon large experience as a practical street-railway promoter and operator, that a good street-car service could be profitably operated on the basis of three-cent fares with an honest capitalization of the investment, and after years of warfare with the private monopoly in

the field he had finally secured an arrangement whereby the experiment could be tried, with the people of the city as the sole beneficiary if it succeeded; and with the people no worse off than they were if it failed. Even had the experiment failed, the word 'unmask' would evidently be unjust to Johnson; but where is the evidence that it has failed? The trial has been in force only about six months—a time of business depression, with an ugly strike on the part of mischief-making employes of the old company to deal with, with a largely new equipment to be provided and with a considerable reorganization of the service to be effected. Nevertheless, even with these great handicaps, the new company was rapidly bringing the experiment to an apparently successful issue when it was tripped up by a deceitful referendum instituted by strikers and interested enemies.

"The *Transcript* speaks about an accumulated 'store of wrath' being let loose against the scheme at this referendum. But the fact is that the vote was very close; and the further fact is that the issue was presented to the voters by the enemies of the experiment in a way calculated to deceive the very elect. The 'security franchise' voted on existed merely as a refuge for the old company in case the three-cent scheme fell into default on the rentals. That franchise allowed a five-cent fare, and it was represented in advertisement and circulars that unless this franchise was defeated the people would have no security in the continuance of three-cent fares. 'If you want three-cent fare and not five-cent fare,' ran the circulars and advertisements of the 'Citizens' Referendum League,' 'mark your ballot against the franchise.' And thousands no doubt so marked the ballot, thinking thereby to clinch the three-cent fare, when the effect of such a vote was the opposite of this. And in the face of such an evident fraud and such an inadequate opportunity to perfect the three-cent understanding, we talk of the 'unmasking' of Mayor Johnson! It is undoubtedly in order for the private street-monopoly interests of the country to rejoice over this event, as they are doing through their trade organs, but how about journals supposed to stand for the public interests?"

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#### Notes.

It is said that the divorce industry was worth \$600,000 a year to Sioux Falls alone and yet the people of South Dakota turned it down.

SPRINGFIELD, Massachusetts, is soon to vote on the play-ground act. The last legislature delegated to the voters of the state a part of its own function when in passing an act providing for public play-grounds it specified that the act before becoming operative should be adopted by the various cities and towns by a majority vote.

THE National Grange at its meeting this year at Washington, District of Columbia, adopted the following resolution concerning the Initiative and Referendum:

*"Whereas, The effectiveness of Direct-Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum in overthrowing machine influence and its value in maintaining the truly representative character of our form of government has been demonstrated wherever it has been tried; and*

*"Whereas, This system is becoming a part of the fundamental law of an increasing number of commonwealths through state constitutional amendments; and*

*"Whereas, One of the great corporations of the United States is seeking through the United States Supreme Court to completely destroy this safeguard of the liberties of the people; and*

*"Whereas, The State Grange of Oregon is leading in the fight to maintain in the courts the right of self-government for the people of this nation; therefore, be it*

*"Resolved, That the National Grange in forty-second annual session assembled hereby declares its earnest sympathy with the people of Oregon and of other states which have this system in their state constitutions in their struggle for its preservation and gives it our moral support."*

This was unanimously adopted.

THE Mississippi legislature has authorized the use of the popular initiative for the establishment of a modified form of the Des Moines plan of municipal government. The system provides that all franchise-ordinances must be submitted to a referendum vote, and that the five public officials who compose the city council can authoritatively call for the resignation of any one of their number. Ten per cent. of the voters are authorized to propose the system to their fellow-citizens. The secretary of state is to issue the charter, signed by the governor.

"SHALL the People Rule?" The best answer yet received to Bryan's famous slogan came from Denver, where Judge Ben Lindsey, the children's judge, after being turned down by both political machines for the nomination, was triumphantly reflected.

THE PEOPLE are coming to their own. Soon they will be in control of their own government. The politicians and lobbyists are on the retreat. At the same time these enemies of the Republic will continue to fight and fight hard. They will scruple at no means to continue their power. The greatest threat to democracy to-day is the character of the Supreme Court as it may be constituted in the near future. If this court rules out the Initiative and Referendum as unconstitutional, the way to freedom will be long and dark and perhaps bloody. If on the other hand the People's Rule is declared constitutional, another generation will find all the states in line with Oregon, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Maine, Missouri, Nevada, Montana and Utah.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### The Chicago Report.

THE REPORT of Bion J. Arnold and Arthur Young on the Chicago lighting plant brings to light once more the fact that it is cheaper to produce electricity by means of water-power than by steam. Chicago can get water-power electricity easily from a state board that controls the Sanitary District, that

is, the Drainage Canal. Therefore it pays Chicago to use this current instead of producing current separately at a steam plant. In utilizing this by-product of another public utility the Chicago lighting system neither fails nor demonstrates the impossibility of Public-Ownership. In other cities it has frequently happened that while the municipality

runs the lighting plant a private company controls all nearby water-power, with the result that the lighting plant is choked into buying current—and a little note to West Thirty-second street produces another "failure." Very slowly our American cities are learning the principle of using and guarding their natural resources, and until they understand it in its fundamental relation all Public-Ownership is, of course, subject to the weaknesses of human nature instead of depending on the strength of science. The Chicago plant was largely an expediency measure and its methods were a reflection of that fact. In being forced to buy current from the board that controls the Drainage Canal the plant, so far from failing, reaches a surer footing, and becomes more truly a publicly owned and operated utility.

#### Garbage-Disposal Plants.

NOVEMBER was an unusual month in the matter of garbage disposal. Scranton, during that time, began to do its own work of collection and disposal, Columbus started to build a new reduction plant, Pittsburg started two incinerators, Spokane advertised for bids for doing the work along the most modern lines, Oakland experimented with a new method, St. Louis entered upon a new and very advantageous contract, Milwaukee adopted a new plan for an incinerator, and Boston received a report from its special garbage commission favoring incineration. With the exception of the last named all these cities seem to realize that garbage disposal while a matter of public necessity is also a source of public funds and that the revenue from the garbage by-products must be used to defray the expense of disposal.

#### Progress.

THE GENERAL movement for uniform accounting will in a few years put an end to the dickering as to whether a certain plant did this or that, or whether another did so and so. If the adherents of private ownership wish to prove anything they will have to keep their accounts of private plants by the same methods employed by the public plants—and results will tell. Apart from individual efforts in the direction of this reform, the three greatest steps in the past year have been due to the Wisconsin Public Utilities act, the Ohio Uniform Accounting act, and the action of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in the collection of the data for the report on the cost

of municipal government. Each of these in its own field and by its example has brought home to public-utility officials the importance of strict business accountability. But they have done more than that, in that they all mean taking the public into active coöperation. Publicity is fundamental to each method, and publicity leads to better service, mutual understanding, and greater interest and ambition.

With this movement, and more important than the hundreds of new plants that have been started in the year just past, has come the desire on the part of individual managers to make their plants, whether subject to uniform accounting laws or not, make a better showing. In some cases better accounting alone has been sufficient, in others a total reorganization has taken place, new machinery installed, or old machinery better utilized. There are two significant points in this:

(1) That that long said to be missing factor, "personal ambition," is proving itself to be very much present; and

(2) That the political "gentleman-manager," so to speak, is giving way to the non-partisan, long-term expert.\*

Causal of reform as the movement for uniform accounts is, it is in even greater degree the result of the growing spirit of public service in the operation of public utilities.

#### New Plants.

THE FOLLOWING cities and towns have recently voted bonds and taken the first steps toward building new lighting plants or water-works:

Alabama—Abbeville, North Birmingham, Gadsden, Headland, Russellville, Slocomb.

Arizona—Bisbee, Mesa City.

Arkansas—De Queen, Leslie, Osceola.

California—Placerville, San Francisco, San Salito, Yuba City.

Colorado—Burlington, Johnstown, Las Animas.

Connecticut—Groton, Southington.

Delaware—Bridgeville.

Florida—Alachua, Daytona, Palmetto.

Georgia—Ashburn, East Point, Lafayette, Sylvester.

Idaho—Ashton.

Illinois—Chandlerville, De Kalb, Dixon, Fisher, Galena, Manito, Salem, Sandwich, Winchester.

\*The same thing is proved from the other side by Mr. Grant's growing list of men who have given up trying to qualify as managers of public utilities.

Indiana—Elkhart, Knox, Ligonier, Marion.  
Iowa—Ames, Anamosa, Bاده, Carroll, Charlotte, Council Bluffs, Dallas City, Danbury, Dike, Lamoin, Spirit Lake, Stratford, Tama, Wapello, Winterset.

Kansas—Baldwin, Beloit, Bonner Springs, Great Bend, Hollywood, Kiowa, Kirwin, Linwood, McPherson, Moundridge, St. Mary's, Wichita.

Kentucky—Barbourville, Versailles.

Louisiana—Hammond, Hourna, Le Compte, West Point.

Maine—Topsham.

Maryland—Laurel.

Massachusetts—Clinton, East Brookfield, Huntington, Manchester, Marion, Pepperill, Plainville, Shrewsbury, Waltham, Winthrop.

Michigan—Carsonville, East Lansing, Hancock, Highland Park, Hubbell, Jackson, L'Anse, Port Huron, Shepard, Sparta.

Minnesota—Bandette, Brainerd, Claremont, Lake Crystal, Newton Falls, Spooner, Springfield, Wabasso.

Mississippi—Brandon, Oxford, Prentiss, Speeds Addition.

Missouri—Alba, Elsberry, Farmington, Savannah, Smithville, Springfield.

Montana—Miles City.

Nebraska—Cambridge, Crofton, Deshler, Elm Creek, Fall City, Fender, Genoa, Gresham, Monroe, University Place, Valentine, Wahoo.

New Hampshire—Franklin, West Derry.

New Jersey—Haddonfield, Lodi, North Arlington, Passaic, Ventnor, Westmont.

New Mexico—Roswell.

New York—Albion, Cortland, Floral Park, Marcellus, Mt. Morris, Oswego, Rimmersburg, Sherman, Shottsville, Verona, West Seneca.

North Carolina—Beaufort, Burlington, King's Mountain, Maxton, Marion, Mooresville, North Wilkesboro.

North Dakota—Dickenson, Edgely, Lamoure, Towner.

Ohio—Amherst, Anna, Bucyrus, Cedarville,

Delta, Dresden, Hubbard, Kirwin, Lewisberg, Lima, Martin's Ferry, New Bremen, Newton Falls, Pleasant Hills, Shawnee, St. Bernard, Warren, Wooster.

Oklahoma—Afton, Altus, Bristow, Chattanooga, Cleo, Cordell, Durand, Edmund, Fairview, Granite, Helena, Kenton, Nowata, Sallisaw, Sayre, Thomas, Waterford, Waurika, Wellston.

Oregon—Ashland, Enterprise.

Pennsylvania—Avonmore, Barnesboro, Berlin, Boyerstown, Catasauqua, Conway, Fairchance, Hatfield, Juniata, Marion Heights, Mars, Newville, Pitcairn, South Sharon, Tarentum, Warren.

Rhode Island—North Kingston.

South Carolina—Belton, Bennettsville, Lancaster, Seneca, Yorkville.

South Dakota—Colton, Jefferson, Mobridge, Platte, Washington Springs.

Tennessee—Binghampton, Conyers, Lexington.

Texas—Childress, Corpus Christi, Greenville, Haskell, Hereford, Odessa, Rising Star, Sweetwater, Temple, Vernon, Wolfe City.

Utah—Lehi, Ogden, Richmond.

Vermont—Swanton.

Virginia—Basic City, Christianburg, Graham, South Boston, Verbanna.

Washington—Centralic, Chehalis, Harrington, Hillyard, Lynden, Okanogan, Puyallup, Renton, Wilson Creek.

West Virginia—Barbourville, Kimball, Salem.

Wisconsin—Bruce, Cashton, Fond du Lac, Hartford, Hortonsville, Hudson, Juneau, Loyal, Midford, Sturgeon Bay, Viola, Wilton.

Wyoming—Lovell.

This list does not include the many cities that have new public utilities under consideration, nor the plants that have begun operation during the year. It refers almost entirely to plants now under construction. Many of them will begin operation in January.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

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## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

THE October issue of the English monthly, *Representation*, is at hand. It contains a notable article by Secretary Humphrey, who was in Belgium when the last general election took place there. The article in question is an able and lucid comparison of the List system and the Hare plan, stating the case for each with the utmost fairness. The keen, clear analysis of the fundamental principles of each plan is most interesting and instructive. I propose, therefore, to present about half of Mr. Humphrey's article as my department for this month, and the remainder in next month's department. Mr. Humphrey says:

**"A BELGIAN ELECTION."**

"In the article 'Proportional Representation in Belgium,' which appears in the current issue of *The Contemporary Review*, I have endeavored to describe the organization and mechanism of a Belgian election. The facility with which the new electoral system is carried out, the demand for its adoption in county council elections, the satisfaction with which it is viewed by all parties, will probably give rise to the inquiry on the part of many readers as to why the single transferable vote, and not the Belgian list method, appears upon the covers of this journal. The present article will explain.

"In any comparison between the two methods of Proportional Representation there is no need to detract from the many excellencies of the Belgian system. It is undoubtedly an excellent system, the distance between it and the ordinary 'majority' method of election is immeasurable, and this statement should be borne in mind by the reader of this article, which is essentially a criticism of the Belgian method. Such criticism is necessary at a time when both the press and public men generally in this country (Great Britain) are beginning to recognize that important changes in our electoral methods are inevitable, and a comparison of the different systems of Proportional Representation is therefore needed in order that the method finally decided upon shall be the best available.

**"A COMMON VOTING METHOD FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE."**

"Before entering into a detailed comparison of the relative merits of the single transferable vote, and of the list systems of Proportional Representation, some reference should be made to two considerations which should be taken into account in the choice of an electoral system. In the first place it may be predicted with some degree of confidence that intercommunication of all kinds between the self-governing portions of the British Empire will continue to increase, and it is therefore very desirable that a citizen of one part taking up his residence in another part should find in force the voting method to which he is accustomed. Moreover, should there, in the future, take place that larger federation of the various states of the Empire, of which some have dreamed, a common electoral method would be of immense value. It is therefore of considerable importance to note that the single transferable vote is the system which is favored by advocates of Proportional Representation in all parts of the Empire. It was embodied in the Tasmanian Act of 1896; it appears again in the more recent act of 1907; it has figured in all the bills presented at various times to the Parliaments of the states of Victoria, South Australia, West Australia and also in the bill presented in 1902 to the Commonwealth Parliament. Mr. Deakin will, it is understood, submit ere long a new scheme of electoral reform. His scheme will probably embody Proportional Representation for the Senate on pretty much the same lines as those of the 1902 bill with contingent voting for the House of Representatives. Furthermore, Miss Spence, in a letter dated August, 1907, states that 'nobody has advocated the list system in Australia, so that if we obtain Proportional Representation it is likely to be in the best form. Nanson in Victoria, Clark in Tasmania, and myself in South Australia, have always presented the Hare system.' Again, it is the system which is favored in Canada, and it is a fact of some interest that the present

Governor-General of Canada conducted valuable experiments with this voting method when Member of Parliament for South Northumberland. Finally, although the details of the system to be adopted by the state of Oregon have not been decided upon, the single transferable vote is to be used. The Constitutional Amendment (already approved) states: 'Provision may be made by law for elections by equal Proportional Representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons, whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. . . . Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office.'

"THE METHOD SHOULD BE OF GENERAL APPLICATION.

"The second consideration which should be taken into account in the choice of our electoral system is that, so far as possible, the method of electing Members of Parliament should be equally applicable to the election of members of municipalities, of the committees of any organized society, or even to the election of a single officer, such as the mayor of a council, the president of a congress, the agent of a trades union, etc. The mayors of municipalities in Queensland are elected by means of the single transferable vote. The Northumberland miners have used the same method for the last twenty years in the election of their agents; Rule No. 180 of the Victoria Labor Council reads thus: 'All elections shall be by preferential ballot'; whilst the Toronto District Labor Council and the Winnipeg District Trades Council, employ the transferable vote in the elections of members of their committees. For such purposes the single transferable vote is certainly preferable to a system of competing lists.

"PROFESSOR NAVILLE'S OPINION.

"Leaving these general considerations on one side, a clear conception of the comparative advantages of the two main systems of Proportional Representation can perhaps best be understood from a statement of their development, and this may with advantage be prefaced by the following extracts from letters addressed by Professor E. Naville, the father of Proportional Representation in Switzerland, to Miss Spence, of Adelaide, South Australia.

In 1894 he wrote thus: 'The Swiss cantons have adopted the system of competing lists. I do not think the system is the best, but as it involved the least departure from customary practices, it was the system for which acceptance could be more easily obtained. My ideal is a system which leaves the electors face to face with the candidates without the intervention of lists presented by parties, that is to say, that the method of voting indicated at the end of the pamphlet forwarded by you has my preference. It is the system which I (inspired by the works of Mr. Hare) first proposed in Geneva, but, in order to obtain a practical result, account has to be taken of the habits and prejudices of the public to which the appeal is made, and the best must often be renounced in order to obtain what is possible in certain given circumstances.' In a further letter Professor Naville is even more emphatic: 'I consider,' says he, 'the Hare system preferable to that of competing lists. I have always thought so. I have always said so. But our Swiss people are so accustomed to the *scrutin de liste*, or multiple vote, that we could not obtain from them the profound modification which would have been necessary to pass to the Hare-Spence system.' These statements of Professor Naville are of considerable value in explaining why continental countries have adopted list systems of Proportional Representation—the new principle has been grafted upon the method of voting already in force. Their value is all the greater in that they are the considered opinions of the pioneer who has contributed more than any one else to the adoption of the list system of Proportional Representation in Switzerland—the success of which has given so great an impetus to the modern movements in favor of electoral reform.

"THE LIST SYSTEMS.

"The Belgian system is the outcome of a critical examination of the earlier list systems and it is an attempt to avoid the mistakes and imperfections of those systems. In the Belgian, as in every other list system, each vote has two aspects. It is a vote for the list *as such* and at the same time a vote either for a particular candidate, or in favor of a particular arrangement of candidates. It is best to consider these two aspects of the vote separately, and, in the first place, the vote, in so far as it affects the fortunes of the list.

**"ALLOCATION OF SEATS TO THE COMPETING LISTS.**

"Seats are allotted in proportion to the total number of votes obtained by the respective lists. This rule seems quite simple of application and *would be so* were the totals obtained by each list such that it was possible to divide the seats among them in true proportion. Voters do not, however, group themselves in exact proportion and obviously, the seats allotted can only be in an approximate proportion to the votes obtained.

**"THE FIRST RULE.**

"The first rule adopted in allocating the seats was the more obvious one of dividing the grand total of votes polled by the total number of seats, and of basing the distribution of seats upon the quotient, or 'quota,' thus obtained. The total of each list was divided by the quota for the purpose of ascertaining the number of seats to which it was entitled and, as will be seen from the following simple example, the answers usually contained fractions. Assume that seven seats are to be distributed among three lists, A, B, C; that the grand total of votes is 7,000, and that the respective lists have polled as follows:

List A.....	2,850 votes
List B.....	2,650 votes
List C.....	1,500 votes
Total.....	<u>7,000</u>

"The quotient in this case is 1,000. The totals of the lists A, B and C contain the quotient twice, twice and once respectively, but in each case with a remainder, and it is the remainder that constitutes the difficulty. In the earlier 'list' schemes it was decided to allot the remaining seats to the lists having the largest fractions and, in the example given, lists A and B would accordingly each receive an additional seat.

"Party organizers were not slow to perceive that it was advisable to obtain as many of the largest fractions as they could and considerable dissatisfaction in Ticino arose from the action of the Conservatives, who very skilfully divided their forces into two groups, thereby obtaining additional seats. A simple example will explain. Assume that three deputies are to be elected, that the grand total of votes is 3,000 and that the party votes are as follows:

Party A.....	1,600 votes
Party B.....	1,400 votes
Total.....	<u>3,000</u>

"The quota would be 1,000 votes; Party A, having the larger remainder, would obtain two seats, and Party B only one seat; but if Party B should present two lists and arrange for the division of its voting force, the following result might ensue:

Party A.....	1,600 votes
Party B1.....	700 votes
Party B2.....	700 votes
Total.....	<u>3,000</u>

"The quota would still be 1,000 votes, but Party A would only obtain one seat, whereas Party B would obtain two, because each of its two lists would show a remainder larger than A's remainder.

**"THE SECOND RULE.**

"The next device was to ignore remainders and to allot the seats remaining after the first distribution to the strongest parties. But this was also far from satisfactory, as will be seen from the following example taken from a Ticino election:

Conservatives.....	614 votes
Radicals.....	399 votes
Total.....	<u>1,013</u>

"The constituency to which the figures refer returned five members; the quotient therefore was 202 and the Conservatives obtained three seats on the first distribution and the Radicals one. As under the rule the remaining seat was allotted to the largest party, the Conservatives obtained four seats out of the five when, obviously, the true proportion was three to two.

**"THE D'HONDT RULE.**

"The next development in the distribution of seats took the form of devising a rule which should so allot the seats to different parties that after the first distribution there should be *no seats remaining unallotted*. This is the great merit of the Belgian or d'Hondt rule. By way of illustration of this rule, let it be assumed that three lists have been presented, that they have obtained 8,000, 7,500 and 4,500 votes respectively, and that there are five vacancies to be filled. The total number of votes for each list is divided successively by the numbers 1, 2, 3, and so on, and the resulting numbers are arranged thus:

List No. 1.	List No. 2.	List No. 3.
8,000	7,500	4,500
4,000	3,750	2,250
2,666	2,500	1,500

"The five highest numbers (five being the number of vacancies to be filled) are then arranged in order of magnitude, as follows:

8,000.....	(List No. 1)
7,500.....	(List No. 2)
4,500.....	(List No. 3)
4,000.....	(List No. 1)
3,750.....	(List No. 2)

"The lowest of these numbers, 3,750, is called the 'common divisor,' or the 'electoral quotient,' and forms the base on which the seats are allotted. The number of votes obtained by each of the lists is divided by the common divisor, thus:

8,000 divided by 3,750 = 2 with a remainder of 500.  
 7,500 divided by 3,750 = 2.  
 4,500 divided by 3,750 = 1 with a remainder of 750.

"The first list contains the electoral quotient twice, the second twice, and the third once, and the five seats are allotted accordingly. Each party obtains one representative for every quota of voters which it can rally to its support; all fractions of 'quotas' are disregarded, and all seats are disposed of at the first distribution.

**"THE LARGER PARTY FAVORED.**

"The d'Hondt rule certainly accomplishes its purpose. It furnishes a measuring-rod by which to measure off from each total of votes the number of seats won by the list. But the d'Hondt rule is not without its critics. As in the earlier Swiss methods objection was taken to the undue favoring of certain fractions, so in Belgium, objection is taken to the fact that remainders are not taken into account at all. The Belgian rule works to the advantage of the largest party, a fact that many may consider as a point in its favor. A further simple example will show the force of this statement. Assume that 11 seats are being contested by three parties, whose votes are as follows:

Party A.....	6,000 votes
Party B.....	4,800 votes
Party C.....	1,900 votes
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>13,700</b>

"Arrange these numbers in a line and divide successively by 1, 2, 3, and so on, thus:

Party A.	Party B.	Party C.
6,000	4,800	1,900
3,000	2,400	950
2,000	1,600	633
1,500	1,200	475
1,200	960	380
1,000	800	316

"The eleventh highest number, which constitutes the measuring-rod, will be found to be 1,000; the largest party obtains 6 seats, the second party obtains 4 seats, with a remainder of 800 votes, and the third only 1 seat, with a remainder of 900 votes. The two smaller parties taken together poll 6,700 votes but only obtain 5 seats, as compared with the 6 seats obtained by the larger party with 6,000 votes, the two remainders, 800 and 900 votes which, together, constitute more than a quota, having no influence on the result of the election. Even if, in the allotment of seats, the largest party has a remainder of votes not utilized, yet this remainder necessarily bears a smaller proportion to the total of the votes polled than is the case with a small party. Thus the system works steadily in favor of the larger party.

"At a demonstration of the d'Hondt system at Lille, held under the auspices of the French Proportional Representation League, the following example was put: Suppose a constituency with 11 members; there are four lists, A, B, C and D, which receive 6,498, 2,502, 1,499 and 501 votes respectively; the d'Hondt rule makes 928 the measuring-rod and gives A seven members, B three, C one and D none. The question was asked as to why provision should not be made for the transfer of the votes on the list D to list C, so that if, for example, these lists were put forward by Radical-Socialists and by Socialists respectively the parties might obtain the additional seat to which their combined totals entitled them. It will be seen that lists C and D with a total of 2,000 votes (more than twice 928) have but one representative, while list A with 6,498 votes has seven representatives.

**"COMBINED LISTS.**

"The need of some such provision was recognized by Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff, who has formulated the proposal that parties should be free to put forward combined lists and that, in the first allotment of seats, the totals of the combined lists should be taken as the basis of the distribution. Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff's proposal has not been embodied in the Belgian law, but 'cartels' (arrangements for the presentation of a common list) are formed between the Liberals and Socialists so as to lessen their loss of representation due to the working of the d'Hondt rule. The 'cartels,' however, do not give satisfaction, as experience shows that many Lib-



erals who would vote for a Liberal list decline to vote for a 'cartel' of Liberals and Socialists, whilst, on the other hand, extreme Socialists decline to support a Liberal-Socialist coalition. In the Finnish system, however, provision is made for the combination of lists in accordance with Professor Hagenbach-Bischoff's suggestion and, indeed, as the Finnish law, for other reasons, forbids each list to contain more than three names, some such provision was necessary in order to allow each separate party to nominate a full list of candidates.

#### "LARGE CONSTITUENCIES REQUIRED.

"The question of remainders, or votes not utilized in the distribution of seats is of minor importance when the constituencies return a large number of members. When, for example, as in the city of Brussels, there are 21 members to be elected, the votes not utilized bear a small proportion to those that have been taken into account in the allotment of seats. When, however, only four or five, or even six members are being elected, these remainders constitute a serious imperfection in the system. In Belgium there are several constituencies returning as few as three members, and there is naturally a demand that these constituencies should be united so that the method of distribution should yield more accurate results, and, indeed, there are some who, in the search for absolute accuracy, would carry the process a stage further and take cognizance of the remainders in all the constituencies. I do not think that this is necessary, but undoubtedly the list system needs, for its successful working, constituencies returning a considerable number of members.

#### "THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE: HOW CHOSEN.

"It now remains to consider the second aspect of a vote in a List system of Proportional Representation. In the earlier stages (in fact, it is the practice in some Swiss cantons to-day) each elector has as many votes as there are members to be elected, and he may distribute those votes over the whole of the candidates nominated; selecting, if he desire, some names from one list, some from another, and some from another. After the number of seats secured by each list has been determined, the candidates declared elected are those who, in the respective lists, have obtained the highest number of individual votes.

"The practice of voting for candidates belonging to different lists has evoked consid-

erable discussion; and, as may be gathered from the pages of *La Proportionnaliste*, this is still the great bone of contention amongst the advocates of Proportional Representation on the Continent (of Europe). Should not the elector, it is asked, be restricted to voting for candidates of one list only? But why should he be restricted? At first sight there would appear to be nothing to discuss and that there was no possible reason why the elector should not be allowed to exercise his choice in the freest manner. It has, however, been found that this privilege can be used in an unfair way. When each elector has as many votes as there are candidates and is not permitted to accumulate his votes on any one, it usually happens that the votes obtained by individual candidates in any given list vary but little in number. When, then, in some elections it was realized that the party could only obtain a certain number of seats, but that it had a few hundred votes to spare, some extreme partisans used these votes for the purpose of voting for the least competent men of their opponents' list, and their action sometimes resulted in the election of those men in preference to the more competent men of the party.

#### "PANACHAGE."

"The danger from this cause would appear to be exaggerated, but nevertheless the question of 'panachage,' as it is called, is considered a very important one, and although success has seldom attended the practice of 'panachage,' the fear of a successful attempt has a disturbing influence. Thus, in a letter to myself, the accomplished Belgian Senator, Count Goblet d'Alviella, states that 'panachage' has been suppressed in the Belgian parliamentary system, and in his opinion, quite wisely. 'What right,' asks he, 'has each elector under parliamentary government? The right to vote for one party collectively and for one representative individually.'

"The Belgian parliamentary system suppresses 'panachage' in the most effective way: each elector has but one vote. But this simplification of the problem, most valuable as it is, does not dispose of all the difficulties in the selection of the candidates to be declared elected.

#### "ARRANGEMENT OF LIST BY PARTY ORGANIZATION.

"The Belgian system confers upon the organization presenting a list the right to arrange the order in which the candidates shall

appear upon the list and, further, it provides that the voter may approve of this arrangement by voting at the head of the list in the space provided for that purpose. Party organizations naturally advise their supporters to vote in this way. Public opinion is somewhat divided on this feature of the Belgian system, but M. Van den Heuvel, who took a responsible part in the passing of the law, and with whom I discussed this provision, defended it most vigorously on the grounds that the party, as a whole, had a right to determine which of its members should be elected. In the absence of the provision referred to, it might happen that some candidate would be elected in preference to one who was more generally approved of by the party. This may be made clear by an example given by M. Van den Heuvel himself. A, B, C and D are candidates. Suppose that the party is strong enough to return three candidates but no more and that five-sixths of the party are in favor of candidates A, B and C, whilst the minority, one-sixth, are ardently in favor of candidate D. It will be necessary that the majority of the party (the five-sixths) should cleverly divide their votes equally between the candidates A, B and C in order to prevent the possibility of candidate D being elected by a small minority of the party. A little reflection will show that in the absence of any such provision the popular candidate of the majority, say A, might attract too large a proportion of the votes, thereby allowing D to pass B or C. It must be acknowledged by all that each provision of the Belgian system has been most carefully thought out and, if it strengthens the hands of party organizations, it does so in order to secure the representation of the party by the candidates most generally approved.

“MODIFICATIONS OF THE BELGIAN SYSTEM.

“The Belgian system in its entirety has not been adopted, nor do I think that it is likely to be adopted by any other country. Even the French Proportional Representation League which, impressed with the simplicity of the Belgian system, desired to introduce it into France, refrained from advocating the adoption of the *case de tête* and suggested that the order in which candidates should be elected on each list should be determined by the votes of the electors—each elector having two votes when six deputies were to be elected, and three in larger constituencies. The association, however, followed the Belgian practice in confining the choice of the elector to candidates on one list. This proposition was examined by the Commission du Suffrage Universel which, in the Report of 1906, declared that it was impossible to approve of such a limitation of the choice of the elector. “*Nous ne pouvons laisser si étroitement enchaîner, garrotter, ligotter l'électeur proclamé souverain et qui doit en tout cas être libre.*” In the further Report, issued in 1907, this Committee reiterated the necessity of leaving the elector quite free in the choice of candidates, and, accordingly, Article 5 of the Bill, drafted by the Committee, recommended that each elector should have as many votes as there were deputies to be elected, and that he should be allowed to accumulate the whole, or several, of his votes upon any one candidate. Instead of the ‘limited’ vote restricted to one list recommended by the Association, the Parliamentary Committee recommended the ‘cumulative’ vote with the added privilege of voting for candidates on any list.”

(To be concluded.)

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

## COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,  
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**Cornell Co-operative Society.**

THE Cornell Coöperative Society paid a dividend of eight per cent. on all purchases made by students during the year of 1908. The amount so to be paid out is \$2,500.

**A Merchants' Carnival.**

THE Merchants' Coöperative Association of Jersey City, New Jersey, held a carnival on the twenty-seventh of October. Preparations for it had been going on for many months, and it was deemed a great success.

**Providence, Rhode Island.**

THE Workingmen's Coöperative Society was formed in Providence, Rhode Island, about six months ago, and is shortly to open a store for the sale of provisions, etc. They report a membership of 300, including men and women. This movement is largely under the leadership of Britishers, who have been trained in coöperative ideals in England.

**A Profit-Sharing Automobile Company.**

THE Reo Motor Car Company of Lansing, Michigan, has declared a dividend of five per cent. on the salaries earned during the past year by all employes who have been in the company for a year or more. This is the second year that this has been done by this company. The dividend applies to over 700 men, and amounts to about two and one-half week's extra pay.

**An Advantage of Co-operative Telephones.**

THE coöperative telephone line in and around Upland, Kansas, has over 2,000 subscribers, nearly all of whom are farmers. It is said that at one time during the fall political campaign the "emergency call," which is used ordinarily only in case of fires and similar times of necessity, was used to rally the farmers to a political meeting. At noon, when all the farmers were at dinner, the emergency call was given on the entire 2,000 telephones, and the announcement of the meeting given. The result was that 2,000 families were informed and the crowd that night overflowed the hall.

**Lewiston, Maine.**

THE Great Department Store Company of Lewiston, Maine, paid an eight-per-cent. dividend on the tenth of September, to all employes, co-workers, as they are called by the association, based on the salaries earned. This is the second time this year that this has been done, a previous dividend of eight per cent. having been paid in March.

This store is in a flourishing condition. All the workers, from the managers down to the elevator boys, receive a dividend on their wages.

**Co-operative Warehouse in New England.**

THE RETAIL furniture dealers of New England held a convention in Boston early in November for the purpose of organizing an association for the coöperative buying of furniture and house-furnishings, and the establishment of large furniture warehouses where a display is to be carried on, and from which supplies, now chiefly shipped from the West, will be distributed to the New England trade. The company has at present about 115 stockholders, and it will probably handle about \$50,000,000 worth of goods annually. Prominent dealers in Boston are at the head of the organization.

**Co-operation in Germany.**

THE *Grossverkaufsgesellschaft Deutscher Konsumvereine G. m. b. H.* (Wholesale Purchasing Company for German Coöperative Associations, Limited) at Hamburg, Germany, has published its report on the company's business during 1907. The total sales amounted to \$14,254,000, an increase of 28.7 per cent. over the business of 1906. The capital of the concern (which only supplies its affiliated coöperative retail stores) is \$259,000. The net profits from last year's dealings amounted to \$120,000. The report states that the prospects for 1908 are not auspicious, because the present economic crisis will cause lack of employment for factory operatives and other working classes.

**The Grange of Houlton, Maine.**

A few interesting facts about the Houlton

(Maine) Grange are given here, and it is to be hoped that the frequent mention of this most prosperous undertaking will receive the sanction the Grange deserves. This organization is the second largest in the country, has 951 members, and its coöperative store covers 13,000 square feet of floor space. Last year it did a business of \$115,000, and it is expected to increase the amount to \$150,000 the present year. This store was established ten years ago with a capital of \$140, all borrowed money. Its manager receives a salary of \$1,000 and hires his own help. In connection with the store are a grist mill, a blacksmith shop, a starch factory, all operated for the benefit of patrons only. There is a fire insurance company in connection with the Grange, which carries \$3,000,000 risks.

#### **Co-operative Employment Agency.**

TWELVE organizations of Cleveland, Ohio, have organized a coöperative employment bureau for the use of working girls and women, which is to enable them to find not only employment, but employment of a kind best suited to their own special needs. Women who want work in stores, factories, etc., are the ones who are expected chiefly to use the bureau. Besides representatives from the coöperating organizations, which are drawn from several social settlements, institutional churches, the associated charities, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Council of Jewish Women, and the Consumers' League, which is really the instigator of the plan, the controlling board includes three persons elected at large. They are a manufacturer, the industrial secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and the industrial director of the Young Men's Christian Association.

#### **Co-operative Department Store in Germany.**

EARLY in October an immense coöperative establishment was opened in Berlin, Germany, under the name of the Passage-Kaufhaus. Eighty-one retail establishments joined in forming one large department store. They secured a plot of ground in the very center of the retail trading district having a value of \$2,000,000, and on this has been erected a structure costing \$2,125,000. In this structure are housed the eighty-one different "departments," besides all the conveniences of the department stores. There is also a large central hall where special exhibitions can be held and a central passage or arcade

through the center of the building, this giving to the establishment its name. The building is owned by a limited company, which also undertakes the management, and while each proprietor manages his own business, the corporation attends to such details as heating, lighting, etc. The advertising will be done on the department-store plan, each "department" being charged proportionally for the space used. The receipt and delivery of goods will also be in charge of the management, the expense charged off to individual accounts. Every few days a meeting of the proprietors is held at which plans are discussed. It is the policy of this institution to allow the utmost freedom to shoppers, in contrast with the vexatious solicitation often met with in European stores. It is expected that this one fact will draw trade to this fine new establishment.

#### **Ship-Building in England.**

News dispatches from England have been bringing reports of the coöperative organization of the firm of Furness, Withy & Company, one of the largest ship-building concerns in the world. The ship-building industry of the United Kingdom has been rent for a number of years with the bitterest and most costly dissensions between the employers and their men. The latter have organized strong trade unions, with full treasuries and resourceful, powerful leadership. Friction over conditions of labor, wages, and all the intricate questions that arise in great manufacturing enterprises has been almost constant, and strikes and lockouts have almost paralyzed one of the most important industries in the kingdom.

Sir Christopher Furness, who, besides being the head of the great firm, is a Member of Parliament and an accomplished publicist, finally made his men a remarkable offer. Declaring that the trade unions were organized, powerful bodies that ought to be in business for themselves, he offered to sell them the works outright, giving them easy terms of payment. If this were not held desirable, he offered to go into partnership with them. This latter proposition interested the men so much that they have decided to give it a year's trial. They will invest 5 per cent. of their wages, which are to be maintained on the regular scale, in employés' shares. On this investment they will receive 4 per cent. interest, and in addition a proportionate share of the profits after the regular 5 per cent. dividend on the ordinary stock has been paid, and the depre-

ciation, development, and reserve funds have been provided for.

It seems fairly certain that this proposal will at least bring industrial peace to all concerned, and that work will be carried on under the new agreement with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency. He frankly told his men that they had exaggerated ideas about the profits their labor produced, and pointed out that by becoming co-partners they would not only receive this share—a small one in individual cases—but would also receive a “share in the sums won by the foresight and initiative of enterprise, and the staying power of capital.”

#### **New Co-operative Apartment Houses.**

EVERY month brings news of new coöperative apartment houses in New York and its suburbs. One was reported in Brooklyn and one at 24 and 25 Gramercy Park in October. The Brooklyn apartment, which is the first to be built in Brooklyn, is completed and ready for occupancy. It is a handsome limestone-front building occupying a large plot at the southwest corner of Prospect Park West and President street, facing Prospect Park plaza and the Soldiers' and Sailors' monument. It contains twenty-four apartments which will be sold to as many tenants at prices ranging from \$2,500 to \$7,000 apiece. The entire building is valued at \$275,000.

Tenants have the right to sublet their apartments subject to the approval of the board of

directors, five in number, all of whom are stockholders and tenants. In addition to the original cost of the apartment each owner is required to pay from \$325 to \$600 a year for light and heat, hot-water supply, taxes, janitor service and telephone, and interest on a mortgage of \$150,000. The twenty-four tenants will obtain, instead of an equity in the building, a lease for ninety-nine years with the privilege of voting a renewal for the same length of time at the expiration of that period.

The apartment house at Gramercy Park is in process of erection. Literature, art and the drama are to be represented in this dwelling, for Richard Watson Gilder and his son, Rodman S. Gilder, are two of the six incorporators, and Jules Guerin, the artist, Herbert Lucas, the architect, Francis Wilson, well-known actor, and Charles H. Lee of the United States Leather Company, are the other four.

The company is incorporated under the name of the Number 24 Gramercy Park Company, with a capital of \$150,000 to carry through the project. The structure will be twelve stories high and stand on a plot 51 by 103 feet.

The apartments will be of the studio type, with large rooms and lofty ceilings. Each of the six incorporators will have a suite for his own use, in addition to which the building will contain several other suites, to be rented to such outsiders as the incorporators may regard as congenial tenants.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Professor Henderson on "The Career of Bernard Shaw."

**D**ISCRIMINATING readers will find a rare treat in the distinctly brilliant paper prepared for this issue of THE ARENA by Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D., of the University of North Carolina, dealing with "The Career of Bernard Shaw." Professor HENDERSON is too well known to our readers to require any special word of commendation on our part. His keen penetration and rare critical judgment are companioned by a splendid command of language and an easy flowing style that make his writings at once trustworthy and entertaining. We are pleased to note that his work is receiving fitting international recognition, articles from his pen having appeared in a number of leading publications besides THE ARENA during recent months. Among these publications are *La Sociétés Nouvelle*, of Paris, the *Deutsche Revue*, of Stuttgart, Germany; *The Atlantic Monthly*, of Boston, and *The North American Review*, of New York. Professor HENDERSON spent a part of the past summer as a guest of BERNARD SHAW. He is the authorized biographer of Mr. SHAW and has made an exhaustive study of the man, his life and his art. His life of Mr. SHAW will appear next season simultaneously in England and America.

David Graham Phillips on "Economic Independence the Basis of Freedom."

To us there is no more hopeful sign of the times than the phenomenon of a growing number of strong, able and scholarly young men who are great enough to resist the multitudinous bribes offered by the feudalism of privileged wealth and reactionary conventionalism, and who dare and care to strike telling blows against the encroachments of corruption, injustice and despotism in the Republic. Among this notable coterie no name more justly deserves a leading place than that of DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS. BORN into a home of culture and refinement, he was educated at Du Pauw University and Princeton College. After graduating from the latter institution he was for several years on the staff of leading American dailies, his longest apprenticeship being on the *New York Sun* and *New York World*. Beyond the influence of his home, where old-time moral idealism held a high place, his enviring influences certainly favored the conventional order and the growing feudalism of privileged wealth. Yet Mr. PHILLIPS elected to strike yeoman blows for a pure, efficient and just government. His novels, notably *The Plum-Tree*, *The Deluge*, *The Cost*, *The Second Generation* and *The Light-Fingered Gentry*, have become of inestimable value in awakening the sleeping conscience of the well-to-do masses to some realization of the sinister evils eating cancer-like into the body politic; while his *Reign of Gilt*, a volume of brilliant essays on plutocracy and democracy, has proved one of the most thought-arresting and helpfully stimulating works of recent years. In this

issue of THE ARENA Mr. PHILLIPS sounds the note of politico-economic advance in clear and definite phrasing. Economic dependence is the basis of present-day despotism. It is the function of a popular government to see that economic independence is assured to all her children, to the end that freedom, justice and human development may flower in their glory throughout the land. This great truth will more and more fill the thought of the world, until the new day bursts in splendor on awakened civilization.

"A Highly-Efficient State Railway."

IN THIS issue of THE ARENA will be found a further paper in the remarkably strong series of contributions by Mr. CARL S. VROOMAN on the railways of Europe. No living American writer in hearty accord with the principles of free government and the placing of public weal above private profit, has made so exhaustive a study of European railroads as has the author of this paper—an investigation which occupied upward of two years of personal travel throughout Europe. This paper, like its predecessor, will prove invaluable to friends of progressive democracy and efficient government. As previously announced, Mr. VROOMAN has been secured as foreign editor of THE ARENA, and his valuable services will add materially to the interest and worth of the magazine for the coming year.

"The Servant in the House" as a Drama and as a Religious Allegory."

COMPLEMENTING the lucid and fascinating outline of "The Devil," contributed by Mr. RYAN WALKER to our last issue, and second in THE ARENA's series of critical studies of the most notable ethical dramas of the day, which the Editor is arranging as a feature for the present year, we this month present an extended study of "The Servant in the House," embodying an outline of the play and a critical consideration of it as a religious allegory and a powerful twentieth-century sermon.

"The Atlantic Deep Waterway."

ONE OF the most important problems before the American people is the efficient development of its resources by wise and practical internal improvements. A great work has recently been achieved in the reclamation of arid land through the extensive operations carried forward by the Federal government. Another great and important work is now agitating American statesmen. It relates to the building of a chain of canals that shall constitute a deep waterway, protected from the storms and dangers of the sea and extending from the Northern Atlantic coast to Florida. This question which is bound to become a burning issue, is treated in a broad, comprehensive and luminous manner by WILLIAM J. ROE in this month's ARENA. It constitutes at once a concise and convincing discussion of a deeply important subject.

**"Medicine, Hypnotism and Religion."**

IN THIS issue the eminent jurist and former judge on the Supreme Bench of California, Hon. JOHN D. WORKS, contributes an exceptionally lucid paper in which the author sets forth in probably as clear and convincing manner as they have yet been presented, the views of Christian Scientists as to the difference between their method of curing disease and that of mental suggestion. Judge Works notices the changing attitude of the religious world in regard to the possible cure of disease by other means than *materia medica*. He notes the violent opposition to the claims of Christian Science advanced a few years ago and the persistent contention that if any cures were made, they were made through hypnotic suggestion or mesmeric control, and therefore were fraught with danger; and he then takes up a new claim of a large section of the church—that it can perform cures similar to those being performed by Christian Science, through the employment of hypnotic suggestion and mental treatment, which a few years ago it denounced as dangerous. He next dwells upon the cures of JESUS, his method of cure, and the redemptive influence or regenerating effect following his cures and those which are noticeable in a large number of the cures wrought by Christian Science.

**"The Christian Socialist Fellowship."**

THE GREAT work of which Canon CHARLES KINGSLEY and FREDERIC D. MAURICE were the JOHN the BAPTISTS—that of realizing the ideals and

ethics of the GREAT NAZARENE in the government of the world, has during the past year taken a wonderful hold upon the imagination of hundreds of earnest clergymen in the various Protestant churches of America, while it has called to its support tens of thousands of earnest lay Christians. It will not be surprising if this movement advances with phenomenal rapidity during the next four years. In our present issue Rev. ELIOT WHITE, secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship for Massachusetts, a scholarly clergyman of the Episcopal church, contributes an interesting and informing paper dealing with the movement, its aims and ideals. This paper and that by DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS belong to a series of constructive and fundamental economic discussions which the Editor of THE ARENA hopes to present to the public during 1908.

**"The Rationale of Common-Ownership."**

WE CALL the attention of our readers to a highly thought-stimulating and arresting paper in this number, by Mr. WALDO PONDRAY WARREN, describing how common-ownership may be peacefully, rapidly and practically made to take the place of private ownership. Mr. WARREN is not a Socialist, but rather seems opposed to political Socialism. But he is a strong believer in common-ownership and cites an interesting successful instance of common-ownership that is now in active operation, as an illustrative example of how in his judgment great and beneficent economic changes can be quickly and practically brought about.

# THE ARENA

## FOR FEBRUARY

The February "ARENA" will be an exceptionally strong number. Among the papers of special merit which we expect to present in that issue we mention the following:

**I. ITALIAN FREEDOM AND THE POETS. By Professor  
LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH, PH.D.**

A vivid pen-picture of the age-long struggle for freedom in Italy and the influence which this heroic conflict has exerted on the sensitive minds of the poets.

**II. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS AND HIS GREAT WORK  
FOR THE UPLIFT OF HUMANITY. By  
GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.**

An illustrated paper containing a graphic pen-picture of the wonderful work being accomplished by the Rev. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS and his remarkable family. This article has been prepared for THE ARENA by GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, the well-known author of *Through Ramona's Country*, *The Old Missions of California*, *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert*, etc.

**III. "THE THIRD DEGREE": A MODERN PLAY ILLUSTRATING THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE DRAMA. By B. O. FLOWER. *Illustrated.***

In the December issue, THE ARENA opened a series of discriminating characterizations of vital present-day plays of special ethical significance, in Mr. RYAN WALKER's admirable study of "The Devil." The second paper of this series appears in this issue, in the Editor's study of "The Servant in the House"; and the third paper of the series will constitute one of the illustrated features of the February issue, in the study of Mr. KLEIN's new play, "The Third Degree," a play in which the author of "The Lion and the Mouse" has emphasized a most important lesson for men and women of conscience at the present time.



**IV. IS MODERN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY A FAILURE? By Rev. P. GAVAN DUFFY.**

This paper, by a prominent Church of England clergyman, is an admirable complement to the Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES' notable paper on "The Responsibility of the Churches," which appeared in the November ARENA. It is a contribution as profoundly thoughtful as it is deeply religious. In its present conditions are presented in a masterly, temperate and well-considered manner, and comparisons are instituted between present-day organized Christianity and the teachings, life and example of the FOUNDER of our religion which cannot fail to arrest the attention and awaken the conscience of earnest men and women.

**V. A SYMPOSIUM ON RACE SUICIDE.**

In the December ARENA the Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER propounded a disquieting question in regard to race decline with advancing civilization. In the February ARENA the Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, of New York city, HELEN CAMPBELL and ROSE PASTOR STOKES discuss the problem raised by the Rabbi in a calm, thoughtful and suggestive manner.

**VI. RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION NOT CONFISCATORY. By CARL S. VROOMAN.**

One of the most important of Mr. VROOMAN's masterly papers which have been so strong a feature of THE ARENA in recent months, will appear in the February number under the title of "Railway Nationalization Not Confiscatory." Mr. VROOMAN's paper is the result of an expert's exhaustive personal research conducted in various lands where the governments have taken over the railways. It is a thoroughly trustworthy and extremely valuable contribution for all friends of progressive democracy and the people's interests.

**VII. INDUSTRIAL CLASSES AS FACTORS IN RACIAL DEVELOPMENT. By GEORGE R. STETSON.**

We doubt if any English-speaking magazine in recent years has published a more profoundly thoughtful, informing or helpful paper on the extremely important subject of the relation of industrial classes to racial development than that which we expect to give in our February issue, prepared by GEORGE R. STETSON. It is a contribution that every thinker interested in economic progress should carefully peruse.

**VIII. PROSTITUTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM. By THEODORE SCHROEDER.**

A thoughtful paper giving a secularist's view of prostitution. Not the least interesting or suggestive feature of this paper is the author's thoroughly sound and admirably-expressed views on the divorce question.

**IX. MAN IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY. A Book-Study, by the EDITOR of THE ARENA.**

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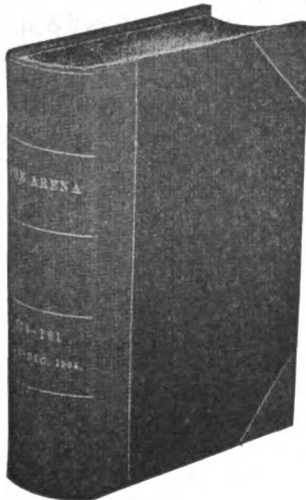
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We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

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By Professor Lewis Worthington Smith, Ph.D.

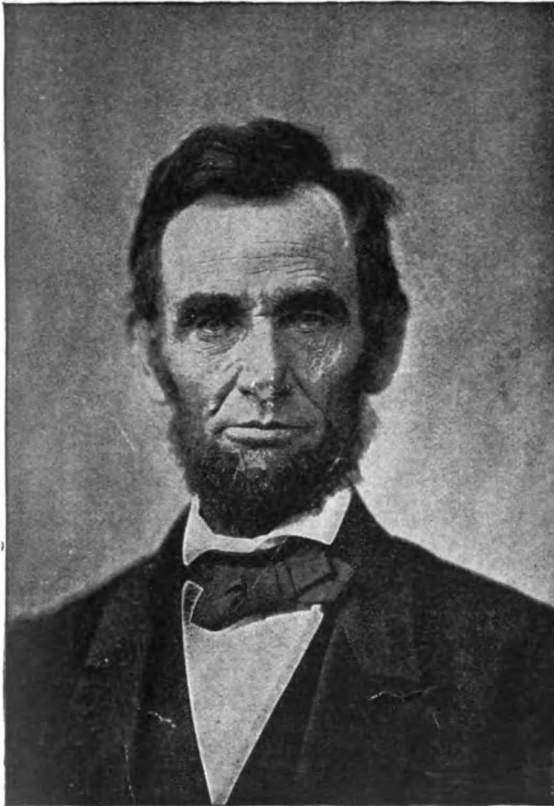
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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

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## BENJAMIN FAY MILLS.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

THIS is an age of searching and fearless criticism of everybody and everything that demands the adoration, the obedience, the homage of man. All our old-time heroes are being put into the camera while the dazzling and piercing rays of the critical searchlight are turned upon them. In religion, especially, is this general statement true. Nothing has been too revered to escape—nothing so sacred that it has been ignored. In the whole realm occupied by Christian civilization there is no book that has been so rigorously subjected to this criticism as has the Bible—the Old Testament of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the New Testament of orthodox Christianity. And this not alone by irreverent disbelievers, open and avowed infidels, who have treated the Bible and its adherents with open scorn and scoffing; not alone by such intellectual and scientific agnostics as Hume, Voltaire, Huxley, Strauss, Renan, Buckle, Tyndall and Ingersoll; not alone by such avowed free thinkers in the bosom of the church itself as Bishop Colenso, Samuel Cox, Dr. Crapsey, Archdeacon Farrar, Professor Ewing, Dr. H. W. Thomas, and the present pastor of

Joseph Parker's City Temple in London; but also by many reverent and pure-hearted believers in the creeds and doctrines of the modern Christian church. The spirit of investigation has permeated everything. Men of the profoundest faith now feel that they have a right—some feel it to be their duty—to know all that can be known of that upon which they deem their eternal salvation depends. The divine inspiration of the Bible, the authenticity of the Scriptures, the textual variations of the various codices, the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary and the miraculous birth of Christ, the doctrines of justification by faith, heaven, hell—everything, in fact, that a few generations ago nearly all men accepted or professed to accept as needful for their eternal welfare, is exposed to this relentless scrutiny.

Naturally there are two extremes in matters of faith, of religious belief: One demands an absolute and infallible church or standard of faith to rely upon, which is provided and offered in the Roman Catholic church; the other demands perfect freedom and individualism. Between these two extremes are all shades and



BENJAMIN FAY MILLS, 1908.

colors of belief, influenced by heredity, early training or temperament, from the extreme High church, which approximates nearly to the Roman church in its beliefs in apostolic succession, the confessional, inspiration, and the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and marriage, through "broad" and "low" churchism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Baptistism, Methodism, Episcopalianism, Campbellism (this term is used as a designation, not in an offensive sense), Universalism, Free Methodism, Unitarianism, to the individual "Christian" churches of the free lances who preach Christianity according to their own ideas and without any formal or restraining creed. All those named, save the individualists, have creeds which are held to with a greater or lesser degree of tenacity.

But there is a vast mass of people who are avowedly in a state of mental unrest. They are openly antagonistic to either Roman or Protestant orthodox creeds; Universalism and Unitarianism are

equally unsatisfactory; and but few of them are reached by the free lances. To unite these—amongst whom are people of all faiths and no faiths; Jews, Brahmans, Buddhists, Confucianists, Gentiles of every nationality, believers in the Divinity of Christ, and disbelievers—to unite these in an organization which should be living, powerful, aggressive and helpful, yet elastic and genuinely tolerant, was a mental task before which most men would have fallen back discouraged and appalled.

It was left, however, for Benjamin Fay Mills not only to attempt, but, so far as he has gone, successfully to accomplish the tremendous undertaking of producing a powerful and organic unity out of these heterogeneous and apparently inharmonious and impossible-to-fuse elements.

Before showing how this was done, it will be both interesting and instructive to look briefly at the life-history and work of the man through whose personality it has been achieved. I first knew of Benjamin Fay Mills some twenty or more years ago. He was then a well-known and powerful evangelist in the fold of the orthodox Presbyterian church. He was honored, admired, quoted, imitated, petted and lauded not only by the leaders and membership of his own church, but of all the Protestant churches, designated orthodox, save, perhaps, the exclusive Episcopalians. Up and down the length and breadth of this country he preached, to vast and attentive congregations, with tremendous power, acceptability and results. His audiences were not composed of the merely sentimental and imperfectly educated religionists, but of the most cultured, educated and refined. Business men, of keen, logical intellect, often closed up their banks, stores and marts of commerce for the purpose of attending his meetings in the mornings and afternoons, and in every sense of the word his ministrations were attended with apostolic unction and power in the awakening and conversion of sinners and the quickening into higher and nobler life of believers.

As a natural result, Mr. Mills was treated with a liberality and generosity in money matters that placed him and his family beyond all need of thought about the material things of life. It is a well-known fact that to those who please, delight, hold them, religionists are generous in the extreme, and Benjamin Fay Mills was no exception to this rule. Money flowed easily into his coffers and he was able to educate his family in the best the country afforded. Luxuries were no strangers to him, though both he and Mrs. Mills have always lived and preferred to live the simple and unostentatious life. Yet it cannot be ignored that gifts were showered upon them in abundance and variety. Compliment and adulation were his hourly atmosphere, gratitude and thanks the constant music which rang in his ears. Any lesser man—either of intellect or heart—would have been demoralized by such gifts, adulation and gratitude, but to Mr. Mills these things were merely the froth of life, the effervescence of it. Life itself, while it did not ignore these things, estimated them at their true value, so that when the time came to lose them, they were parted with without so much as a sigh, a single look of regret, or a solitary heart pang.

For, in the development of the religious life of others, Mr. Mills was not unmindful of his own intellectual and spiritual needs. He read and studied with a conscientious earnestness that few men have equaled. His heart was large, his sympathies broad, and his associations were with men and women whose ideas were optimistically helpful. He began to glean, therefore, from a variety of men who had been touched by the Divine Fire, and he absorbed impartially from the Upanishads and Ingersoll, the Bhagavad Gita and Whitman, the Analects of Mencius and Emerson, the tremendous soul-dramas of Dante and Ibsen, Milton and Omar. He read voraciously and receptively of all things that had helped other men, and as his heart and brain expanded under the warmth of the powerful light of



MARY RUSSELL MILLS.

other men's minds and souls, he began to see that formalism, creed-worship, church-worship and professionalism in religion were a curse and a hindrance instead of a blessing and a help to mankind. Little by little certain dogmas and beliefs died in his soul and sloughed off, until at length he awoke to the fact that he was no longer in sympathy with his own past teaching, nor with those who were still holding to and teaching it. Yet he was and is essentially a religionist, and equally so is he essentially a teacher. He could no more live without religion and teaching than without air, sun, water and food. Here, then, he found himself face to face with a new and great task. He must find and formulate for himself a religion that should meet alike the needs of his heart and his intellect, and then, he must properly present it to mankind.

It has been during these two stages in his career that I have been privileged to come in closest brotherly contact with Mr. Mills and his remarkable family—a privi-



THORNTON ANTHONY MILLS,  
27 Years.

lege which has been not only a joy, but a sweet and positively spiritual uplift.

Here is the man as he appears to me to-day: Fifty-one years of age, five feet seven inches high, stockily built, of abounding vitality and radiant physical and mental life, with tremendous energy and tireless capacity for work; possessed of the vibrant, resonant, pleasing voice of the natural orator, to whom it is little more work to address ten thousand people than five hundred; with bright, scintillating, keen blue eyes, that ever beam with brotherly kindness, tender sympathy, gentle toleration, and yet discerning penetration; with a hearty cordiality to all and an almost rollicksome buoyancy to his friends; full of fun and humor, yet demanding dignified and serious consideration of important themes by a sincerity and earnestness so manifest that it has seldom, if ever, been questioned; ready to yield gracefully and joyously any mere opinion, yet holding to fundamental principles with a firmness, a persistence, a ten-

acity of insistence that soon drives the insincere, the irreverent, the dishonest away from him; openly and frankly proud of his spiritual and intellectual wife, his accomplished eldest daughter, his manly and strongly individualistic sons, and his two youngest daughters, to whom he carefully and completely outlines his ideas, listening with intent thoughtfulness to their criticisms and suggestions; with a genius for stripping ideas and customs of all conventionalities, complexities and extraneousities and presenting them in their pure, attractive simplicity; possessed by a tremendous *urge* that makes itself felt by all with whom he comes in contact; able with serenity to continue on the course he has laid out regardless alike of praise or blame; able with complacency to insist upon the recognition of what he regards as fundamentals, though he sees those who differ from him, even warm personal friends, detach themselves from his organization—this, in part, is Benjamin Fay Mills, as I see and regard him.



HENRY HILL MILLS,  
26 Years

As a husband and father his relationships (as they seem to one who often has been admitted to the sanctities of his home) are felicitously ideal. Father and children all alike bow to the spiritual discernment of the wife and mother—the queen of one of the most united and happy households ever framed; and no wife was ever more worthy to be regarded as the intellectual helpmate of her husband than is Mrs. Mills. She has aided materially in her husband's work both as philosopher, spiritual seer, teacher, preacher and adviser. By pen and voice, in the pulpit as chief minister of the Los Angeles Fellowship, in the class-room as teacher of Emerson, elucidator of the high ethics of the great teachers of the world's past history, and, above all, by the exercise of her own rarest gifts of poet and prophet, she has inspired the creedless but living and characterful movement. His sons are engaged in active work that is aggressively reformatory in character, his oldest son,



CHARLES HOWARD MILLS,

23 Years



ETHELWYN MILLS,

24 Years.

Thornton Anthony, being pastor of an independent church composed of some of the best elements of the community in Rockford, Illinois; his second son developing remarkable ability as a philosopher and thinker; and his third son having charge of the Children's Playgrounds of Los Angeles, California. His oldest daughter is his secretary and able assistant, competent alike to conduct a class of thoughtful students or address a public meeting. Thus united, they work harmoniously to the same great end, and, as a family, materially increase the potency of their individual influence.

In addition to this personal and family labor, Mr. Mills has associated with himself certain other indefatigable reformers in the publication of a monthly magazine entitled *Fellowship*. His co-editors are Mrs. Mills, Edward Everett Hale, Elbert Hubbard, Reginald J. Campbell, Ben B. Lindsey, Bolton Hall, Elizabeth Towne, J. H. Kellogg, M.D., George Wharton





FAITH MILLS,  
17 Years.

James, Ng Poon Chew, Edwin W. Woodcock, William E. Smythe, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Hiram W. Thomas, D.D., N. O. Nelson, Algernon S. Crapey, Brand Whitlock, Charles Ferguson, Clarence S. Darrow, Charles Zueblin, Sheldon Leavitt, M.D., Henry Frank, Carl D. Thompson, Clara Bewick Colby, Herbert S. Bigelow, Edwin Markham, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Though but a small magazine, *Fellowship* is already a potent force for good in the country and beyond the seas. It is filled with the dynamics of ethical thought, simply expressed, and each month goes forth fresh-charged to stimulate men and women to a simpler, purer, higher and more practical spiritual life. It is about to be enlarged and developed in every way.

The catholicity of Mr. Mills' thought can well be understood from the catholicity of his associations. He was intimately friendly with such noble souls as Ernest Howard Crosby, "Golden Rule"

Jones, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and others of the "advance guard" who have gone on ahead. He fraternizes with Edward Everett Hale, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Henry Frank, Joaquin Miller, Edwin Markham, Elbert Hubbard, Elizabeth Towne, as well as scores of ministers of all denominations. His mind, his soul, his life, his teachings are essentially democratic. Like Christ, his mission is especially directed to the "common people." He teaches no new doctrine, and no startling truths fall from his lips. His words are simplicity itself, as are the ideas he seeks to impress. And yet he is introducing a new order of things. It is new because of its simplicity, its freedom from tradition, complexity and formalism. He seeks to clarify and simplify religious thought and conception, and demands of his auditors that they put their professions into living, active, personal deeds.

Did it require no moral courage to break away from the old and take up the burden of the new? This man was not only a reader but a student of the world's history. He knew that the advance guard of any movement for humanity was likely to be stoned and crucified by that very humanity he sought to uplift and bless. Yet did he hesitate or falter? Did he quail or shrink or fear? If so, even his most intimate friends have never known it. Fame, adulation, honor, friendships, luxuries, success—all that most men hold dear, he relentlessly cast aside, and cheerfully and buoyantly took up the tremendous burden of adjusting his life to the new demands of his thought. This, in itself, is a test of the highest mental and spiritual powers of a man—to acknowledge that one's former beliefs and teachings are inadequate to one's present needs, to deliberately, for conscience's sake, sever one's sweet, pleasant and profitable relations with a religious communion or body and go out—as it were—into the cold, followed by the misunderstandings, the heartaches, the regrets, the censures, the wilful perversions and misrepresentations, the ostracisms that invariably accompany such a

course. It is too well known to need formal statement, that the persecution of the narrow religionist is of all persecution the most relentless and vindictive; and, while there are thousands both in the Presbyterian and similar orthodox churches who are too broad-minded and generous-hearted to countenance or justify such a course, it cannot be denied that from the narrow and bigoted class Mr. Mills has been the object of active ostracism, wilful perversion of truth and malign misrepresentation.

From being the flattered and fêted, the honored and admired, the petted and imitated, he became the reprobated and shunned, the rejected and despised, the hated and vilified. Purses that had been freely extended or opened, were now withdrawn or closed. The poverty pinch was felt. But Benjamin Fay Mills and his united family had counted the cost—they had foreseen the inevitable, and with sturdy hearts had prepared themselves for it. Like Paul, they despise the cross, glory in their shame and count all things earthly and worldly as nothing when compared with the blessedness of teaching the rich, sweet, pure life of the spirit.

And what is it that Mr. Mills is now teaching? With his clear, logical and organized brain it would be impossible for him long to teach or preach without a clear basis for everything. This he found long ago in the simple declaration upon which all his preaching has hitherto been based since he left the folds of the church. It is embodied in the Fellowship motto, "What is the loving thing to do?"

Now, however, the idea has grown into a formal but elastic declaration of Fellowship principles, and I cannot do better than let Mr. Mills, in this regard, be his own spokesman. He says:

"The Fellowship was born of the Spirit, through the enthusiastic association of several hundred men and women in Los Angeles, as a result of the ministry of Benjamin Fay Mills and Mary Russell Mills, in February, 1905. This original society has become a powerful organiza-



MARY RUSSELL MILLS,

14 Years.

tion, with great and far-reaching activities, and the inspiration of its work has caused the formation of other societies in other cities, and the demand for the extension of the organized movement in many individuals and communities has now become irresistible.

"So far this vigorous movement has manifested practically all the virtues and few of the shortcomings of the present-day religious organizations. It is profoundly religious in the highest sense, but expresses what Marcus Aurelius called 'Religion without superstition.'

"The hour has now come for the organization of The Greater Fellowship.

"By the inner voice in the hearts of the founders, by the enthusiastic and unanimous action of the mother Fellowship of Los Angeles, now entering on the fifth year of prosperity, by the demand from individuals and groups of individuals in various portions of America, and by the great need everywhere for this sanc, com-



BENJAMIN FAY MILLS,  
When he began to preach.

prehensive, inspiring, universal form of religion which 'makes all skepticism absurd,' this action has become a joyous necessity.

"The Greater Fellowship will be a temporary form of organization of a broad missionary character, until such time as the state and national and international Fellowships may be widely organized. It will not be long before there are several local societies in several states which will naturally form themselves into state organizations."

The following is the full declaration of the Fellowship Principles, in the preparation and formation of which Mrs. Mills has had fully as large a share as her husband:

"'Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and the lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them. . . . Therefore, I bid you not dwell in hell, but in heaven . . . upon earth, which is a part of heaven and forsooth no foul part.'—WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Motto: *What is the Loving Thing to Do?*

- "I. THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS. The Reign of Law, Evolution, the Unity of Substance as standing ground for the cultivation of trust and confidence and unselfishness.
- "II. THE PHILOSOPHY. The One Life. 'There is but One, and that One is everywhere.'
- "III. THE PSYCHOLOGY. The Spiritual or Intelligent Constitution of the Universe coupled with the Infinitude of the Private Man.
- "IV. THE RULE OF LIFE. Absolute Trust as the Fixed Attitude of the Mind and Perfect Love as the Unvarying Practice of the Life.
- "V. THE GOSPEL. The Results.
  1. Individual: Knowledge, Wisdom, Character, Serenity, Joy and Power.
  2. Social: The Dawn of the New Spiritual Era.
- "VI. THE SOCIAL PROGRAM:
  1. Individual Consecration to the general welfare.
  2. The Practice of patient and persistent Unselfishness in domestic life.
  3. Education as the development of Character, through the appeal to the soul.
  4. Social Equality.
  5. Loving Ministry to the Unfortunate.
  6. The Making and Administering of Civil and Criminal Law on the Fraternal Basis.
  7. The Abolition of Institutionalized Immorality, such as the Saloon and all forms of gambling.
  8. The Equitable Use of Land and Natural Resources, for the Benefit of All the People.
  9. Economic Coöperation.
  10. Political Democracy.
  11. International Arbitration and Mutual Service. The cultivation of a world-wide peace by peaceful methods.
  12. Inter-racial Brotherhood.
  13. Universal Sympathy, including the animals.
  14. The Expression of Beauty. 'Work without art is drudgery.'
- "VII. THE DYNAMIC. Ye shall receive Power after that this Holy Spirit is come upon you.

"ALL WITH

"THE CONSTRUCTIVE  
METHOD.

"THE FORWARD LOOK.

"'Not to destroy, but to fulfil.'"

"'We are with to-day as against yesterday, and with to-morrow as against to-day.'"

Upon this broad platform Mr. and Mrs. Mills have flung themselves out into the ocean of conflicting thought of life, and have become the heralds of a new and happier day to many. They are the first ministers of The Greater Fellowship. Already Fellowships are established in

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Portland (Oregon), Cincinnati and Milwaukee, and a number of independent, and even liberal orthodox churches throughout the land are considering the question of joining The Greater Fellowship.

It should not be assumed, however, that this “Declaration” is in any sense of the word a Creed, or an authoritative statement that every member of the Fellowship must subscribe to. There is but one condition, and that is that one seeks to live the loving—the love-full—life, and the banding together is for the encouragement of trustful and unselfish living. It is not to seek a heaven of the hereafter, it is not to seek salvation by any theological system, or by giving strict atten-

tion to certain acts called devotions, or religious observances. It leaves its members absolutely free to do as they individually choose in these respects. All it requires and seeks to cultivate is this habit of complete and absolute Trust in the Great All we call God; an actual living in the *knowledge* that “all things work together for good to those who love God”; that it is, indeed, the highest wisdom to “be careful—full of care—for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication make our requests known unto God,” with the fullest assurance that if we do so, “our hearts and minds shall be kept in the peace of God which passeth all understanding.”

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

*Pasadena, California.*

## “THE THIRD DEGREE”: A MODERN PLAY ILLUSTRATING THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE DRAMA.

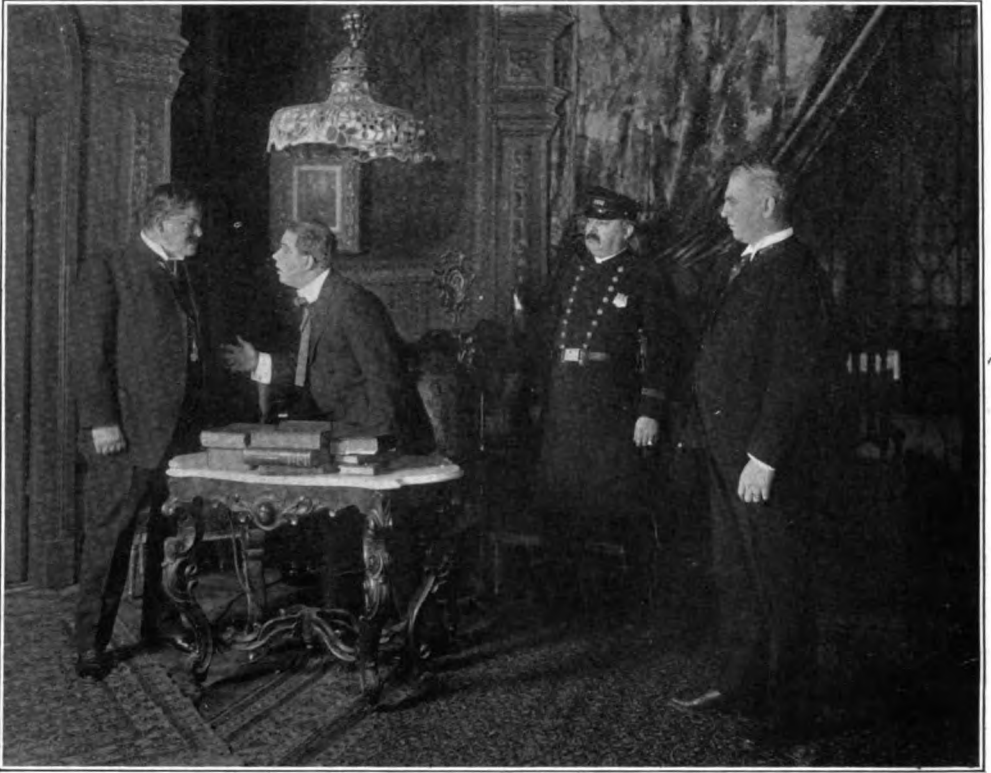
BY B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

ON EVERY hand the signs are multiplying which indicate that the night of slothful indifference is passing—the night in which the materialism of the market, cynical pessimism and lust for gain shouldered out of place and power the ideals that made the Republic in her younger days the wonder and glory of civilization. A humanitarian renaissance is at our door. The church is awakening; social and economic writers and leading educators, together with master spirits among our ablest philosophical leaders, are lifting again the torch of idealism and speaking for justice, freedom and fraternity.

But nowhere is this awakening more strikingly apparent than in a department of art and letters where it would be least expected—the drama. Never in the his-

tory of the stage have there been produced in the same length of time so many successful plays that have been instinct with moral idealism or the advancing spirit of altruism which is the soul of the new movement to carry forward and upward civilization, as during the past decade. Among the many serious-minded artists who are doing noble work in the field of dramatic creation, a few names deserve special mention. Last month we noted the significant work of Charles Rann Kennedy in “The Servant in the House.” But perhaps the American playwright who is preëminent in this exalted labor of making dramatic art the handmaid of progress is Mr. Charles Klein, and it is a notable fact that the three most successful of Mr. Klein’s plays deal with the needs of the hour in relation to the baleful influences to which we have just referred as being so active at the present time.



ACT I.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

II.

In "The Music Master" Mr. Klein has shown in a most impressive manner the power of optimism and the beauty of self-sacrifice which blooms in richest profusion where moral idealism abounds.

In "The Lion and the Mouse" we have a vivid picture showing how the money-madness that dominates the modern materialistic commercial feudalism of privileged wealth shrivels up the soul of man while polluting the fountains of business and political life, and how the solvent of love—that high, exalted, selfless love that suffers long and is kind—is potentially greater than the iron will of incarnate greed. It is a picture in miniature of the battle between materialistic commercialism and moral idealism; between the lust of power and gold and of self-desire, and the pure love that is the light of the world.

In "The Third Degree" we have a striking picture of the abuses practiced by the machinery of law and order on the one hand, and the sensational press on the other, against the accused—the modern inquisition and the public assassins of character. In the old days, when authority strove to make the accused confess his alleged crimes or his knowledge of the commission of wrong-doing, the brutal minions of power resorted to torture of the physical body, and times without number the wretched innocents, after suffering to the limit of human endurance, confessed to crimes they never committed or dreamed of committing; and the representatives of power triumphantly pointed to the false confessions as justification for their crimes against the accused.

To-day a more subtle but no less iniquitous method of procedure has been coming more and more into vogue with

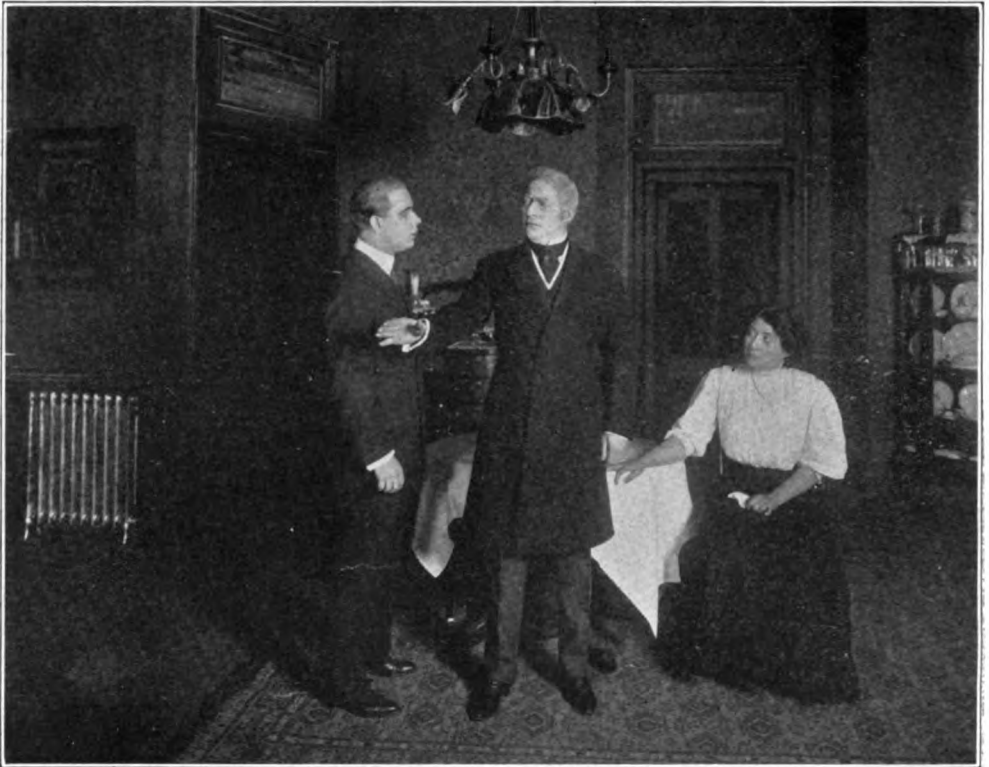


ACT II.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

the rise of the reactionary materialistic feudalism of privileged wealth. The new method in effect breaks down the mental integrity of the accused, and not unfrequently, when the criminal is confused and mentally exhausted or in a thoroughly negative condition, he becomes the victim of suggestion from minds more positive and determined than his own, so that he confesses to things that may be entirely foreign to the facts involved.

The influence of the law of suggestion is coming to be more and more clearly recognized by thinking people everywhere, and well-authenticated experiments have shed a world of light on many things that hitherto were shrouded in mystery. The inexplicable phenomenon of one accused of crime confessing, when after-disclosures showed that he did not nor could not have committed the offense, is no longer a riddle to the psychologist who under-

stands that the victim was long under the influence of a moral bully who believed him guilty and was determined that he should confess. Such confessions are the result of the breaking down of the mental integrity of the accused, who becomes for the time being the victim of the officer's own suggestions and as irresponsible as were the victims of the Inquisition whose confessions were extorted in the manner above described. This truth is vividly brought out in Mr. Klein's play. Another fact scarcely less prominent and equally important with which the play deals, is the power for evil exerted by a morally irresponsible sensational press that puts the idea of success or a golden harvest for the counting-rooms through advertisements and sales of papers, before all other considerations; a press governed by the money lust no less than are the supposed eminently respectable journals



ACT IV.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

Lawrence Eddinger, Edmund Breese and Helen Ware.

which pose as conservative but which are owned and controlled by privileged wealth and edited in the interests of the commercial feudalism. The sensational press derives its revenue largely from the reading public which craves excitement and seizes with avidity upon highly imaginative descriptions of crimes, scandals and lurid pictures of the life or doings of certain members of society, especially those suspected of wrong-doing. In many instances the editors of these papers seem to be morally insane. No regard for the right of the individual or the question of the truth or falsity of the scandal or slander promulgated affects them in the least. They sow broadcast lies that destroy reputations and blast the lives of persons who may be entirely innocent. They are assassins of character; and when a public official, such as a prosecut-

ing officer or police captain with a lust for notoriety assists them, the accused are not unfrequently tried and convicted in the public mind before they have had the opportunity of a hearing in a court of law.

This grave evil is also impressively exposed by Mr. Klein in "The Third Degree."

### III.

Before attempting to outline the play, a brief glance at some of the principal characters will help us to intelligently follow the dramatic story here unfolded.

Howard Jeffries, Jr., is the son of an ultra-aristocratic and exclusive New York millionaire whose pride of family name is almost a mania. The young man, on the other hand, has democratic tendencies, and when at Yale he fell in love with a handsome waitress who was somewhat

his senior, and happened to be a young woman of great strength of character, though lacking in intellectual education. Howard married the girl instead of ruining her, and for this departure from the too common course among the youths of high society life is disinherited by the elder Jeffries, after the young man has refused to desert his wife. Unfortunately, Howard Jeffries, Jr., like so many young men of today in our hot-house college educational institutions, has received no valuable industrial or business training and is therefore almost as helpless as an infant when he fares forth to earn a living wage. After numerous failures he takes to drink.

The elder Jeffries is the least convincing of all the characters of the play. His unrelenting hostility to his daughter-in-law is understandable, but the way in which he long seeks to prevent his own lawyer from defending his boy, whom he believes to be guilty of murder, rather taxes the credulity of even the average uncritical theatergoer. He is represented as a stern, hard, obstinate man who is far more concerned with having society think well of him than with saving his son from the electric chair.

Annie Jeffries, wife of the accused

young man, is the strong character of the drama. Her father had been a pool-room king who because he refused to pay the tribute the police demanded, and which they were accustomed to levy on those who evaded the laws, was arrested



ACT IV.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

Helen Ware and Lawrence Eddinger.

and railroaded to prison, where he died when Annie was eight years of age. From her ninth year she had earned her own livelihood and maintained her moral integrity.

Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr., is a society woman who at one time was engaged to



be married to Robert Underwood, but finding that he was unworthy, she broke the engagement and later married the elder Jeffries, thereby securing a coveted position in the most exclusive and wealthy circles of New York life. She for a time aids Underwood in his business ventures by influencing her friends to secure their art treasures through him. Finding, however, that he is acting dishonestly, she notifies him that she will withhold her favor and that she will no longer recognize him as an acquaintance.

Robert Underwood at the opening of the play is a man at bay, who, facing exposure for dishonesty, and a felon's cell, is meditating suicide.

Richard Brewster is the strong male character of the play. He is a lawyer of the old school, a man of moral idealism and a lover of justice, in spite of years of service in the employment of such men as the elder Jeffries.

Captain Clinton and his aid, Detective Sergeant Maloney, admirably embody the modern reactionary spirit in our police department, since the genius of Russia has encroached on the old ideals of democracy.

Dr. Bernstein represents the present-day scientific physician whose research has led him to realize something of the little understood laws of psychology.

#### IV.

Turning from this brief characterization of the principal actors in the play, we now follow the thread of the drama.

The curtain rises on Robert Underwood in his magnificent Fifth-avenue art studio. He is warned that unless he can make full accounting of property belonging to a leading firm for whom he has been acting as agent, he will be exposed and punished on the following day. But one chance is open to him, and that is aid through his one-time affianced, Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr. He has written her a letter threatening to commit suicide if she refuses to see him. Underwood bears all the evidences of a man about to com-

mit some desperate deed. The atmosphere of the play is tense and oppressive to the audience through the suggestion of tragedy conveyed by the subtle realism of the playwright.

The strain is relieved by the entrance of young Howard Jeffries who comes to borrow two thousand dollars from Underwood. The two had been classmates at college, and Jeffries had there accommodated his friend when he was in need. Now Howard is facing starvation with his young wife. He has failed in attempts to earn a living and as a manual laborer. It is quickly discernible that he is under the influence of drink, and almost immediately after entering the studio he addresses himself sedulously to the decanter of whiskey which stands on a large table, while he rambles on describing his condition.

HOWARD—Underwood, I'm an outcast, a pariah, a derelict in the ocean of life, as one of my highly-respectable uncles wrote me—and his grandfather was an iron-puddler. Ha! Does n't it make you sick? I'm no good because I married the girl. If I'd ruined her life, I'd still be a respectable member of the family. [Pours out whiskey.]

UNDERWOOD—No, Howard, you would n't make a respectable member of any family.

HOWARD—P'r'aps not.

UNDERWOOD—How does Annie take her social ostracism?

HOWARD—Like a brick—thoroughbred—all to the good.

UNDERWOOD—I'm sorry I ever introduced you to her. I never thought you'd make such a fool of yourself as to marry—

HOWARD—Do n't know whether I made a fool of myself or not. She's got the makings of a great woman; very crude, but still, the makings. The only thing I object to is, she insists on going back to work. Just as if I'd permit such a thing! . . . If you let me have that two thousand—

[Lays back on sofa.]

UNDERWOOD—I have n't got it. I'm in debt up to my eyes.

[Howard looks around.]

HOWARD—What's all—all this? Bluff?

UNDERWOOD—A bluff, that's it. Not a picture, not a vase, not a stick belongs to me. You'll have to go to your father.

HOWARD—No! No!

UNDERWOOD—He'll relent.

HOWARD—Too much brains. Too much up here—too little down here [indicates heart]. Once get an idea, never lets it go—holds on—obstinate.

During an extended conversation young Jeffries continues to drink and finally lapses into a drunken stupor. At this point the bell rings and Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr., is announced. Underwood vainly tries to arouse Howard and get him into an adjoining room, but finding it impossible to awaken him, he hastily draws a screen around his couch just before Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., enters.

The lady roundly denounces Underwood for his cowardice and threat, but begs him to promise her he will not commit suicide. He demands her renewed friendship and influence as the price, and she indignantly refuses and leaves, after which the audience from the play of Underwood's countenance and his actions, clearly discerns that he is resolved on death rather than the cell of a criminal. He draws the curtains, puts out the lights, locks the door, enters the adjoining room, and a moment later a pistol shot is heard, and the heavy thud of a body falling on the floor closes the scene.

When the curtain again rises it discloses the same scene. Several hours, however, have elapsed, and the dialogue reveals the fact that the police have been attracted by the shot. They attempted to enter the room, when they discovered Howard Jeffries, Jr., trying to get out. He had awakened, found himself in the dark, and after groping his way to the door was confronted by the minions of the law. The police naturally consider him guilty of the murder and set to work to settle the case

before the accused can have the opportunity to secure aid or set up a defense.

As the curtain rises, Howard Jeffries, Jr., is discovered facing the audience. On one side of him stands the brutal police captain, Clinton; on the other, Detective Sergeant Maloney; while a third officer is farther up the stage. The following dialogue splendidly exposes police abuses that have become rank in New York, Chicago and other American cities in recent years.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You did it, and you know you did.

HOWARD—No, I—

DETECTIVE—Of course he did.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—These persistent denials are useless. The evidence is here.

HOWARD—I—

[Shakes his head helplessly.]

I'm so upset. Good God! What's the use of questioning me and questioning me? I know nothing of this.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Why did you come here?

HOWARD—I told you. We're old friends. I came to borrow money. He owed me a few dollars when we were at college together, and I tried to get it. I've told you so many times. My brain is tired. Please let me go. My wife will be waiting up, and—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—How much did you try to borrow?

HOWARD—A thousand—two thousand—I forget. I think one thousand.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Did he say he'd lend you the money?

HOWARD—No, he could n't. He—poor chap, he—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He refused—that led to words—there was a quarrel, and you shot him.

HOWARD—No! No!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He was found on the floor, dead, in that room. You were trying to get out of the house without being seen. You pretend you'd been drinking and—

HOWARD—I was asleep on the sofa. I

just woke up. It was dark, and I went out; I wanted to get home. My wife is waiting up——

DETECTIVE—A likely story!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—The motive is clear. He came for money, was refused; there was a quarrel and he did the trick. Howard Jeffries, you shot Robert Underwood and you shot him with this pistol.

[Holds up pistol. Light shines on it so that it attracts the eye. Howard looks at it. His eyes are riveted on it until his face assumes a vacant stare. Scientifically this accomplishes the act of hypnotism; he comes under the influence of the will directing his will. He is now completely receptive.]

You committed this crime, Howard Jeffries.

[Howard Jeffries gazes at him with a fixed expression.]

DETECTIVE—It's a clear case, Captain.

CAPTAIN—It's as clear as daylight.

[Looks at Howard.]

You did it, Jeffries. Come, own up! Let's have the truth. You shot Robert Underwood with this revolver. You did it and you can't deny it. Speak!

HOWARD (As if repeating a lesson)—I did it.

[Detective Maloney signals to take notes. Maloney goes back of Howard.]

DETECTIVE CLINTON—You shot Robert Underwood.

HOWARD (Repeats)—I shot Robert Underwood.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You quarrelled.

HOWARD—We quarrelled.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You came here for money.

HOWARD—I came here for money.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He refused to give it to you?

HOWARD—He refused to give it to me.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—There was a quarrel.

HOWARD—There was a quarrel.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You followed him into that room.

HOWARD—Followed him into that room

CAPTAIN CLINTON—And shot him.

HOWARD—And shot him.

[Enter Dr. Bernstein.]

BERNSTEIN—Well, I—there is n't much smoke. Must have been pretty close range.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It's all right, Doctor, we've got him to rights. [To Howard.] That's all.

[Howard sinks into chair; his head drops as if he were falling asleep. Captain Clinton looks at watch.]

By George, it's taken five hours to get it out of him.

[Detective pulls up blind, showing red glow of sunrise.]

BERNSTEIN—Not at all sure, Captain Clinton, that Underwood did not do this himself.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, I am. This man has just confessed.

BERNSTEIN—Confessed, eh? [Looks closely at Howard; sees that he is asleep.]

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Confessed, in the presence of three witnesses. Eh, Sergeant?

[To officer] You heard him, too, did you, Delaney?

OFFICER—Yes, Captain.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It took us five hours to get him to own up.

BERNSTEIN—Five hours—yes, that's your method, Captain.

[Looks at Howard, shakes his head.]

I do n't believe in these all-night examinations and third-degree mental-torture processes. When a man is nervous and frightened his brain gets so benumbed at the end of two or three hours' questioning on the same subject, he's liable to say anything or even believe anything. Of course, you know, Captain, that after a certain time the law of suggestion commences to operate and——

CAPTAIN CLINTON [To detective.]—The law of suggestion!

[Laughs.]

You know, Doctor, them theories may make a hit with college students and amateur professors, but they do n't go with

me. You can't make a man say yes when he wants to say no.

BERNSTEIN—You can make him say anything or believe anything or do anything, if he is unable to resist your will.

CAPTAIN CLINTON (Laughs)—Ah! what's the use? We've got him all right. I tell you, Doctor, no newspaper can tell me that my precinct ain't cleaned up. My record is a hundred convictions to one acquittal. I catch 'em with the goods when I go after 'em.

BERNSTEIN—I know your reputation, Captain—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I'm after results; none of them Psyche themes for mine.

After extorting the confession through hypnotic suggestion, the bully who as captain disgraces the police force, tries to implicate the wife, and even attempts by lying suggestions to get her to admit that she was the woman who called on Underwood. The elevator boy, who refuses to identify her as the night caller, says the name sounded like Jeffries, and with this to work on the police captain and the yellow press construct a fairy story showing how young Howard Jeffries, finding his wife calling on Underwood, was fired by jealousy and shot him. The wife is slandered and traduced in every possible manner, so as to destroy the value of her evidence as a witness and thus strengthen the position of the police in the case.

The elder Jeffries, who comes to the studio when he first hears that his son has been arrested, after learning that the boy has confessed, refuses to do anything whatever toward his defense. In vain the young wife pleads with her father-in-law. He only bitterly denounces her, and ends by washing his hands of the whole affair. Later he forbids Richard Brewster, his attorney, from taking the case. Annie Jeffries is therefore left alone, moneyless and friendless, in her battle to save the life of her husband, while the yellow press, aided by the department of so-called justice, is hounding her like a pack of wolves.

Act II. takes place in the law offices of Richard Brewster. Every day Annie

Jeffries comes to the office of the great lawyer and pleads with him to take her husband's case. She does this largely for the purpose of letting the public believe that Howard's father's lawyer is defending the accused. The elder Jeffries and his wife visit the lawyer, and the former sharply rebukes him for allowing the young woman to come to his office. But Brewster replies that he cannot prevent her coming; all he can do is to respect Mr. Jeffries' wish and refuse to take the case. Mrs. Jeffries remains after her husband departs and arranges with Brewster to have an interview with Annie after the lawyer has seen her. The interview following constitutes one of the strongest scenes in the play. In it the young wife pleads with all the power of a strong character who is ready to make any sacrifice to save the man she loves, and brings to bear every artifice of a naturally resourceful brain. She taunts the lawyer with his moral cowardice and his placing his financial interests above the young man's life. She drives home the fact that the great lawyer is afraid of his rich client.

BREWSTER (Annoyed)—And you think I'm afraid of him?

ANNIE—I'm sure of it. You liked my husband, and you'd just love to rush in and fight for him. His father thinks he is guilty, and—well, you do n't like to disobey him. It's very natural. He's an influential man, is a personal friend of the President, and all that. You know on which side your bread is buttered, and—oh! it's very natural—you're looking out for your own interests and—

BREWSTER (Nettled)—Circumstances are against Howard. His father judges him guilty from his own confession. It's the conclusion I'm compelled to come to myself. Now, how do you propose to change that conclusion?

BREWSTER—Sit down a moment. I want to ask you a question. How do you account for Howard's confessing to the shooting?

ANNIE—I do n't account for it. He

says he did n't confess. I do n't believe he did.

BREWSTER—But three witnesses—

ANNIE—Yes—policemen!

BREWSTER—That makes no difference. He made a confession and signed—

ANNIE—Against his will. I mean, he did n't know what he was doing at the time. I've had a talk with the physician who was called in—Dr. Bernstein. He says that Captain Clinton is a hypnotist, that he can compel people to say what he wants them to say. Well, Howard, he's what they call a subject—they told him he did it until he believed he did. [Looks at Brewster. He is tapping a table, apparently paying no attention.] Oh, well— [Rises.]

BREWSTER—Do n't go— [Thoughtfully.] Who told you he was a subject?

ANNIE—Dr. Bernstein—and he told me so himself. A friend of his at college used to make him cut all sorts of capers.

BREWSTER—A friend at college? Do you remember his name?

ANNIE—Howard knows it.

BREWSTER—Um! [Writes on pad.] I'd like to see Dr. Bernstein.

ANNIE—I have his address.

BREWSTER—Write it down there. [She writes.] So you think I'm afraid of Mr. Jeffries, do you?

ANNIE—Oh, no! Not really afraid—just—scared. I did n't mean—

BREWSTER—Oh, yes, you did. And I want you to understand that I'm not afraid of any man. As to allowing my personal interests to interfere with my duty—

ANNIE—Oh! I did n't say that, did I?

BREWSTER—You said I knew on which side my bread was buttered.

ANNIE—Did I?

BREWSTER—You say a great many things, Mrs. Jeffries. Of course, I realize how deeply you feel, and I make excuses for you. But I'm not afraid. Please understand that—afraid—

ANNIE—Of course not. If you were you would n't even see me, let alone talk to me—and—and— [Points to paper.]

BREWSTER—And what?

ANNIE—And—and—take the names and addresses of witnesses for the defense—and—think up how you're going to help Howard—and—and all that.

BREWSTER [Looks at her and laughs]—So you think I'm going to help Howard? [Annie nods.]

You take too much for granted.

ANNIE—You're not afraid to help him. I know that. You just said so.

BREWSTER—And you're quite right. I'm going to take up the case.

Later Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., returns and engages in conversation with Annie.

MRS. JEFFRIES (Anxiously)—The papers say there was a quarrel about you; that you and Mr. Underwood were too—too friendly. They implied that Howard was jealous. Is this true?

ANNIE—It's all talk—scandal—lies—not a word of truth in it. Howard never had a jealous thought of me; and as for me, why, I worshipped the ground he walked on. Did n't he sacrifice everything for me? Did n't he give you and his father up? Did n't he marry me? Did n't he try to educate and make a lady of me? My God! Do you suppose I'd give a man like that cause for jealousy? What do you think I am? What do the papers care? They print things that cut into a woman's heart, without giving it a thought, without knowing or caring whether it's true or not—as long as it interests and amuses their readers. You—you do n't believe I'm the cause of his misfortune, do you?

MRS. JEFFRIES—No, I do n't, Annie. Believe me, I do n't.

Mrs. Jeffries then confesses that she visited Underwood on the night of the murder. She promises to meet her daughter-in-law at Mr. Brewster's house that night and bring the letter she received from Underwood, which led to her visiting the studio. She, however, urged Annie not to disclose who it is who is to make the confession at present. Later Annie promises Brewster that in the evening, at his house, she will produce the woman who visited Underwood on the fatal night.

This brings us to Act III., which occurs in the magnificent drawing-room of the great lawyer. It is in this act that Mr. Klein elaborates the great moral question that gives special ethical significance to the drama. Here the extortion of confessions by means of the modern inquisitorial method known as the “third degree” is not only emphasized, but the way in which the accused is robbed of the opportunity for a fair trial by the department of justice, acting with the sensational press, is most effectively presented.

Mr. Brewster has requested Dr. Bernstein, Captain Clinton and Mr. Howard Jeffries, Sr., to be present, as important revelations are to be made, including conclusive evidence as to who was the mysterious woman who visited Underwood on the night of his death. As the curtain rises Dr. Bernstein is conversing with the lawyer.

BERNSTEIN—I am only too happy to do anything in my power to assist you in this matter. I feel exactly as you do. I’ve read the boy’s confession and I give you my professional word, it’s absurd and contradictory. It reads like the involuntary elaboration of a suggestion put into his mind. It is a contradictory mixture of improbable and psychologically impossible occurrences.

After the entrance of the elder Jeffries, Captain Clinton and Detective Sergeant Maloney, a spirited interview takes place between Brewster and Clinton. The latter is impatient of any one questioning his methods, and when Brewster informs him that though he does not wish to use the Captain’s methods, by spreading throughout the press facts and revelations he has secured which would damage the officer’s reputation, he does propose to raise the question of the truth of the confession obtained from young Jeffries.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Are we going over all that? What’s the use? A confession is a confession, and that settles it. I suppose the Doctor has been working his pet theory off on you, and it’s beginning to sprout.

BREWSTER—Yes, it’s beginning to sprout, Captain.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Say, Mr. Brewster, you’re a great constitutional lawyer—the greatest in this country, and I take off my hat to you; but I do n’t think criminal law is in your line.

BREWSTER—Well, I do n’t think it’s constitutional to take a man’s mind away from him and substitute your own, Captain Clinton.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—What do you mean?

BREWSTER—I mean that instead of bringing out of this man his own true thoughts of innocence, you have forced into his consciousness your own false thoughts of his guilt.

Captain Clinton begins to bluster and intimates that he may not answer the questions which the lawyer proposes to ask; whereupon Brewster informs him that if he refuses he will use the Captain’s own weapons—the press.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Mr. Brewster, I do n’t like the insinuation.

BREWSTER—I do n’t insinuate, Captain Clinton—I accuse you of giving an untruthful version of this matter to two sensational newspapers in this city, and these two papers have tried this young man in their columns and found him guilty, thus prejudicing the whole community against him before he comes to trial. In no other country in the civilized world would this be tolerated but in a country overburdened with freedom.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—The early bird catches the worm. They asked me for information, and got it.

BREWSTER—You have so prejudiced the community against him that there is scarcely a man who does n’t believe him guilty. If this matter ever comes to trial, how can we pick an unprejudiced jury? And added to this foul injustice, you have branded this young man’s wife with every stigma that can be put on womanhood. You have hinted that she is the mysterious female who visited Underwood on that

night of the shooting, and openly suggested that she is the probable cause of the crime.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, it's just as likely.

BREWSTER—You have besmirched her character with stories of scandal. You have linked her name with that of Underwood. The whole country rings with falsities about her—and in my opinion, Captain Clinton, your direct object is to destroy the value of any evidence she may give in her husband's favor.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Why, I have n't said a word. [Turns to Maloney.] Have I?

BREWSTER—But these sensation-mongers have, and you are the only source from which they could obtain the information.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—But what do I gain?

BREWSTER—Advertisement, promotion. These same papers speak of you as the greatest living chief, the greatest public official. Oh, you know the political value of this sort of thing as well as I do.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I can't help what they say about me.

BREWSTER—They might add that you are also the richest, but I won't go into that.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I do n't like all this, Mr. Brewster. 'T ain't fair—I ain't on trial— [Looks around at Maloney.]

BREWSTER—No.

[Pause. Busy with papers.]

Captain, in the case of the People against Creedon, after plying him with questions for six hours you obtained a confession from him.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes, he told me he set the place on fire.

BREWSTER—Exactly. But it afterwards developed that he was never near the place—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, he told me

BREWSTER—Yes, he told you—but it turned out he was mistaken.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—In the case of the People against Bentley—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—That was Bentley's own fault. I did n't ask him—he owned up himself—you were there, Maloney.

BREWSTER—But you believed him guilty.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—You thought him guilty, and after a five-hour session you impressed this thought on his mind and he—he confessed.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I did n't impress anything. I just simply—

BREWSTER—You just simply convinced him that he was guilty, though as it turned out he was in prison at the time he was supposed to have committed the burglary.

CAPTAIN CLINTON (Sullenly)—It was n't burglary.

BREWSTER [Busy with papers.]—You're quite right, Captain—my mistake—it was homicide. But—it was an untrue confession.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—It was the same thing in the Callahan case; in the case of the People against Tuthill, and Cosgrove. Tuthill confessed and died in prison, and Cosgrove afterwards acknowledged that he and not Tuthill was the guilty man.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, mistakes sometimes happen.

BREWSTER—That is precisely the point-of-view we take in this matter. Now, Captain, in the present case, on the night of the confession, did you show young Mr. Jeffries the pistol with which he was supposed to have shot Robert Underwood?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes, I think I did—did n't I, Maloney?

BREWSTER—Your word is sufficient. Did you hold it up?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I did.

BREWSTER—Do you know if there was a light shining on it?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Do n't know; there might have been.

BREWSTER [To Dr. Bernstein]—Were there electric-lights on the wall?

BERNSTEIN—Yes.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—What difference does that make?

BREWSTER—Quite a little. The barrel of the revolver was bright, shining steel. [Captain nods.]

From the moment that Howard Jeffries' eye rested on the shining steel barrel of that revolver, he was no longer a conscious personality. As he himself said to his wife, "They said I did it, and I knew I did n't; but after I looked at that shining pistol I do n't know what I said or did—everything became a blur and a blank." Now, I may tell you, Captain, that this condition fits in every detail the clinical experiences of nerve specialists and the medical experiences of the psychologists. After five hours' constant cross-questioning while in a semi-dazed condition, you impressed on him your own ideas, you suggested to him what he should say, you extracted from him, not the thoughts that were in his own consciousness, but those that were in yours. Is that the scientific fact, Doctor?

BERNSTEIN—Yes, the optical captivation of Howard Jeffries' attention makes the whole case complete and clear to the physician.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Optical captivation is good! [Laughs. Turns to Maloney.] What do you think of it, Maloney?

MALONEY—[Laughs.] Fine!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It's a new one, eh?

BREWSTER—It's a very old one, Captain Clinton, but it's new to us. We're barely on the threshold of the discovery. It certainly explains these other cases, does n't it?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I do n't know that it does—I do n't acknowledge.

BREWSTER—Captain Clinton, whether you acknowledge it or not, I can prove that you obtained these confessions by means of hypnotic suggestion, and that it is a greater crime against society than any that the state punishes or pays you to prevent.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—[Laughs.] I guess the boys up at Albany can deal with that question.

BREWSTER—The boys up at Albany know as little about the laws of psychology as you do. This matter will be dealt with at Washington.

Captain Clinton has announced that he has come prepared to arrest and hold as a state witness the woman Mr. Brewster has promised to produce, who visited Underwood. This declaration is made in the presence of Annie Jeffries, who has arrived in advance of her mother-in-law. The elder Jeffries and Captain Clinton scout the idea that any one but Annie visited Underwood. The elder Jeffries later withdraws, and when Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., is announced, Annie insists on seeing her alone. In the interview which follows the young wife tells her mother-in-law that she will be arrested on leaving the house, and the elder woman becomes almost hysterical, declaring that she cannot face the disgrace. She has, however, given to Annie the letter written by Underwood, and the latter refuses to give it back, in spite of Mrs. Jeffries' pleadings. Annie is greatly moved by the distress of the elder woman and evinces a disposition to freely take the brunt of the revelation if it can be done. She feels that her character has already been ruined by Captain Clinton and the sensational press. After Captain Clinton and Brewster reënter, the letter which Underwood wrote is handed to the police captain. He sees that it is addressed to Mrs. Jeffries, and immediately concludes that his surmises have been correct and that Annie is the woman in question. The latter, to screen her mother-in-law, does not deny the charge and is taken to the police headquarters. Brewster, seeing that the envelope was addressed to the elder Mrs. Jeffries, attempts to prevent his client from perjuring herself. He arrives at police headquarters, however, too late, as Annie has already made affidavit.

Act IV. transpires one month later. The curtain rises on a little flat occupied by young Jeffries and his wife. The accused has been released, but his health is shattered, and the elder Jeffries has invited him to cross the Atlantic for a



three-months' trip, urging that the change will restore him to health. Dr. Bernstein has been won over and advocates the proposed trip. As the elder Jeffries has not relented in his hostility toward Annie, she suspects that his purpose is to alienate her husband. As a matter of fact, the elder Jeffries has already arranged to have divorce proceedings commenced as soon as Howard is on the ocean, using the confession of Annie as to her visit to Underwood as the basis for charges. The elder Mrs. Jeffries and Brewster, however, at this juncture interpose, and there is a complete reconciliation between the young husband and wife.

Like "The Lion and the Mouse," as a

drama of present-day life "The Third Degree" instantly rivets the attention and holds the interest of the audience from the opening lines. The action is swift, there are many strong dramatic situations, and a constant appeal to the sympathies of the audience. Indeed, the play has practically all the elements which make for popular dramatic success. But for the thoughtful student of life, its great value lies in its uncovering of evil conditions. It is an admirable companion to "The Lion and the Mouse," a play written with a high moral purpose, which cannot fail to make for social righteousness.

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## ITALIAN FREEDOM AND THE POETS.

BY PROFESSOR LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH, PH.D.

**F**OR OVER two thousand years Italy has been, in one way or another, a directing and controlling force in the history of the world, a never-ceasing influence in the hearts and minds of men. From her queen city on the Tiber the pale, high-browed Cæsar went forth to conquer, and on her blood-soaked soil Hannibal fought for years in a vain endeavor to check her all-embracing power. Through her awful Alpine passes marched the stern battalions of Napoleon, and on her sacred altar-stones knelt the mighty Charlemagne to receive the imperial crown. Almost since the birth of historic time poets have longed for her, and artists have painted her skies, her mountains, her rivers. No other land under all the blue of heaven is so full of storied memories. She is alike of the past and of the present. Twenty-five hundred years ago her heroes were making history that serves to-day as inspiration for the noblest of us, and only yesterday, as it were, Garibaldi flashed a new patriotism of the old heroic mould,

dauntless, unselfish, death-defying, before the world.

Italy has been almost the world's epitome, holding in herself man's highest virtues, entertaining, if not fostering, his blackest crimes. Over the Alps that stand like grim sentinels to guard her beauty have flowed warlike hosts from every part of Europe; and for all her neighbors she has been at various times a spoil. Even Africa sent the Vandals to sack her cities, while but recently her sons were slaughtered in Abyssinia; and yet she preserves herself, her spirit unconquered.

Long ago in that beautiful Italian city on the Arno, Florence, the love of beauty blossomed into the perfect flower almost as wonderfully as in other days at Athens; and suddenly the world awakened to a new learning, its heart throbbled with new desires and new aspirations, and its thought circled about a new meaning in life. The battle-cursed, sin-debauched, priest-ridden earth suddenly put its

powers and its purposes to a new and a nobler use, and the inspiration had come from Italy.

There are dark things to be told of Italy; the Bridge of Sighs and judicial murders more than one knows of at Venice, the bandit's midnight assault in Calabria, and the sudden and silent leap of the dagger and stiletto everywhere. "*Ich habe geliebt und gelebt*" might well be her sad boast. She has lived and loved, and loved and hated, and she has done both intensely. There is reason, too, for such loving and such hating in something more than her warm skies and the quickly-stirred passions of southern hearts. The Romans, when Italy was Rome, were masters of the world, and the proud eagles of Rome spoke to the German on the Rhine, to the Persian in Syria, and to the wild Numidian horsemen of Upper Africa of the imperial might and majesty of the wonderful city.

Let it be said again that there has been more than the warmth of southern skies to account for her loves and her hates. She has been robbed by Goth and Vandal; she has been trodden under foot by Frank and German, and she has felt the bitterness of a supremacy that there was no one to acknowledge. What more could be needed to make every hate an avenging one, a thing to be dreamed of and died for, even to be loved and cherished.

In the year of Christ's nativity the greatest of Roman emperors, Augustus, saw Italy the mistress of the world at the very summit of her power. All the earth sent tribute to her, and in her pantheon all the gods of the visible world were worshiped, save one. Five hundred years later the long line of Roman emperors had gone out in dishonor. Constantine had taken the capital of the Roman world to the shores of the Bosphorus, and there was left her now only an ecclesiastical headship, as yet but nominal and barely flushed with promise. Three hundred years more and the great Charlemagne had come and pressed upon his barbarian

brows the iron crown of the Lombards. Less than four hundred years later Rienzi, sending through the imperial city the cry that men should be free and men once more, had roused his countrymen to an outburst of popular enthusiasm and then fallen a victim to his own desire for the people's good. At about the same time Petrarch and Boccaccio and Dante gave Italy a new and glorious literature, while at Florence the grim monk Savonarola preached the destruction of hypocrisy and all unrighteousness. After another four hundred years another French conqueror came with desecrating foot to send her art treasures home to his capital, to feed his soldiers upon the spoil of her children, to drench her blood-stained soil anew with the life-tide of strangers fighting for a cause not hers. Such in brief is the history of Italy until we come to the new Italy of our day; first the world's master and then for a thousand years, not a nation, but a mass of warring states and cities, each jealous of the other, and each in turn the victim of foreign tyranny. She fell from her place of power when Europe was convulsed with the great migrations, and again shame drooped over her eyes when Napoleon's armies made her fields a desolation.

The end of the Napoleonic struggle was, however, the darkness before the dawn. When the great master-spirit of modern Europe was at last safely imprisoned at St. Helena, Italy was a divided country. In the south there was the kingdom of the two Sicilies with its capital at Naples. The territory north of that was ruled from Rome by the Pope. North of that still there was the duchy of Tuscany, while to the northeast Venetia and Lombardy were held under the iron heel of Austria as far as the Po. To the northwest, Piedmont and Sardinia owed allegiance to the house of Savoy. This was in 1815, and then it was that Austria, Russia and Prussia bound themselves together by the terms of the Holy Alliance. The adjective is theirs, for it was called the Holy Alliance merely that the world

might not know its unholy purposes. Ostensibly they were to govern their actions as states by the precepts of the gospel, but as part of those precepts they included the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Never, perhaps, since the foundation of the world had there been such a ferment in the minds of men. In the wake of the French Revolution there had come the growth of revolutionary principles throughout Europe, and everywhere rulers not of the people's choice saw before them the day of doom. Liberty, freedom, equality were words that meant something now, and in every corner of Europe there was in waiting souls the hope that they might mean more.

As yet, however, the destinies of the world were in the hands of her old masters, and they knew the thing that threatened too well not to make preparations for the coming storm. They bound themselves together by a Holy Alliance so that, wherever the new revolutionary spirit had a hope for man, they might the better crush it. They pledged themselves to govern their territories in accordance with the precepts of the gospel, and forgot, or did not care to know, that those precepts are merely the law of love and the doctrine of the common brotherhood of man.

Into the policy of European states there entered now a new principle in seeming, but it was new in appearance only. The principle of non-intervention, the declaration that one state should not concern itself with the internal affairs of another, formed a large part of the talk in diplomatic and court circles throughout Europe; but every government was ready to plunder its neighbor, should a fitting opportunity appear. At the head of the forces working for the continued enslavement of man was Prince Metternich, who for long years under the Emperor Francis directed the policy of Austria. In one of his despatches he wrote: "The Emperor will never admit the principle of non-intervention in the face of the persistent

activity of the revolutionary propaganda. His Imperial Majesty recognizes it not only as his right, but also his duty, to lend every lawful authority attacked by the common enemy every kind of assistance which circumstances may permit him to employ." Under cover of such a declaration as this, Austria sent her troops to maintain a tyrant on the throne of Naples. In accordance with the needs of despotism, she let it be known that her soldiers were ready to fight the battles of constituted authority, right or wrong, almost everywhere. For her nearest neighbor she had Italy, divided and subdivided, ruled by the cruel hands of masters pitiless in their littleness, misruled by hosts of lesser masters, or not ruled at all; left, rather, to open violence and despair. Indeed, Italy was not Austria's neighbor merely, she was actually become Austria in part, and at the head of the blue Adriatic, Austria had her garrisons, while the proud land of Cæsar and Cicero and Vergil bowed once more with the shame of a slave.

The picture of Italy so dismembered, so abject, so debased, is full of the irony of fate. Even the gladiators who of old fought for the pleasure of Rome's haughty senators might well have wept at the sight of their conqueror so low.

So sunken, fallen so low, Italy still had patriots. There are patriots in every land when the need of patriotism makes it both a duty and a danger. There were, however, not so many patriots as there should have been, because to be known as an active patriot was to be exiled or executed, and many chose exile. It was not the first time that men had not been permitted to live in their country for loving her too well.

In 1834 Mazzini founded the society of "Young Italy," and, having tried to induce Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, to ally himself with its movement for the unification of Italy, had been rebuffed and was now trying to stir up insurrection against the Piedmont king wherever possible. In one of these

attempts, the ill-fated affair of St. Julien, Garibaldi was interested, and after the miserable outcome he found his name in the list of those condemned to death. Garibaldi had grown to manhood with the thought of Italy's old-time grandeur ever before him. In him almost without teaching had developed the belief that man must be free, and to this conviction there added the impulses of a nature warm and generous to excess. He had already been made a Carbonaro by a sailor on the shore of the Black Sea, and his life was pledged to Italy. Italy, however, could no longer be his home.

Never was there a life more full of stirring incident and romantic adventure than that of Garibaldi. Never was there a heart less mindful of self, readier to give up time, money, life for the good of others. Now, since the hope for Italy was vain, he shifted as a sailor for Rio Janeiro. Here he joined in a revolutionary enterprise against the Emperor of Brazil. Once he was shot in the neck and left to recover in prison. Again he was hung up for two hours by ropes tied around his wrists, and was finally taken down only because it was clear that he could not be induced to betray his associates. Escaping again, he fought on and on, by sea and land, rejoicing in battle wherever it seemed to be for the rights of man and against the power of rulers. It was in this warfare in South America, when the tide of battle seemed to be rising against him, that he met his wife. One day he saw Anita washing clothes by the river side, and his heart knew its mate at once. She was dark—possessed of singular grace and perfect physique; and her heart was as high and daring as his own. She loved war and bravery as he loved it, and in a sea fight taking place soon after their marriage she pointed the first gun. There was, indeed, an unfortunate circumstance in their relations in that she had a husband already, but by every law of nature they were meant for each other, and so they sailed away on their honeymoon of war. "It is a pity," said Garibaldi,

"that two such hearts so united as ours should be the cause of sorrow to some poor, innocent man."

While Garibaldi was away in South America things were shaping themselves for something more decisive in Italy. The secret society of the Carbonari, pretending to trace its origin to a remote date, had spread itself all over the land. One by one patriots had suffered death or been driven into exile. Mazzini was in London, no longer able to find a home in France near the land he loved. A decree of the Austrian government had declared that any one knowing of the existence of a lodge of the Carbonari or of an individual member of such a lodge without reporting it could be punished by imprisonment. One case of the punishment meted out to those who dared hope for a reunited Italy may suffice for all. Count Confalonierri was of noble birth, an aristocrat of the finest type, a leader in Lombardy. In 1821 he had founded an organization whose members took this oath: "I swear to God, and on my honor, to exert myself to the utmost of my power, and even at the sacrifice of my life, to redeem Italy from foreign dominion." Though warned to flee from Italy by a friendly Austrian official, he could not bring himself to leave his country, and he was put under arrest by the Austrian government. He was tried and condemned to death simply for being a patriot. The Countess Confalonierri hurried to Vienna to intercede with the Emperor for her husband. He seemed immovable, and she hurried back to Milan to have a last interview with the Count before he should be executed. The Empress, however, moved by the entreaties and despair of Teresa Confalonierri, had made unceasing efforts to incline the Emperor to clemency, and at last her prayers prevailed. Confalonierri was to be spared, but the sentence of death against him was to be commuted to one of life imprisonment.

Spielburg was the Austrian prison for political offenders, the prison of Silvio Pellico, and its horrors were such as would

disgrace a nation sunk as low in the scale of civilization as the Turkey of our day. Maroncelli, one of the first Italian prisoners confined there, contracted a disease of the leg from his sufferings, and a surgical operation became necessary; but this could not be performed until consent had been obtained from Vienna. The unfortunate political prisoner confined at Spielberg had to suffer continually from hunger and the diseases that follow in its wake. At Vienna, on his way to Spielberg, Confalonierri was treated as a guest of honor. He was given luxurious apartments where servants waited upon him and sumptuous repasts were set before him. It was not clear to him why he should be so used until one evening Prince Metternich came to see him. Then for three hours he was compelled to endure every persuasion and seduction that Metternich could offer to get him to reveal the secrets that were supposed to be reposed with him. "Confalonierri need never go to Spielberg," said Prince Metternich to him. "Let him think of his family, of his adored wife, of his own talents, of his own career, on the brink of being blotted out as completely as if he were dead."

The Italian patriots of those stern days were not men to betray their fellows, and Confalonierri was immovable. He went with high-hearted courage to the living grave made for those who had hopes for Italian freedom and had tried to make those hopes more than a dream.

A little after this an attempted uprising had failed in Naples, and those who were seriously implicated in it were to be shot. A woman went to the King to plead for the lives of her two grandsons, Diego and Emilio. The King told her that he would spare whichever one of the two she should choose. She begged to have the choice left to chance or some one else, but he insisted that she must choose or both of them would be shot. She chose Diego, and afterward went mad, crying in her ravings: "I have killed Emilio; I have killed Emilio!"

France made declaration of the princi-

ple of non-intervention not long after this, and asserted that she would see that it was carried out. The hearts of Italian patriots everywhere were stirred with a new hope, for if France should insist rigorously upon the fulfilment of that intention, it would be a death-blow to Austrian supremacy in Italy. Neither King Francis at Naples nor any other tyrant of the Peninsula could thereafter enforce brutality by the force of Austrian arms. The exiles were the first to be fired by the new hope, and an exulting cry of gladness was borne from them to the listening ears of their fellow-patriots in Italy. Gabriel Rossetti, exiled in London, sent home an ode of rejoicing summons, writing by the cradle of that son who should grow to manhood and find Italy still the "weeping, desolate mother." What wonder that the boy wrote afterward, when he became one of England's honored poets:

"Another later thing comes back to me.  
 'T was in those hardest, foulest days of all,  
 When still from his shut palace, sitting clean  
 Above the splash of blood, old Metternich,  
 (May his soul die, and never-dying worms  
 Feast on its pain forever :) used to thin  
 His year's doomed hundreds daintily, each month  
 Thirties and fifties. This time, as I think,  
 'T was when his thrift forbade the poor to take  
 That evil, brackish salt which the dry rocks  
 Keep all through winter when the sea draws in."

What man with the blood of Italy coursing through his veins, even though as the younger Rossetti he had never lived in that fair land of story, what man filled with the sense of brotherhood to a people so trodden under foot as the Italians, could fail to feel within him the fire of a new purpose, the burning of a new shame, the resolve of a new avenging fury to sweep the earth of its wrongs at whatever cost? What wonder that every Italian hates Metternich, remembering,

"Those hardest, foulest days of all"?

The poets have always been in advance of their fellows in their outreaching sympathy for men, their forward vision into the golden promise of the world's future, their hope for a larger life for humanity. They have sung always the songs of free-

peoples and of those who strike the blow for freedom, and they have refused in every age to glorify the tyrant and his cause. Browning in his "Lost Leader" tells of a brother poet who fails in his loyalty to the cause of man, one for whom the temptations offered by the earth's mighty ones have proved too much.

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat—  
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,  
Lost all the others she lets us devote;

"Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,  
Burns, Shelley, were with us—they watch from  
their graves:  
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,  
He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves."

This recreant, be it said, is only one out of many, and Burns and Shelley are not alone in watching from their graves. Every high and pure-voiced son of song has his eyes bent upon the growing hope of man, and upon no chapter of earth's struggle for a purer law and a surer justice have the glowing eyes of the poets been turned more earnestly than upon this one chapter of the struggle for Italian freedom. It is the animating spirit of Shelley's "Ode to Naples," and to an Italian patriot it was chiefly due that Byron put a spark of nobleness into the last hours of a ruined life and, devoting it to the cause of Greek freedom, died better than he had lived at Missolonghi. It was not his fate, however, to live quite up to the time of the real struggle in Italy. His "Ode on Venice" glows with no noble enthusiasm for a nation welded into one body by the fires of patriotism. It rather looks back to the old glory, and by its light is made to feel the bitter helplessness of the present.

"Glory and Empire! Once upon these towers  
With Freedom—godlike Triad! how ye sate!  
The league of mightiest nations, in those hours  
When Venice was an envy, might abate,  
But did not quench her spirit—in her fate  
All were enwrapped: the feasted monarchs knew  
And loved their hostess, nor could learn to hate,  
Although they humbled—with the kingly few  
The many felt, for from all days and climes  
She was the voyager's worship!—even her crimes  
Were of the softer order—born of love."

Wordsworth, having nearly reached his three-score years and ten, found a new theme for his verse in the misery of Italy and in her regenerate nobleness.

"Fair land, thee all men greet with joy, how few  
Whose souls take pride in freedom, virtue, fame,  
Part from thee without pity dyed in shame."

Such were his feelings for her in 1837, and again at a little later date, when another attempted uprising at Bologna had failed, as so many before had failed, he wrote:

"Ah, why deceive ourselves! By no mere fit  
Of sudden passion roused shall man attain  
True freedom where for ages they have lain  
Bound in a dark, abominable pit,  
With life's best sinews more and more unknot.  
Here, there, a banded few who loathe the chain  
May rise to break it; effort worse than vain.  
For thee, O great Italian nation, split  
Into these jarring factions—let thy scope  
Be one fixed mind for all; thy rights approve  
To thine own conscience gradually renewed:  
Learn to make Time the father of wise Hope;  
Then trust thy cause to the arm of Fortitude,  
The light of Knowledge and the warmth of Love."

But of all the poets who have written of Italy none other has written of her so lovingly, so sympathetically, with so warm a glow of enthusiasm as Mrs. Browning. In the highest sense she is not a great poet. Her poetry lacks somewhere that strength and breadth of vision that we demand of the masters, but it has all of a woman's subtle insight and fine feeling. Nowhere is this shown with more power and perfectness than in that long list of poems in which she pours forth her passion for the cause of Italy. If she were known only by these poems, it might well be fancied that she was an Italian woman, for the Italian women were patriots no less than Italian men. There is the story told of the young wife of Captain Silvestro Castiglioni of Modena. "Giulio, do your duty as a citizen," she said when he left her to join in an insurrection. "Do not betray it for me, as perhaps it would make me love you less." The insurrection failed and he was taken prisoner, but she shared his imprisonment with him. Finally he was set free, but it was too late to free her. She died from the hardships endured.

Such patriotism and nobleness as this is the theme of Mrs. Browning's poem, "Parting Lovers." It is a story that has been told in other lands perhaps, doubtless very, very often; but no other land than Italy could have shown such an intensity of womanly devotion.

"I love thee, love thee, Giulio;  
Some call me cold, and some demure;  
And if thou hast ever guessed that so  
I loved thee—well, the proof was poor,  
And no one could be sure.

"But now that Italy invokes  
Her young men to go forth and chase  
The foe or perish—nothing chokes  
My voice, or drives me from the place.  
I look thee in the face.

"I love thee; it is understood,  
Confest; I do not shrink or start.  
No blushes: all my body's blood  
Has gone to greaten this poor heart  
That loving, we may part.

"Our Italy invokes the youth  
To die, if need be. Still, there 's room,  
Though earth is strained with dead in truth;  
Since twice the lilies were in bloom  
They have not grugged a tomb.

"Dear God! when Italy is one,  
Complete, content from bound to bound,  
Suppose for my share earth's undone  
By one grave in 't!—as one small wound  
Will kill a man, 't is found.

"What then? If love's delight must end,  
At least we 'll clear its truth from flaws.  
I love thee, love thee, sweetest friend:  
Now take my sweetest without pause,  
And help the nation's cause.

"And thus of noble Italy  
We 'll both be worthy: let her show  
The future how we made her free,  
Not sparing life . . . nor Giulio,  
Nor this—this heartbreak! Go."

It was long years that Italy wept and was desolate, but in the closing week of April, 1859, events began to move on more swiftly. Count Cavour had secured the alliance of the Emperor of the French, Louis Napoleon, and had then forced Austria to declare war. That was a great day for Italy when once more a great French army came down to her sunny plains from the Alps, not now to conquer her, but to help her and give her to herself, as Napoleon said. Garibaldi was back from South America. Italian armies

sprang into being on Italian soil. He had only 3,500 men and the title of Major-General, but he was everywhere at once. Ten thousand men were sent against him, but the hero of the red shirt scattered them with his little band.

While he was doing this, the main army of the French and Piedmontese was going on from victory to victory. They drove the Austrians back from Palestro; they forced them to withdraw from the field of Magenta; and at last conquered them magnificently in the decisive battle of Solferino.

The battle of Solferino has a romantic place in history. The scene of the engagement was a beautiful one, the mountains on the one side rising tier on tier in the distance, and on the other the vine-clad hills touched with the beauty of an Italian summer and flushed with the warmth of an Italian sky. Beyond them rolled the blue waves of the Lake of Garda, and away to the south Italy waited with hushed breath for the outcome. A legend of the time tells that in the early morning before daybreak, as the French cavalry advanced to the attack at Solferino, they saw a huge and gaunt hussar by the roadside. The figure went from sight for a moment and then reappeared in front of them, dealing the officer heading the party of Frenchmen a tremendous blow. As he fell from his horse, the daring Austrian vanished in the darkness, while the volley of the French troopers that followed him rang through the dawn stillness with the first sounds of battle. All day long the conflict raged. Up the rugged Solferino heights the French soldiers made their way with a bravery such as the old Imperial guard had shown nearly half a century before at Waterloo. The streets of Solferino were piled with their dead, and once it even seemed that all that life-blood might have been poured out in vain. When the battle was well-nigh won, a terrific storm, driving great clouds of dust before it, came down upon the shattered host of the Austrians and sent them rolling back in defeat.

Then came the peace of Villa Franca and the treaty of Zürich, by which Sardinia lost Nice and Savoy and gained considerable territory in Central Italy. It was a long step toward Italian unity, but there was much yet to be done. In 1860, Garibaldi advanced on Sicily with a thousand followers, and after succeeding there crossed over and took possession of Naples. Then, when he had carried the enterprise through safely, King Victor Emanuel took up his cause, and now so much territory was added to his crown that Garibaldi greeted him King of Italy. The old hero himself went back to his rocky island of Caprera, a poorer man than before, and yet unwilling to accept the honors and rewards offered him. This was the period of Ancona and Gaeta, made memorable forever by Mrs. Browning's beautifully touching "Mother and Poet."

"Dead! One of them shot by the sea in the east,  
And one of them shot in the west by the sea.  
Dead! Both my boys! When you sit at the feast,  
And are wanting a great song for Italy free,  
Let none look at me.

"To teach them—It stings there: I made them,  
indeed,  
Speak plain the word country. I taught them,  
no doubt,  
That a country's a thing men should die for at need  
I prated of liberty, rights, and about  
The tyrant cast out.

"And when their eyes flashed . . . O my beautiful  
eyes!  
I exulted; nay, let them go forth at the wheels  
Of the guns, and denied not. But then the surprise  
When one sits quite alone. Then one weeps,  
then one kneels.  
God, how the house feels!

"Then was triumph at Turin: 'Ancona was free':  
And some one came out of the cheers in the street,  
With a face pale as stone to say something to me.  
I fell down at his feet,  
While they cheered in the street.

"When Venice and Rome keep their new jubilee;  
When your flag takes all heaven for its white,  
green and red;  
When you have your country from mountain to sea;  
When King Victor has Italy's crown on his head,  
(And I have my dead)—

"What then? Do not mock me. Ah, ring your  
bells low,  
And burn your lights faintly! My country is  
there

Above the star pricked by the last peak of snow:  
My Italy's there, with my brave civic pair  
To enfranchise despair!"

At last Italy was an Italy to which the exiles might gladly go back again, and Robert Browning's "Italian in England" might satisfy his longings, except that now it would be too late to,

"Grasp Metternich until  
I felt his red, wet throat distil  
In blood through these two hands."

It is in this fashion that the exile begins his story:

"That second time they hunted me  
From hill to plain, from shore to sea,  
And Austria hounding far and wide  
Her bloodhounds through the country side,  
Breathed hot and instant on my trace—  
I made six days a hiding-place  
Of that dry green old aqueduct,  
Where Charles and I, when boys, have plucked  
The fireflies from the roof above,  
Bright-creeping through the moss they love."

When the story is told he muses:

"How very long since I have thought  
Concerning—much less wished for—ought  
Beside the good of Italy,  
For which I live and mean to die!"

It cannot all be quoted, and only the poem itself, written as it is at Browning's best, can make one feel the loneliness of those whose hearts were not in the land of their enforced adoption, but far away in Italy,

"In that dear lost land  
Over the sea the thousand miles."

There were but two more episodes in the unification of Italy, the war for Venice and the war for Rome. Strangely enough the Emperor Napoleon took Venice out of the hands of the stranger, and naturally enough Garibaldi led in the attack on Rome. He had always been an enemy of ecclesiasticism, and no one could be more ready than he to establish even royal power in the place of the papal hierarchy. Garibaldi, the hero of the red shirt, must always be the popular idol; but with his name the historian must couple those of Cavour and Mazzini. Of the latter Swinburne could say in his lines "On the Monument Erected to Mazzini at Genoa":



"Italia, mother of the sons of men,  
 Mother divine,  
 Of all that served thee best with sword or pen,  
 All sons of thine,

"Thou knowest that the likeness of the best  
 Before thee stands;  
 The head most high, the heart found faithfulest,  
 The purest hands.

. . . . .  
*Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.*

"Glory be his forever, while this land  
 Lives and is free,  
 As with controlling breath and sovereign hand  
 He bade her be.

"Earth shows to heaven the names by thousands told  
 That crown her fame;  
 But highest of all that earth and heaven behold,  
 Mazzini's name."

LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH.

## RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION NOT CONFISCATORY.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

CONTRARY to the prevailing opinion, the nationalization of our railroads would work no hardship to owners of railroad stocks and bonds. All talk about confiscation of railroad properties, whether it be indulged in by anarchistic fanatics, or by frenzied financiers, is both hysterical and absurd. So far as I have been able to discover, there never has been a case on record in any part of the world where a government on purchasing a railroad from private individuals or from a corporation has paid less for it than it was worth. On the contrary, a number of instances are on record where the governments have given not only more than the roads purchased were worth, but more than they legally were required to give.

It may be just as well to state at once that, from the standpoint of the public, the weakest spot in state railroad financing has always been found to be in connection with the original purchase of railroads by the government. In practically every instance, government officials have taken exaggerated pains not to allow themselves to override the just claims of the railroads by any arbitrary exercise of the political powers of the state. Sometimes from the highest motives, and sometimes from less commendable ones, governments often have been found to err on

the other side, by giving the companies the advantage of every doubt. An example of this sort of excessive governmental generosity is to be found in the action of the French government in 1848, in connection with the line from Paris to Lyons. In 1847, in order to help the road out of its financial difficulties, the state gave it a new and more favorable charter, together with substantial financial support, and when, in 1848, there was a recurrence of the trouble, the government took over the road, of which the price of stock had fallen from \$50 to only \$7 a share, and magnificently reimbursed the stockholders for all losses, in gilt-edge government bonds.\* That this is by no means an isolated example of this sort of thing in France, is shown by the strikingly similar arrangement made in 1878, when a number of little bankrupt and unfinished lines were bought up by the government at the original cost of construction† and made into the present "state line."

One of the worst recent instances of this form of paternalism gone to seed, is the case of the purchase of the "Grand Central" railroad by the Belgium government in 1897. While the most important and valuable part of this system was pur-

\**Les Chemins de Fer Français*, Grippon La Motte p. 116.

†*Ibid.*, p. 285.

chasable in accordance with the provisions of its charters, certain other comparatively unimportant local lines, having no such provisions in their charters, could only be bought by means of a business agreement.

If the state had stood firmly on its legal prerogatives, and had insisted upon buying the trunk lines of the system according to the provisions in their charters, the company, as every one admitted, would have been forced to sell, for any reasonable price offered, the little branch and local lines, which could not have been run advantageously alone.

The state, while thus it was completely master of the situation, feebly hesitated, quibbled, and finally declared that it did not consider that it would be fair for it to assert its legal rights and take the road at the fair, and even generous, price provided by the provisions of its charter. As a result of this worse than supine attitude of the government, the officials of the road demanded that the entire system be bought on a purely commercial basis, wholly without reference to the purchase provisions of the charters. This the government finally agreed to do, and a purely *commercial* and most unstatesmanlike understanding was arrived at, which allowed the company an exorbitant price for its property.

Among other things, the state capitalized two-thirds of the intercalary interest on the road's current banking surpluses, as well as two-thirds of the premiums in the form of a percentage of its profits, which was allowed the directors as a part of their salary and which, thus, unquestionably was a part—not of the profits of the road—but of its operating expenses. These are only two of the many ways in which the road was permitted to pad its profits account. Moreover, the road made an artificial and exaggerated financial showing, by seeing to it that no money whatever was spent on the installation of life-saving devices, repairs, maintenance of way, or in keeping the rolling stock up to date, except as such expenditures

were imperatively demanded from day to day. The "stitch in time that saves nine" was carefully omitted, and the saving thus made was added to the profits account and later capitalized. But that was not the worst of it. For every dollar gained by the roads from this criminal economy and penuriousness, the state lost tenfold when later, it had to go to an enormous expense for the purpose of putting the road once more in good condition. Moreover, the hours of labor on this road were very long, and the wages of employés were kept down to the starvation point, so that Mr. Vandervelde, the eloquent and scholarly leader of the Belgian Socialist party, was able, in his speech in the Chamber, June 18, 1887, to say truthfully that "the government was capitalizing as profits of the road, money which they had extorted from its underpaid workmen."

#### A COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

The purchase of a railroad by a government is an extremely complicated and difficult affair at best—in fact, it is the most difficult step involved in the inauguration and management of a *régime* of governmental railroads. Moreover, since it is the first step, the one which has to be taken before government officials have had any experience with the management of state railroads, it is of the greatest possible importance that it be preceded by a period of preliminary training in connection with a system of vigorous government regulation, as well as by a campaign of premeditated and carefully planned out preparation for the future purchase and management of the roads by the state. The government officials who are called upon to conduct such a purchase have a double responsibility, that toward the stockholders, and that toward the general public. They are expected to find the happy medium between forcing the road to sell too cheaply and of being forced by it to pay an unreasonably high price. The capital involved is so vast that any slightest alteration, one way or the other,

of the method of determining the value of the roads, involve so many millions of dollars of the people's money that the government which is called upon to conduct the negotiations should not only be honest and able, but should not be called upon to undertake so colossal a task without being given every reasonable opportunity to conduct the necessary preliminary investigations and to work out in detail, with the aid of competent specialists, the necessarily elaborate financial calculations.

However much some of our very best citizens may be opposed on principle to government ownership of railroads, I take it that in case we ever should decide upon a policy of railroad nationalization that there would be and could be no difference of opinion among honest and intelligent men about the advisability of bringing about this great reform in the fairest and most businesslike possible way. Therefore, as it is becoming every day more apparent that our people may, at almost any time, decide to go in for a *régime* of publicly-owned railroads, it is of capital importance that as much light as possible be thrown on the peculiarly knotty problems connected with such a purchase.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE.

While France in the past has been very lavish in its generosity toward railroad companies which were in financial difficulties, or which were afraid, or pretended to be afraid that they were in danger of getting into such difficulties, the French government at least had the foresight and the statesmanship to make a businesslike provision for the future. It is no small matter that between the years 1950 and 1960, by an automatic process of purchase and retirement of their stocks and bonds, all the great railroad lines of the country will revert to the nation free and unincumbered.

The original French plan, which has been described in such detail and even too eulogistically by Mr. Richard Kauf-

man,\* was not to have the state buy the roads on credit and pay for them gradually out of the profits, but to let private industry run them and gradually buy up and cancel, in the name of the state, all outstanding stocks and bonds, so that at the termination of their charters the entire system would revert to the state without money and without price. This beautiful plan, which in some important particulars unfortunately has not worked as well as the Belgian-German-Swiss method of direct state purchase and management, has yet many advantages over our American scheme of having no plan whatever, but of drifting blindly for a half a century, and of still believing credulously in the magical effects of competition, several decades after the rest of the world had come to know that attempted competition in railroad transportation not only is bound to be fabulously expensive, but is certain eventually to end in failure.

#### PRUSSIAN METHODS OF PURCHASE.

The experience of Prussia in preparing for and in carrying out the purchase of its railroads is very instructive. Under the guiding hand of Prince Bismarck, aided by Albert von Maybach, it managed the purchase of the railroads with a degree of fairness to stockholders that approached generosity, and yet with such businesslike skill and energy that the government apparently got full value for the capital invested. In accordance with Section 42 of the law of November 3, 1838, the state had the right, according to the usual continental custom, to repurchase the roads by paying the company the "twenty-five times the average net earnings of the five years immediately preceding the date of purchase."†

But as large amounts of capital had been invested on which no immediate returns were possible, the authorities, believing that the purchase price deter-

\**La Politique Française en Matière de Chemins de Fer.*

†Bureau of Census, Bulletin 21, paper by Professor B. H. Meyer, p. 67.

mined in this way would not be fairly remunerative to the stockholders, decided to forego the exercise of their legal rights and to conduct the purchase by means of friendly negotiations in which every element of real value, such as the legitimate future prospects of the road, would be given due consideration. Boards were appointed by both parties interested to confer, and, if possible, to arrive at a satisfactory understanding. In order to avoid the necessity of carrying out in too great haste such vast and complicated transactions, agreements were entered into by which certain of the companies, in consideration of a fixed revenue, gave the state possession of their roads, together with the right to purchase them at its convenience. The state was to assume the indebtedness of the roads and to pay the stockholders a certain amount per share in money or in government bonds.\* As a result of this understanding very little actual money changed hands, for most of the stockholders were glad enough to take in payment the gilt-edge state bonds, bearing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent. interest, offered.

Of necessity, a variety of methods were utilized in dealing with the various roads, but roughly speaking, the roads were divided into two classes, those which had been paying regular dividends, and those which had not. As a rule, the state offered a price for which stockholders were quite willing to sell. As an illustration of the eminently fair and yet strictly businesslike spirit in which negotiations were conducted, take the case of the purchase of the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railroad.

†“At the second meeting of the joint commission the government representatives, on behalf of the department of public works, offered to make an even exchange for the railway stock of government paper bearing  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. interest. The representatives of the company asked for a dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. At the

\**Etude Compare du Droit de Rachat*, by M. Paul Deligny, p. 38.

†*Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, Professor B. H. Meyer, pp. 68, 69.

third meeting the government raised its offer to a *rente* of 4 per cent. The issue was joined upon this point of a 4 or a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *rente*. In other words, the question was one of net earnings as indicative of the cash value of the railway system. The railway board of directors expressed its willingness to recommend to the stockholders the sale of the property at a *rente* of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but refused to do so on a 4-per-cent. basis. There was no dispute in this stage of the proceedings regarding the amount of the stock and bonds of the company to be exchanged. The only question was that of the rate of return, or dividends.

“It was admitted that the railway had not quite earned the 4 per cent. which the state was willing to give, during the last few years; but there were other considerations which tended to demonstrate an earning capacity in excess of 4 per cent. on the part of the road. Among these considerations, stripping them of their local and detailed applications, were the following:

“(1) The railway is not burdened with obligations to construct additional lines. Authority to issue preferred shares for the only connection still to be constructed has already been granted.

“(2) Most of the holders of the railway shares acquired them as permanent investments and the prospects for increased future profits are good. The present (1879) is a period of depression, and there is every prospect of an increase in traffic and hence, also, of dividends. It may be stated as an economic law, that the volume of railway traffic is continually increasing and that crises like the one from which Germany was suffering at that time can only temporarily interrupt the working out of this law. The Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railway serves a territory which is full of promise for the future. It connects growing trade centers with other leading and growing cities.

“(3) An increase in the passenger traffic must be regarded as certain because of the growing importance of the

suburbs of Berlin, especially Potsdam.

"(4) The rate of dividends paid to stockholders during past years is not the real rate which the company was capable of paying, for the reason that nearly 4,000,000 marks have been paid into a renewal fund. Even during the years of the prevailing crisis, with a falling off in both passenger and freight earnings, payments into the renewal fund have not been suspended. Besides, heavy payments have been made into the amortization fund.

"(5) The potential power of the competition of the lines already acquired by the state in connection with coöperating private lines has been exaggerated. This competition has hitherto resulted in a division of the traffic, and whatever increased losses in traffic the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg Company may suffer in the future will be more than offset by the probable increase in traffic. At any rate, the threatening competition affords no cause for the sale of the property at a price lower than an annual dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

"In the report of the legislative committee appointed to draft a bill for the purchase of the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railway and the Rhenish railway, the following points were put forward as basal in determining the purchase price:

"(1) The amount of money which the company has invested, including specified *fonds perdu*. Figures are given.

"(2) The 'most important factor in valuation' is the *rente* (dividends) which the company has been paying especially during the last few years.

"(3) The probable change in the rate of return or dividends as a result of the purchase of this railway by the state.

"(4) The more favorable rate of interest which the state can command.

"(5) The extent to which the acquisition of the railway in question is necessary for the successful execution of the state program.

"In its treatment of the Rhenish railway the legislative committee states that a mere glance at the map will show that

the 'lines of the Rhenish Railway Company are the most important and valuable' of all the lines which the state ought to acquire. Attention is called to the great international commerce which this railway system commands between Belgium and the Netherlands and the middle and upper Rhine, and from this region with middle and South Germany. The system has connections with the North sea and the lower Weser; with Luxemburg, which is a place of military importance; southward again with the Moselle and Saale, and through these with the federal domains of Alsace-Lorraine. By means of these connections with the German federal railways and the railway of Hesse and Baden, the Rhenish lines have access to the commerce of Switzerland and Italy, etc. In a word, the legislative committee puts into the foreground the valuable traffic connections of this railway system in getting at an estimate of its value. Of course, other considerations like those mentioned above in connection with other systems are not excluded.

"The memorial relating to the repurchase of the Berlin-Stettin Railway is divided into a number of parts, dealing with the matters indicated below:

"Part I. contains a list of the lines operated by the company, the length of these, and the date of opening; and similar facts relating to branch lines upon which the state has guaranteed interest.

"Part II. contains a statement of the original cost of construction (*anlagekapital*) as represented by the authorized issues of common and preferred shares for different parts of the system, classified into seven different issues. In this connection an account is also given of the manner in which net earnings are determined for the different parts of the system, and the method of book-keeping followed under the legal provisions relating to interest guarantees; in addition an itemized statement of the sums advanced by the state in interest guarantees is shown.

"Part III. is devoted to a consideration

of traffic and operating conditions, embracing a statement of the territory served by the railway, leading cities and junction points, traffic connections, chief industries served along the line, proportion of freight and passenger traffic, traffic agreements, operating arrangements with other lines, union stations, etc.

"Part IV. The railway and its price (*kaufobjekt und kaufpreis*): (1) The price of items included in Part I. above and real estate not devoted to operations; (2) the price of the equipment, (3) the company funds, such as reserve and renewal funds, pension, relief and sick funds; in short, a detailed balance sheet.

"Part V. The financial significance of the repurchase to the state. In these rather extended paragraphs the results of the operation of the railway are treated and an estimate made of the probable returns to the state. Branch lines, the nature and extent of competition, harbor facilities and connections, general operating conditions in relation to the general business conditions, train service and operating expenses, financial obligations to other enterprises, the economic ties between main and branch lines, influence of this railway upon existing state lines, and analogous topics are treated with considerable minuteness. A large, detailed analytical table of earnings, expenses and net earnings, the various funds, and surplus is appended.

"Exactly the same method of investigation and procedure was followed in the case of three other lines purchased by the state at the same time."

While in this way the government strove to be scrupulously fair to stockholders, at the same time, in striving to protect the interests of the state it acted with great business prudence, energy and skill. Its aggressive business initiative was well illustrated in the case mentioned by M. Picard,\* in which the government, while negotiating directly with railroad managers, arranged to have large blocks of stock bought secretly for it at the regular

\**Traité des Chemins de Fer*, Vol. I., p. 680.

market price by banking syndicates, which bound themselves in writing not to let any one know for whom this stock was purchased. Moreover, when the market rates for stock seemed to be getting unreasonably high, by means of the official press and newspapers that were friendly to the government, sufficient influence was brought to bear to depress the market and thus keep down to a reasonable level the prices of railroad securities. As another indication of the fairness with which stockholders were treated, we have the interesting fact mentioned by Professor Frank Parsons† that:

"The shares of the railway rose considerably in prospect, owing to the stoppage of destructive competition. For example, a few months before Parliament opened in the fall of 1879, the shares of the Cologne & Munden road were quoted at about par, while in November they stood at about 141. In the same way, the stock of the Rhenish railway rose from 70 odd to over 90."

It is worthy of remark that although in taking over its railroads the single state of Prussia had to obligate itself to the extent of 886,251,970 marks, or approximately \$221,562,992, there was no sensible decline in the value of government bonds.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF SWITZERLAND.

So carefully and so skilfully did the Swiss Confederation make its preparations for the purchase of the railroads that in spite of the democratic and decentralized nature of its government, it succeeded in consummating the transfer on a basis that was at once eminently fair to both railroad stockholders and the tax-paying public. This achievement is all the more creditable because of the fact that while the Prussian purchase in 1879 of nearly all the remaining private railroads, was merely a natural and almost inevitable outcome of a policy that had been begun a number of years before, on the other hand, the Swiss purchase voted in 1898

†*The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, footnote p. 323.

was a new and almost a revolutionary move, as up to this time, all the railroads of the country had remained in the hands of private corporations.

As was the custom in all continental countries, clauses had been incorporated into the original Swiss railroad charters, providing for the repurchase of the roads by the nation at the end of 30, 45, 60, 75, 90 or 99 years. As compensation, the government was required to give the companies, according to the date of purchase, either 25, 22½ or 20 times the average net profits during the preceding ten years, and in no case less than the actual cost of the road. In the event that the repurchase should not be made until the ninety-ninth year, the company was to be reimbursed only to an amount equal to the probable cost of the reproduction of the road at that time. The roads were to be handed over in a thoroughly satisfactory condition, and if found necessary, a sum of money sufficient to put them in such a condition was to be deducted from the purchase price.

Carefully drawn up as these provisions were, however, they did not prove to be entirely satisfactory, and as a consequence in 1872 a new railroad law was passed, giving to the confederation the powers of regulation which the cantons had shown themselves incapable of exercising, and providing in greater detail the method to be employed in determining a purchase price whenever the government might decide to take them over. This law attempted to establish the meaning of the two phrases, "Cost of construction," and "Net profits," which later proved to be such bones of contention.

As the amount of the purchase price of the roads depended largely on what items were to be included under the headings, "Cost of construction" and "Net profits," it will be seen that a proper determination of the meaning of these phrases was all important.

But the new provisions relating to this subject incorporated into the law of 1872 did not, however, settle all the questions

involved, and consequently another law had to be passed in 1883, regulating in even a greater detail the methods of accounting to be employed by the roads. This law provided that only the actual "cost of construction" or acquisition should be considered as assets of the roads. For example, in case one railroad had been purchased by another for less than the original "cost of construction," the government would only be required to pay for it what the road actually cost its last owner. To prevent the roads from forcing the government to make good their losses from foolish or unfortunate expenditures, it was decreed that after a road had been open for traffic, the cost of completion, extension or of additional equipment should not be regarded as assets, except when such expenses had been incurred in the carrying out of needed improvements in the interest of traffic. The cost of maintenance of way, and replacement of worn-out rolling stock, etc., was to be paid out of annual revenues, or out of special funds created for such purposes. And, lastly, any items that had been incorrectly placed in the construction account, or any amounts which, for any reason, were removable from the assets of the balance sheets, were to be replaced from the annual surplus revenues of the roads. All these changes combined involved an elimination of over \$20,000,000 from the construction account.

The question of "cost of construction" had been gone into in great detail in this law, because, on account of the comparatively light traffic of the roads up to this time, they would have found it to their advantage to determine their purchase price on the basis of their original cost. But as traffic became denser, as dividends increased, and as it became evident that the repurchase price would be determined on the basis of past "net earnings," it became necessary for the government in 1896 to enact a second accounting law for the purpose, among other things, of specifying with even greater definiteness, just

what could rightfully be considered as "net earnings."

The railway companies hereafter were to be compelled to submit their accounts to the Bundesrath for examination and approval before even submitting them to the stockholders. Special vouchers relating to "net profits" and the amount of capital stock outstanding were to be provided, and in order to verify them the government was to have access to the books of the company. To avoid confusion as to the charter provisions, accounts and the differing conditions of tracks, and equipment of the different lines, separate itemized statements were to be made by the companies for each line owned by them.

Like the law of 1882, this law also specified a number of items which were to be included or excluded from the construction and operation accounts. For instance, the construction account was not to be burdened with the cost of incorporation, with losses due to fluctuations in the market values of stocks and bonds, or with subsidies to other railway, highway or bridge companies. Finally, the roads were not to be allowed to pay dividends to stockholders until their accounts had received the approval of the government.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these carefully-drawn preparatory laws, when the time arrived to make the purchase the Swiss people were amazed to discover that a number of important questions remained to be dealt with. As a consequence, "the repurchase law of 1897," says Professor B. H. Meyer,\* "was supplemented by resolutions of the Bundesrath, in which the application of the accounting law of 1896 to particular railway properties was specifically indicated. Thus complete formulas were worked out in great detail, covering such terms as cost of construction, renewal fund, net profits, revenues from operation, operating expenses, receipts not to be included in operating revenues, expenses not to be included in operating revenues, expenses not to be

included in operating expenses, and deduction from the repurchase price. But notwithstanding all these detailed legal and administrative provisions concerning the interpretation of the charter provisions and accounting laws, when repurchases were actually undertaken, recourse was had to the Supreme Court of Switzerland, which, in a series of three decisions finally determined the points in dispute and laid down the rules of procedure."

Among the most important decisions handed down by the federal Supreme Court, was one in connection with the Northeastern company, defining the meaning of the term, "Original cost of construction," which showed clearly the attitude taken in this matter by the highest tribunal in the land.

†"In a preliminary discussion," says Professor B. H. Meyer, "the court calls attention to the various meanings of the word 'capital,' and states that both parties are agreed that 'money capital' should be considered in the controversy. In charters granted since 1872 the term 'original cost of construction' was replaced by the expression 'established original cost of construction of the existing arrangements.' The question then is, What norms shall be used in determining a fair equivalent for a fair repurchase. The company contended that original cost of construction, in a wider sense, should include expenses incurred in the emission of shares of stock, in securing loans, and to cover losses from variations in the price of exchange on loans. This the court denied. Regarding the claim of the company that costs of organization should be regarded as a part of the original cost of construction, the court held that this depended entirely upon the particular circumstances. In so far as the expenses of organization found useful application in connection with construction, or in making the completed railway possible, they may be included in an estimate of the cost of construction. More

\**Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, pp. 72, 73.

†*Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, pp. 72, 73.



than that, cost of construction, the court said, must include all sacrifices (*aufwendungen*) which the owner of the railway has made in order to create and perfect the establishment. Hence, interest paid during the period of construction may be included, also, 'the cost of organization, administration, as well as technical and administrative superintendence of construction.' The court then proceeds to show that expenses incurred by the company, in order to liberate itself from burdensome charter provisions, or in order to secure an amendment to its charter, may be included in the cost of construction, in so far as these expenses were incurred in the interest of the railway.

"The court objects to the inclusion in the cost of construction of money expended in railways (*bahnanlagen*) which have been destroyed or abandoned. The company claimed that the established original cost of construction, within the meaning of the law of 1872 meant the cost of construction not only of the existing establishment, but also of the establishments which had preceded the existing one. In other words, the company desired to take into consideration, in a cumulative manner, succeeding epochs in the life of the railway in determining the original cost of its construction. The court denied this cumulative method. Again, the Northeastern company claimed that original costs should include moneys expended in bridges, streets, local railways, subventions, and all *fonds perdu*. The court held that, in deciding this point, the legal ownership of the establishments, such as roads and branch railways, for which moneys had been expended, was not the decisive factor, but rather whether these establishments served in a permanent way the interests of the railway. The situs of the legal right of private property in these subsidiary establishments was held to be immaterial. It was decided that either the railway could receive compensation for these expenditures in an increased repurchase price, or the state should assume responsibility for the sub-

ventions thus made and still to be made under contract in the future. The court denied that the cost of renewals constitutes a part of the original cost of construction, and asserted that renewals should be charged to operating expenses, and that all expenditures for extensions and for material improvements in the existing plant should be charged to capital. In connection with the improvement and strengthening of the superstructure, the court again denied the right of the company to take into consideration the cumulative effect of different epochs in the life of the railway. 'The one method of calculation excludes the other,' said the court. Either the existing establishment must be taken as the basis of the calculations or the establishment which the present one has replaced.

"Among the minor points decided in the matter of the Saint Gothard Railway were the following:

"(1) Gratuities paid to officials and employés with a view of cultivating their good will and zeal, and thus increasing traffic and the efficiency of operation, may be included in operating expenses. These items, it was admitted, were in addition to regular wages and salaries; they were voluntary; they did not rest upon legal obligations nor upon custom of many years' standing; they were not even necessary for the successful operation of the line. Nevertheless, the court held that the fact of these items having been paid was sufficient to warrant their inclusion in operating expenses.

"(2) The railway had established private schools, both primary and intermediate, as well as certain commercial schools, in a number of places, enumerated in the decision. It had erected schoolhouses, engaged teachers, and maintained such schools free of expense. The company realized the necessity of providing educational facilities for the children of German employés in towns where no other schools were available, in order to make the tenure of these employés more permanent and attractive. The expenses

incurred for educational purposes were allowed by the court in determining the amount of the net profits, within the meaning of the charter provisions.

"(3) The railway had maintained provision houses at various stations in which employés could secure the necessaries of life at cost, and have them transferred over the railway to their place of residence free of charge. Provision houses of this kind the court did not consider necessary in the same sense that the establishment of schools was necessary; nevertheless, the items of expense incurred for this purpose by the railway were admitted to the special balance sheet in accordance with which the repurchase price was determined.

"(4) The court denied the right of the company to include in operating expenses, presents and friendly financial aid extended to employés."

During this period, in addition to the immensely important laws above mentioned two minor laws which were of great value to railroad employés were passed. The first, a law enacted December 20, 1878, provided for the establishment of sick funds and pension funds for railroad employés; and the second, enacted June 27, 1890, reduced the hours of labor of railroad employés.

The deliberate and statesmanlike methods of purchase employed by Prussia and Switzerland stand out in glaring contrast not only with the unbusinesslike plan of procedure followed by Belgium, but also with the almost revolutionary impulsiveness with which Italy in 1905 inaugurated her new *régime* of state-managed railroads. This step by Italy, for which practically no preparation had been made, and which necessarily resulted in commercial confusion and industrial complications of all sorts, should serve as a warning to us, as well as to other nations, *not to put off all preparations for such a move until by some popular upheaval of public opinion, suddenly we find ourselves, as the Italian did, with a huge system of government railroads on our hands to be managed as best*

*we are able.* An unintelligent reactionary policy of this sort is sure to be costly if not actually disastrous to the entire commercial and industrial life of a country. The only really conservative policy is to prepare for and to make the best of what is seen to be inevitable.

THE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The United States government, when it undertakes to nationalize its railroads, will find itself confronted with some special problems which European countries have not had to face. In our railroad charters, unfortunately, there have been incorporated no clauses providing for the possibility of a future governmental purchase of the roads. As a result of this oversight, we shall be forced to have recourse to one of three methods—either purchase by means of friendly negotiations, or purchase by the exercise of the right of "eminent domain"—or both. In the case of our recent acquisition of the Panama railroad, the purchase finally was made by means of a regular business bargain. But before that bargain was consummated, the government, in order to force recalcitrant stockholders to sell for a fair price, found it necessary to introduce a bill into Congress which passed the Senate unanimously, and was favorably reported by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House, providing for the condemnation and purchase of the road in accordance with the right of "eminent domain." As the stockholders of the road at this point decided to accept the government's offer for their stock, further action was unnecessary, and the bill was never brought up for final passage in the House.

This miniature purchase by our government has had a very salutary effect. It has cleared our national atmosphere of a number of fallacious arguments against the possible future nationalization of our railroads. First of all, it has established the constitutional right of our government not only to own but to buy railroads. Secondly, it has shown the possibility, and even the advisability, under certain cir-

cumstances, of the utilization by our government of its right of "eminent domain": and thirdly, it is demonstrating at the present time, by the marked improvement which is taking place in the quality and quantity of the railroad service offered, by the important reductions that

are being made in rates, and by the greater initiative shown in every phase of the management of the road, that our government is capable of effective and satisfactory railroad administration.

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## IS MODERN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY A FAILURE?

BY P. GAVAN DUFFY.

**A** STARTLING question? Yes; but one saved from a sensationalism that might otherwise accrue to it by the fact that it is being raised to-day, not by the agnostic or firebrand of the street corner, but by the teachers of religion.

Peile, in his Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1907, sent a thrill through the English ecclesiastical world when he boldly and wisely gave voice to thoughts that were smouldering in many hearts, and in his "Reproach of the Gospel," frankly inquired into what he termed, "the apparent failure of Christianity." And those who are at all familiar with the wording of the recent Lambeth Encyclical, put forth by 243 Anglican bishops from all over the world, cannot fail to mark in their positive statements as to past neglect and present and future duty of the church in social service, a recognition of much that Peile and his school are contending for.

For the purpose of this article, however, we shall restrict ourselves to present-day Christianity in the United States and under the term "Organized Christianity" include all Christian denominations.

This marvelous age, with its awakening consciousness, its many thinkers, its swing—only just begun but to be completed—from materialism to the spiritual, is essentially an age of challenge. Any society—be it religious or secular—that makes an appeal to the public claim on

the ground of its standing for mental, moral or physical improvement, is justly and rightly called upon to make good. And the test that thinking men apply is that bequeathed to humanity by the Divine Master, nineteen hundred years ago, "By their fruits ye shall know them." And because the day of privilege has gone by, or when men are willing to stand for it, all institutions, they insist, must stand or fall by the same rule. Thus the church which hitherto has been exempt, and permitted by the great bulk of humanity to hold an undisputed position as judge and censor of men and things, is being called from the judge's seat to the bar to plead to indictments that are brought against her.

Let it be clearly understood at the outset, that the inquiry to-day is not one that enters into the realm of dogma, but of the products, the practical value and worth of organized Christianity as a factor in the world's progress for good.

Undeniably the religion of Jesus Christ was placed in the world to produce two great effects in its followers. They were to be, "the salt of the earth," and "the light of the world." Quite apart from all dogmatic question and controversy, many devout men, clergy and laity who are to play a large part in the religious life of the future, are asking these questions: Has the salt retained its savor? Is the light shining?

A short while ago the religious world was startled by the suicide of a minister of one of the orthodox denominations. The usual comment was made by religious teachers—the man was a coward! But such an easy dismissal of the tragedy, however much it might have passed in the past, will not do for the twentieth century. The day of platitude has gone by and the trend of enlightened thought in dealing with all sorts of defection is to fix the responsibility before passing sentence and to seek the cause, or causes, that produced the effect. If a man is a tramp, what made him a tramp? Is a man a criminal? Then, why? If a minister is a suicide, what made him suicide? These are the questions we deal with in the twentieth century—causes and not merely effects. We want reality; the world is sick of pharisaism!

In this particular case the unfortunate clergyman left behind him an epistle which was a terrible indictment of modern Christianity. Claiming that he found, after many years of service, that Christianity was emptied of the spirit of Christ and that the only trinity worshiped was money, success and pleasure; feeling that he stood alone (here surely was his mistake) he apparently, in disappointment untold, lost his own faith in the wholesale destruction of his ideal, which he claimed to see around him, and so ended his life.

Perish the shortsightedness that would ignore the indictment and merely pass sentence on the framer of it! For, clearly, if there be any degree of truth in the indictment, there must be a terribly destructive force at work which threatens, if not the physical, that which is more important, the spiritual life of mankind. So the question with many resolves itself into this: Was it merely the man who failed or the system? The tremendous import of the reply to that question is such as to need no pointing out.

“By their fruits ye shall know them”—systems as well as individuals, and none but the blindest partisan looking into the

world of organized Christianity to-day can doubt but that there was some truth in the indictment.

One of two things must of necessity happen in every age of the church's life—either she will so act upon the world as to be constantly enlarging and changing for good man's mental, moral and bodily environment, or the world will so act upon her as to produce its own effect. There is no middle course. Systems no more than individuals can serve two masters and any attempt at compromise is as absurd as it is futile.

As the salt of the earth, Christianity is to be the preventive of corruption; as the light of the world, it must be as a system as unlike the world as daylight is from darkness. And it is only when the terms are stated frankly, reduced to the words of Christ Himself, that we realize the appalling contrast of what modern organized Christianity is, with what it should be. Unless it is endeavoring really and truly to translate the Spirit of the Master in the world, in standing for fair play, the friend of the friendless, the champion of the weak, the enemy of the tyrant and the oppressor, the reliever of the distressed, the protector of the “fatherless children and widows and all who are desolate and oppressed,” it matters not how doctrinally pure and sound she may be, or how theologically accurate, she fails to represent her Lord and His most holy mission. Says a well-known dignitary of the Episcopal church in a letter to the writer of this article, in writing upon similar lines and concerns, “If as a church we do not stand precisely for this thing; if as a church we have no treasures of this sort to point to, then, as I look at it, it matters very little to mankind, or to God, what else we stand for or what other treasures we display.”

There is a good deal of fictitious prudence, made up wholly of timidity or false expediency, which lovers of the truth must assail to-day. The truth must be as frankly stated as by the Apostles of old and even though both it, and the facts it

calls upon us to face, hurt and hurt badly, it is the bounden duty of all honest religious teachers to state it, even at the cost of suffering. If this were fully recognized we should not need the aids and methods of asceticism in religion. Suffering in abundance would be found as the result of standing for the unglossed truth, to be endured, not selfishly for the sufferer's own individual spiritual perfection, but in obedience to the Master's law of love which made the end of all suffering the conversion and saving of others.

To that end, then, it must be frankly stated that much that passes under the name of Christianity to-day would not be recognized by the Divine Founder of the Christian religion. What He came to teach and later committed as a sacred trust to the Christian church was essentially a revolutionary force. It started out with a clear, definite and emphatic declaration of war upon the world; a battle to be fought until the end of time, with the weapons of the Prince of Peace and for the world's salvation. The religious rulers of Christ's time saw the issue very clearly and they met it. It was "expedient" for them that He should suffer and they crucified him. But He came back from the dead and His followers turned the world upside-down. Empires fell before the Cross, and great statesmen, wedded to existing institutions, saw clearly that either Christianity or they must give way and in sheer defense of their position inaugurated a crusade of blood and slaughter. Yet, what Peile terms, "the wild, untameable spirit of Christianity" could not be subdued and it issued victorious.

But who looks upon Christianity, as it is preached and taught to-day, as a revolutionary force? "Marvel not if the world hate you," wrote the Apostle centuries ago. It was to be the normal relation of the world to Christianity. But to-day the marvel would be if the world did hate organized Christianity, and it must be sadly confessed that the man or woman whom the world does hate is

usually *persona non grata* in the average Christian congregation.

Thus men are forced to this conclusion: Either Christianity has so changed and altered the world's character as to have changed its hatred into affection for the principles of Christ, or the world has sadly altered the Church. Here again there is no position between these two. Who can doubt for one moment but that the world—using the term in its theological sense—is still the same old world, full of self and selfishness and as widely apart from the principles of Christ as the north pole is from the south?

It may be urged, and no doubt will be, that criticism of this kind is an easy task and that Christ foretold that there would always be imperfections in His Kingdom. True; but criticism would not be one-tenth so easy were it not for the complete self-satisfaction in the Christian world with existing conditions and those which have prevailed in the past years. The ideal was ever to be striven for, and no degree of attainment can be reached whilst Christendom, principally through its teachers, is blind to its manifold defects in modern practice. And if it be further urged that we have dealt only in generalities, can organized Christianity dare to face particularization? If so the task is a very simple one. One has only to turn and point to the great multitude which no man can number of those who remain outside the folds, preferring their own darkness, if such one pleases to term it. The greatest standing reproach to modern Christianity, which above all things else proclaims its failure, is the great mass of working people who are holding aloof from it and who claim they see no light to guide them in a selfish Christendom. It was the "common people" who we are told heard Christ gladly. It was they who loved him and it is they who would hear and love Him now. The report of the joint commission on capital and labor which reported at the last General Convention of the Episcopal church made among others the following significant

statement: "The labor unionist praises the Carpenter of Nazareth. He distrusts the church which officially represents that master Workman, while the church through ignorance fails to understand the laborer's aims and motives. Thus one portion of Christendom bears witness against herself, for any body or society that makes the claim to be the official representative of the Master, and which acknowledges her ignorance of the aims and motives of those who were and are especially Christ's great care, simply declares the reason why she has forfeited the confidence of that section of humanity.

All this is intensified when we realize that Christ marked out this very class as the great spiritual element in humanity and the first benediction of His Kingdom was pronounced upon the poor. But to-day it is only here and there that we find a few men actually awakened to this condition of neglect. The best that can be said of the religious world at present is its desire for unity. And the truest thing that can be said is that if every sect and church in Protestantism—where the chief desire for unity is being manifested—be brought into one great combination, this will in no sense remove the great reproach we have spoken of, but merely gather closer together the many in the same condemnation.

If conditions, such as those dealt with in the report we have quoted, be as stated, then when the last word has been said by the many who are clamoring for reunion to-day as the one desideratum for perfection, the one panacea for all evils, it will not be surprising if they wake up to the realization that the masses in the meanwhile—their needs and cares and cries forgotten—are more and more alienated from the ranks of organized Christianity. Effort for reunion must have as its basis in every Christian organization this first principle—*reform along the line of corporate conduct*. Without that foundation the structure men would rear would be a house built upon the sands!

To suppose that the unjust and evil

conditions prevailing in the social world to-day could not be altered, if Christianity, freeing itself from the influences of Mammon and worldly wisdom and relying solely upon the methods and power of the Master, *willed it*, is to give the lie direct to the history of early Christendom with its wonders. But just so long as it is the silent witness of, or sharer in, the social evils that are only too prevalent, failure must be written upon much of its mission. Apologize as much as you will, explain away responsibility as much as you like, absolve and whitewash the defects of ecclesiastical landlordism for as long as you please, but what sane man in his *heart* feels that any or all of these acquit from the Divine censure! And to explain away conditions under Christian governance on the ground that they are no worse, or not so bad, as those which prevail under systems full of the coldest commercialism, is to forget the true standard of comparison and the ringing words of Christ in His picture of the Pharisee in the Temple.

Brotherhood is one of the most vital elements of our Lord's religion, as is responsibility for our fellow-men's moral and physical well-being, and His whole teaching goes to show that where the creatures of neglect, outside the pale of respectability and religion, might enter into His Kingdom, those who should be shut out were those who claimed to see and in their self-satisfaction asked with contempt, "Are we blind also?"

Undoubtedly one of the marks of failure to-day is social discrimination. The so-called lower classes are neither deaf nor blind. They both hear and read the words of St. James in his scathing rebuke of those who seat the man with the gold ring and in fine apparel in the good place and say to the poor "sit here under my footstool"; and their eyes are open to see that a man's value in the congregation is invariably measured—with many notable exceptions, of course—by the depth of his purse. And if anything else was needed to convince them a visit to an auction sale

of pews in connection with some of our fashionable churches is all that would be necessary. Let us be quite frank about our much-boasted equality and brotherhood in modern Christianity. It is a beautiful theory reduced only to practice for the two or three moments the rich and poor kneel side by side at the communion rail. There its brief life has its beginning and its ending!

It would be nothing short of injustice to place the whole of the blame for existing conditions upon the shoulders of the rich laity. To follow the line of the modern novelist who writes with a reforming purpose and depict people of wealth as using Christianity as a garb whilst they plundered and robbed, is too low and too extravagant a view of human society. If the poor claim to be neglected, certainly the rich have an equally strong claim. When the disciples of the Baptist came to question Christ, among the signs He enumerated for them to tell St. John was, "the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Reverently may it not be said of modern organized Christianity, that one of its signs of regeneration shall be, "the rich have the Gospel preached unto them"? Our Lord neglected neither; modern Christianity neglects both. Not, of course, that the districts in which the well-to-do live are as barren of churches and workers as the slums and tenement quarters; not that the rich do not attend the multitude of religious temples—only that the fact of many churches and many preachers and many packed congregations, each man in his own highly-priced pew, is not synonymous with "the Gospel preached unto them."

Christ did not mince matters with the wealthy. He frankly told them that it was "a hard thing" for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. How many hear that frank statement to-day? Or of their responsibilities as stewards? Or that wealth carries only a curse unless it is got and made in clean ways? No; just so long as Christianity smiles benignly upon the prevalent compartment theory of religion, that separates the ethics

of Christian life on a Sunday from the rest of the week; just so long as timidity hides frankness and muzzles pulpits from which the rich are taught; just so long as they see clergy who, knowing that it is a hard thing for a rich man to enter the Kingdom, are quite willing to take the chances themselves in speculating and candidating for the highly-paid positions of religious teachership, just so long will thinking men insist that the lion's share of the responsibility for the unjust conditions we have spoken of must be shifted to where it really belongs—the shoulders of those (and there are many) among the teachers who insult the intelligence of the rich and dwarf their own individuality by a fear that the frankness of hard sayings will offend the former, and a concealment of them add to the latter's "usefulness." If we could rid the ministerial vocabulary of two words for a time, "tact" and "expediency"—two cloaks of great spiritual evil—we should have taken a long step towards giving the rich the chance they are entitled to.

Of all the tactless men that ever lived St. John the Baptist perhaps was the most so. But when he found Herod living in sin his fearless conscience knew only one thing to do; he told Herod the truth and as a result lost his head. It never seemed to occur to him that he might have prolonged his "usefulness" had he been a little less blunt, or sought a more favorable opportunity to administer the rebuke, or winked at Herod's sin so that from a royal palace his influence could have continued to have gone forth to others. No, these are subtleties that the wisdom of recent years has brought to Christianity! The rich need more "tactless" teachers!

The fact of the matter is that the destructive element of modern Christianity is the spirit of the age. All unconsciously—in justice let that be emphasized—all unconsciously, the spirit of the age has subtly won its way and substituted itself for the power that no money could buy and which alone can, in its exercise, make Christianity again what

it was once before—a revolutionary force. Money has won a false place in the Christian kingdom. So we pray for missions and then go into the vestry to count the offertory for our actual possibilities; so laity label the clergy and their abilities as a so many “hundred or thousand-dollar-a-year men”; so we insist that the machinery of parishes and missions must be run on the same principles as the ordinary counting-house—though the ends be laudably different; so we hesitate to inaugurate any new work or to attack any stronghold of satan until the money “is in sight,” showing in practice, what most would last of all admit, that God can do just as much as man can do and no more, and that man can do just as much as money will admit—no more and no less!

Take one last standing testimony to the failure of modern Christianity. In every city of any size in the United States is to be found a stronghold of vice, where with the full knowledge of the Christian world, satan holds undisputed and unquestioned claim. These are the places where the starved victims of men’s greed go to sell their souls and give their bodies for defilement. They have given up the struggle, the scanty wage of the sweat-shop, the ill housing and weary grind of cheerless servitude. They go into the darkness; we speak of them as “the lost.” Occasionally some religious zealot may appeal to Cæsar, and armed with Cæsar’s weapons—the police and the patrol-wagon—and fortified by the comfortable assurance of the endorsement of respectability, cast the bruised and wounded souls into Cæsar’s prison in the name of the Good Shepherd who sought the sheep that was lost. Corporately, this is the nearest modern Christianity has got to the solution of this immense problem. Individually, a sister of mercy, a Salvation Army lass or some pious soul may make their best effort.

That Christianity stands powerless to-day in the face of such questions of moral evil is a mark that something is wrong. The clergy shun such districts, fearful of the unhallowed tongues of phari-

saic respectability, and the bulk of Christendom goes on its way rejoicing as if the lost must remain lost or as if no such problem existed.

Yet, said Christ of Christians, “Ye are the light of the world.” And when the Light of the Incarnate One shone, it was in the blackest spots and where the darkness was most gross; down among the publicans and sinners, the thieves and the murderers, the harlots and the lost!

These are but a few of the marks which are pointing to the apparent failure of modern organized Christianity and making men’s hearts sigh for the power of early Christendom, when, out of its poverty of earthly means, it was able to cast out devils, heal the sick, restore the penitent, seek and save the lost, and mould the saint. These are some of the reasons why men are asking the question, “Is average Christianity really Christianity at all?” These are the signs which explain why the Sermon on the Mount is sighed over as a beautiful but impossible dream by the very followers of the Divine Teacher.

Many may say, why raise the questions when you cannot answer them? The reply is, no one will ever think of them, not to mention solving them, until they *are* raised, and it is better to be conscious of the decay under appearances than to be deceived by what merely seems to be and is not. It is significant that the Bampton lecturer of 1907, who thrilled the ecclesiastical world, when speaking of plans of reform, put aside all fear of criticism and misunderstanding and called first of all for a Christian clergy. By this he meant, of course, a clergy full of the spirit of the Master instead of mere professionalism. People will be as their teachers and just so long as Christianity is presented in its conventional way and accepted as a mere insurance against eternal loss, rather than a great force for the social and moral welfare of the world, with the first duty inculcated in every Christian mind, that in obedience to God the responsibility for one’s brother is laid upon each soul that hopes for a hereafter



of bliss and joy—whilst the former prevails over the latter, the failures of organized Christianity will always be glaringly patent.

The possibilities and powers of Christianity are unknown to-day because they are only manifested in action; and at the beginning of the twentieth century, after trying every human scheme for the amelioration of the world, we are forced back from our very tiny half-successes to realize that the only plan to which success was divinely promised is that which remains untried—Christ's Christianity.

When ecclesiastical rulers *all* cease to be merely ecclesiastical magistrates, to become good physicians of sin-stricken souls; when the code of respectability gives way to that of Christ who pardoned human frailties which were not respectable and shut out the cold professionalizers who apparently only shunned ways the world condemned to give their cold, unlovely hearts up to covetousness which was and is respectable; when self-interest and selfishness give way to the desire for brotherhood, when the term success is no longer synonymous for cure of souls; when the average layman ceases to deceive himself in supposing that he can combine Christianity with greed; when men stop and think and realize that mere belief will not mean salvation and that in believing they are doing no more than the devils who believe and tremble; then and then only will it be impossible to raise a question like that at the head of this article. And that will mean when Christianity again becomes Christian.

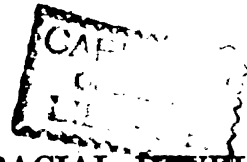
What that means none can state better than Peile: "To make the world Christian. The word implies a revolution so tremendous that the mere naming of it moves experience to an incredible smile, and makes enthusiasm itself falter. And yet it is the task our Lord laid upon His disciples, the task in which all baptized Christians, lay or cleric, man or woman, are solemnly pledged to take their part. And that we may be fit to take our part there is one thing needful; if we are to help at all in making the world Christian,

we must first be really Christians ourselves; and I fear that for the most of us, for all except a very few, that means we must become Christians. We must learn with pain and wonder to look on existence as Christ looked on it. If we cling to the old values, and are content to rule our lives by the compromises and catchwords of worldly wisdom; if we are satisfied with ourselves and our standards—then we need conversion; the starved, commonplace spirit of us must suffer a change 'into something rich and strange' before we have a right to call ourselves disciples of Jesus Christ, or profess to be forwarding His cause in the world."

That day will be hastened when the question of modern organized Christianity's failure are raised and faced more generally. The writer is well aware that he may seem presumptuous and be thought of only as one who is seemingly passing judgment on untold numbers of men who he freely acknowledges are better and wiser than himself. But it is of systems rather than of men he has written, a criticism of corporate rather than of individual Christianity—the honest expression of one who refuses to cry peace when there is no peace or to admit that loyalty to Christ and His Kingdom consists in blindness to the manifest defects in modern Christianity or the legal righteousness which masquerades as Christian practice.

A new religious movement has begun which nothing can check. Growing, as it is, silently, in people's hearts one of its first effects must be the destruction of false ideals. Call the movement a New Reformation, if you will, but whatever it is, God is manifest behind it. And in every quarter of the globe He is calling to men He is raising up, men who are not afraid to share the reproach of the Incarnate Son, or to suffer for their "indiscreet" frankness at the hands of those wedded to what seems to be rather than really is, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show My people their transgressions."

P. GAVAN DUFFY.



## INDUSTRIAL CLASSES AS FACTORS IN RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

By GEORGE R. STETSON.

**T**HE ANNUAL reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops in the United Kingdom furnish abundant material and data for eugenic study in all the divisions of our social organism which are immediately affected by the numerous and increasing demands and competition of our industrial life.

A study having for its immediate object the correction of manifest evils and the neutralization of the physical and social deterioration which in a great degree are inseparable from the conditions prevailing in operative life, and the mental atrophy resulting from the narrowing of the faculties due to the lack of use, the mechanizing influence of machinery, and the extreme division of labor.

That there has been great material progress, and with it a contemporary, if not continuous, or commensurate improvement in the condition of the working classes can hardly be questioned, as it can be statistically shown, as has been done by Mr. Giffen and other statistical experts; but, on the other hand, to determine the favorable or unfavorable influence of this improved material condition subjectively, upon the mind, morals and physique of these classes, is not so easy a task.

In our industrial progress we meet with violent reactions and reflex movements which, while they do not stop the generally progressive movement, yet effectively retard it, and leave their unmistakable and indelible mark upon the mind, morals and physique of some of the factors in that progress.

These currents and counter currents and the conditions resulting, are the proper field of economic, sociologic and eugenic studies which are as important to society, as the study of the ocean currents is to the navigator and to commerce.

To the factory system we undoubtedly

owe great material prosperity; but in the words of Mr. Taylor, Her Majesty's Superintending Inspector of Factories for Scotland and Ireland in 1900, "I do not shut my eyes to the other side of the account.

"The huge concentration of labor in industrial centers, the increasingly important position assigned to capital in production; the devastation of some of our most beautiful landscapes; the pollution of rivers and the atmosphere; the supersession of the craftsman, and the divorce of the industrial faculty from workmanship, causes me to doubt if material prosperity is, after all, the greatest blessing a country can possess."

The factory system is of great antiquity. In England it was established during the Roman occupation—the employés were servile, and the processes manual; the gradual evolution from servile labor and manual processes to free labor and motive power was first marked in the middle of the eighteenth century by the establishment of water-mills, and later in the century by a steam-mill; and in the nineteenth century by the establishment of the modern factory system with steam-power.

It is remarked that the new factories were not only "dens of infamy, but hotbeds of disease."

The cruelty and misery suffered by the operatives, the excessive hours of labor, the practical slavery of the workhouse and pauper children, the gross neglect of hygiene and sanitation, and the consequent serious epidemics, aroused public opinion, and in 1802 the first Factory Sanitation Act for "The preservation of the health and morals of apprentices in cotton mills" was introduced into Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, who was personally cognizant of the conditions.

As early in the infancy of our factory

system as 1841, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, then mayor of Lowell, Massachusetts, thought it necessary to vindicate the character and condition of the females employed in the Lowell mills—which, conversely, suggests the picture of prolonged hours of exhausting labor and the wretched life in boarding-houses. Later in the century, the absorption by the factories of an ever-increasing proportion of child-labor in England, made it necessary to compel the parents by force of law to educate their children by making education compulsory, and regulating the hours of their employment.

Our present inquiry is not whether the prevailing conditions in the industrial classes are better or worse than those in the mid-century, but rather what they are to-day?

At the close of the year 1906, there were upon the registers under the regulations and special rules of the Factory and Workshops act of the United Kingdom, 109,065 factories, and 1,464,124 workshops, excluding men's workshops, docks, warehouses, etc.

The approximate number of persons employed in the factories under inspection was 4,150,000. In laundries 100,000, and in workshops (excluding men's) 700,000.

By the latest returns accessible there were employed in textile factories, 31,744 "half-timers," or children under 14 years of age; 208,000 "full timers," over 14 and under 18 years of age, and 786,631 adults.

It will be observed that of all the employed, the women and children numbered 71 per cent.

The hours of labor in textile factories for women, are between 7 A. M. and 7 P. M. and but 56½ hours weekly

By persistent effort the hours of child-labor have been reduced from 9 to 6½ hours, and the age raised from 8 to 12 years.

In non-textile and ordinary shops, women are allowed 60 hours a week, with permission to work overtime.

In domestic shops there is and can be

no effective restriction on women's hours, and here, among many others, a problem of great difficulty is presented.

In laundries generally, in which women have an allowance of sixty hours weekly, and where women and children form the great majority of the employés, the sanitary conditions are considered of minor importance; and a humid, superheated and vitiated atmosphere, with excessive hours of labor in disregard of the restrictions, are a source of great danger to the health of those employed.

In some of the public infirmaries it is noted that the women coming from laundries for treatment, double in number those from other occupations.

In the evolution of industries the substitution of steam for hand-power has enormously increased the employment of female and juvenile labor.

Now, in certain industries men are banished, women are demanded, and the demand is supplied—but at the cost of both men and women; for while the former have suffered in wage-earning power, the latter, through the new avenue of employment opened to them, have suffered in moral and physical deterioration.

The industry of women in factories was first brought under the protection of the state by the factory acts of 1844; but the illegal employment of both women and children is, unfortunately, still a common occurrence.

In reference to the employment of married women, Dr. Hughes, medical officer for Fenton, remarks, "Any attempt to combine the offices of child-bearing and bread-winning in one person, must of necessity result in premature births and feeble children."

In 1904 Miss Martindale, a government inspector, found in Belfast alone 18,502 women employed in linen manufactures between the ages of 20 and 45 years, the years of motherhood, and that neglected and delicate children, and dirty and ill-kept homes, are the natural result of the employment of married women."

Of the preponderance of women in textile industries it is noted that in Scotland, in every hundred males from 11 to 12 years of age 84.92 per cent. are at work, and in every hundred females of the same age 65.10 per cent.; the majority being employed in the cotton, flax and hemp industries.—(Scotch census report.) It may also be noted that “in the silk and hosiery mills of Pennsylvania, 72 per cent. of the employes are females; and of these 22 per cent. are under 16 years of age.”—(Annals of Political and Social Science.)

In England, the employment of mothers within four weeks before or after the birth of a child is prohibited by law; a prohibition which is commonly evaded by working up to the day of confinement, as it involves a permanent choice between the factory and the home life, and a consequent loss of wages to the family. Miss Martindale, the female inspector above cited, was surprised at the indifference and carelessness of these mothers.

In Switzerland, by Federal law, women are forbidden to work in factories eight weeks before and after child-birth; in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany and Austria, until four weeks after birth.

The children of employed married women are generally badly cared for, and are degenerating physically and mentally; they are delicate, undersized and short-lived: conditions and a mortality which distinguish the mill operatives of all foreign countries.

Among the “half-timers” in Belfast, many girls of twelve years weigh but 58 pounds, or about three-fourths the normal weight at that age by Stevenson’s tables, or of the school children of Boston, Massachusetts, by the records made by Dr. Bowditch.

A committee on anthropometry appointed by the British Association reported the average stature of boys of 11 to 12 years in the industrial schools to be five inches less than those in the public schools.

Mr. W. W. Ireland reports the average weight of factory children as eighteen

pounds below the English mean at the same age; and the average height of factory children at twelve years, as three inches below the mean normal height.

He also affirms that the average health and strength in Lancashire is much below that in other parts of England, “stammering, squinting, rachitis and scrofula being common.”—(W. W. Ireland, *International Monthly*, volume 1, 1900.)

Dr. Carlier has shown that the greatest average height is found among the most healthy, intelligent and best nourished; and amongst the poor classes, in those who work at healthy trades, and in the open air.”—(*Des Rapports de la taille avec le bien être. Annales d’Hygiene Publique.*)

Upon the employment of children, Miss Martindale reports that in the counties of Antrim and Down in North Ireland, alone, 13,671, or 27 per cent. of the whole number employed in the textile factories, are children under eighteen years of age, one-third of whom are “half-timers.”

As an indication of the deteriorating effect of the factory life, of the 42,613 children under fourteen years of age examined by the surgeons for certificates of fitness for work, Yorkshire and Lancashire, which includes Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, Oldham and other less-known towns whose chief industry is cotton manufacturing, and employing in the neighborhood of two million operatives, furnished 61.22 per cent. of the rejections between the ages of 13 and 14, and 37 per cent. of those between 14 and 16 years.

The defectives were about equally divided between the sexes. The medical grounds of rejection being imperfect development, defective eyes and ears, anæmia and uncleanliness. Unfortunately, “there is nothing to prevent a child rejected for factory work from at once finding employment in a workshop.”—(*Great Britain’s Physical Degeneration.*) Dr. Mackenzie, who examined children in the North Canongate school in Edinburgh, found more than half with eyes

so defective as to interfere with their work, and 40 per cent. with defective ears.

Among the evils which operatives suffer in textile factories and which are largely responsible for this deterioration are:

Excessive artificial humidity, impure and poisonous air in weaving and spinning rooms, excessive and also insufficient temperature, dust, fumes and uncleanness.

These evils are by no means confined to England; even in Massachusetts, where the conditions are superficially considered so perfect, of 93 textile manufacturing establishments comprising several hundred separate mills visited by the State Board of Health in 1906, there were but 19 in which the conditions could be classed as "ideal," but 23 as "good," 35 as "moderately bad," and 16 as "distinctly bad." In the various industries visited and investigated, including those properly classed as "dangerous," they found that very few were "conducted with a satisfactory regard for the health of the working people."—(W. C. Hanson, M. D.)

The report of the board upon the findings in textile factories concludes:

"Finally should be mentioned the monotony of tending the machines day in and day out, the roar and buzz, and the sharp, jerky noise of the machinery which is deafening, and to those particularly sensitive, nerve-racking."

In woolen weaving, warp humidifying is necessary; and is in most instances accomplished by blowing off live steam through various small jets projecting vertically from horizontal pipes eight or ten feet above the floor.

The air is saturated and often superheated. During cold and dry weather the ventilation is closed; and at such times, Mr. Rogers, of Blackburn, in whose district there are 498 weaving-sheds where artificial humidity is produced, reports that in recent tests of the air of three of these sheds, it was found to contain 34.6, 39.6 and 41.6 volumes of carbon dioxide per 1,000 volumes. The

limit of allowance established by the regulations is 9 volumes per 10,000; which is 5 volumes in excess of the ordinary atmosphere.

The danger is increased by the organic impurities which increase *pro rata* with the toxic gas, and by exposure to the change in temperature from the inner to the outer air.

By vote of 94 per cent. of the weavers, this method of humidifying is considered injurious to health. "In these factories," says Dr. Romme (*La Revue*, Paris), "in which workmen are confined to the machines, breathing an atmosphere saturated and superheated—charged with microbes and carbonic acid—with odors coming from perspiring bodies—with toxic gas generated by the decomposition of greasy waste, we found an industrial hell!" *In limbo patrum.*

Beside the twenty-three officially certified dangerous trades and poisonous manufacturing processes, there are many others uncertified; among them the tobacco industry.

In the northeastern division, including Leeds, Bradford and other large manufacturing towns, Mr. Dunolty, a government inspector, finds that carbon dioxide poisoning is undoubtedly prevalent; but the workers appear to avoid bringing their names before the management by reporting illness caused by this poison as tending to prove that they are physically unfit for the work required.

During the year in the United Kingdom, there were reported 632 cases of lead poisoning with 66 deaths, and 66 cases of anthrax, with 42 deaths.

In card, spinning, winding and gassing rooms, Mr. Crabtree reports the temperature sometimes as high as 104 degrees Fahrenheit; on the other hand, some warping and beaming rooms are far below a proper temperature.

"Gas poisoning affects the workers' walk and speech; the latter is impeded, and they have difficulty in forming a sentence without frequently repeating the same word; the eyes are restless, and

there is a marked tremor of the fingers when extended."

Mr. Robinson, of Glasgow, and the Massachusetts Board of Health, agree that the dust-laden atmosphere in which the dust is commonly sufficient to cause a distinct cloudiness, is a serious menace to the health of the operatives.

Mr. Robinson also finds it extremely difficult to convince the occupier or proprietor, that there is any harm in it.

In England, the old difficulty of securing any real maintenance of ventilation, even where means are provided, seems as regards workshops to subsist; and unfortunately, the best methods are often rendered ineffectual by the lack of appreciation of pure air among the operatives who from sheer habit or suspicion, of draught, stop up every ventilating opening."

This inappreciation of pure, and the superstitious dread of night air, is not confined to factory operatives; in the night of September 12, 1900, 2,480 houses of the best, medium and poorest classes were examined in the city of York, England, and only 124, or 5 per cent., found with open windows.

It has been remarked that the ultimate effect of human degradation is to destroy the wish to be delivered from it.

Contraventions of the Factory and Workshops Act by the occupiers or proprietors, are of frequent occurrence, and great difficulty is experienced in keeping them within the law. In 1906 there were issued to them 48,119 notices relating to the non-observance of the rules and regulations, of which 4,650 related to sanitary matters.

Regarding the evils, physical and mental, resulting from these employments, the International Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration, appointed September 12, 1905, reported "That it was unable to discover any trustworthy evidence of the general or extensive physical degeneration of the population which by some has been supposed to exist." A very obvious and necessary

conclusion as to the population as a whole, as there were no data upon which to base a comparison. The subject of physical degeneration requires examination from two points-of-view: that of the population as a whole, and that of particular classes.

The latter view is recognized by the committee appointed by the London Royal College of Physicians, which reports, "That any investigation which does not take into account the condition of the industrial classes, must necessarily give a very erroneous impression of the condition and physique of those classes."

As to degeneracy in the population of England as a whole, there is, of course, in the absence of conclusive evidence, which it is impossible to obtain, an opportunity for a wide difference of opinion.

From local and class statistics, we are, however, privileged to draw certain conclusions. Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice has publicly declared that "sixty per cent. of the Englishmen wishing to be soldiers, are physically unfit"; and again in the *Contemporary Review*, that "out of every five men who offer themselves for enlistment, only two prove physically fit; the bulk of the men offering belong to the poorer classes of the urban populations." As a further and perhaps more accurate indication of degeneracy, it is stated that of the whole number of recruits inspected for the British army in the ten years ending in 1902, 34.06 per cent. were rejected for physical defects, 444,798 passed and enlisted, 5,849 broke down in three months, and 14,259 were discharged as invalided within two years of entering the service. An official report of the medical examination of elementary school children concludes "human life in England is being sacrificed to the factory and workshop." A. E. Hudson, president of the conference of sanitary inspectors, declares that, "a great part of our population still dwells in misery and social degradation."

Excessive and monotonous labor, dangerous, nerve-racking and unsanitary employments, overcrowded and unhealthful housing, and poverty, are the primary

causes of this physical deterioration and the accompanying mental atrophy—the hardening of the mind—the loss of alertness and acuteness of observation, and the gradual suppression of all aspiration and initiative. The decline of immigration which has supplied fresh physical and mental vigor and energy, is undoubtedly another important factor in the deterioration of the masses.

Physical and mental degeneration is progressive by inheritance, and as remarked by Professor Karl Pearson, "We are ceasing as a nation to breed intelligence, as we did fifty to a hundred years ago; the mentally better stock in the nation is not reproducing itself at the same rate as it did of old; the less able and the less energetic are more fertile than the better stocks."—(Huxley lecture on "The Laws of Inheritance in Man," 1903.)

It is not a surprising, even if an appalling, fact, that neither pauperism, nor scanty earnings, nor deficiency in that social virtue, thrift, serves as a check upon reproduction.

Regarding the "overcrowding" and "unhealthy housing" evils, it is estimated that some 3,250,000 persons in the British Isles live in overcrowded dwellings—or more than two in a room; and an unforeseen result in the introduction of water and sewerage, has been an increased density of population due to the erection of model tenements, "in which all the physical and moral evils of East London are intensified."—(Bosanquet.)

It has been remarked that, "the home of the mechanic was once the village cottage with its garden; it is now the tenement." A beginning is being made in ameliorating these conditions by various housing experiments—notably by the Co-partnership Tenant Societies, in founding "Garden Villages" easily accessible from the cities. Seventeen of these societies now exist—a few drops in the ocean of necessity—which furnish conveniently-planned and well-built homes on the coöperative plan in excellent sanitary

localities. The necessity for this movement is accentuated in London, where we find 1,344,960 tenements of one to four rooms, and but 347,516 of more than four rooms. The London County Council found in Bethnal Green area, over 2,000 persons living in 750 rooms.

The medical inspectors of the Government Board report that in the Brandon and Byshottles district 27 per cent. of the tenements are two-room. One three-room house had 14 occupants: the father, mother, four sons 6 to 18 years of age, three daughters 24 to 28 years, one visitor, and four small children of the daughters.

Mr. Clement Edwards reports in a part of Wiltshire, "fifteen instances in which more than five persons occupied a small room; ten instances in which there were more than six, eight more than seven, six more than eight, three more than nine, two more than ten, and one in which a family of eleven persons were sleeping in a single room." In the Wickham urban district, of the two-room tenements, 113 had six, 83 had seven, 56 had eight, 15 had nine, 11 had ten, 7 had eleven, and 2, twelve occupants. Of the entire population of Durham and Northumberland counties, 31 per cent. is overcrowded, or living more than two in a room. In North Canon-gate district of Edinburgh 76 per cent. of the population live in one or two rooms. In England and Wales 8 per cent. of the entire population are living more than two in a room. In Yorkshire county 11 per cent., Lancashire 6 per cent., over the Tyne 30 per cent., in Dudley 17 per cent., Plymouth 20 per cent., Birmingham 10 per cent., London 16.1 per cent., and in some districts 35.2 per cent. In Bradford 19.9 per cent., and in Sheffield 21 per cent.

From 1891 to 1901 the percentage of overcrowding fell from 11.2 per cent. to 8.2 per cent., a result largely due to a diminished birth rate.

Overcrowding, which is recognized as one of the principal causes of vice and disease, especially of tuberculosis, is fol-

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*Industrial Classes as Factors in Racial Development.*

lowed by an increase in the death rate and by pauperism.

In the year 1900 it is recorded that 1,774 infants were suffocated by over-laying; and in the ten years ending in 1903, 15,009 infants suffered a similar death. It is also noted, that in the manufacturing towns the death rate is two and one-half times greater than in the rural districts of the same county. It is useless to legislate against this evil until proper accommodation is provided within the means of those who suffer from it. I find that the amount expended in the United Kingdom for poor relief, from 1901 to 1905, increased 15.59 per cent., from £18,873,288 to £16,507,690, while the population for the same period increased but four per cent. In England and Wales the number of paupers in 1901 was 789,689, and in 1905, 915,291; an increase of 15.90 per cent. and in the population of 4.69 per cent.

The poor relief expenditure per capita of the population in Liverpool is 7s. 5½d., Manchester 6s. 9d., York 6s. 8d., London 15s.

As remarked by Ralph Waldo Emerson in "English Traits," "Pauperism incrusts and clogs the state." The city of York, in England, with a population of 78,000, is fairly representative of most of the provincial towns not engaged in the textile industries, and is therefore illustrative of the condition of the average working population. Mr. Rowntree found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 43.4 per cent. of the wage-earning class, and to 27.84 per cent. of the total population of the city, were living in poverty. Two thousand of these being in a chronic state of want.—(*Poverty, a Study of Town Life.*)

In 1904 a Board of Trade investigated the budgets of 261 working families of five persons each, which showed an average weekly balance of 3s. 10½d. over the cost of food and rent, to meet the expenditure for fuel, clothing, traveling and other necessary expenses of two grown persons and three children. In Ridgemount, a

typical agricultural village, twelve miles from Bedford, with a total population of 467, and a working-class population of 390, all employed in agriculture, Mr. P. H. Mann (*Sociological Papers*, 1905) found 160 persons comprising 34.3 per cent. of the total population, and 41 per cent. of the working class, in a condition of "primary poverty," i. e., "poverty caused by an insufficiency of earnings, even when most economically applied, to provide for physical efficiency. If there were more than two children, the family would remain below the poverty line until the eldest child leaves school and begins to contribute to the family support." As remarked by H. Rider Haggard in his study of rural England, "Agriculture and everything that has to do with the land and its products, excite no real interest and receive little practical support."

Sir James Blyth, who has examined the statistics, reports that England pays annually for foreign wheat, butter, poultry, eggs, etc., to say nothing of meat, £80,000,000! or about four pounds per head of the population to seven shillings per head paid by Germany.

That racial vitality is being gradually enfeebled in the urban, factory and workshop population of England, is generally conceded.

Dr. Hall, fifty years practitioner, and some time surgeon of Leeds Hospital for Women and Children, is of the opinion that more than 90 per cent. of English mothers decline to suckle their children, causing inferior development and bodily conditions; and that the want of proper food is the cause of physical degeneration.

Mr. Anderson, chairman of the Health Board of Glasgow, refers to "the iniquitous and unholy waste of life which prevails in all our great centers of industry. The president of the local government board in London in 1906, made the statement that over 100,000 infants under twelve months old, are annually put to death in the United Kingdom—not willingly, but through ignorance and vice."



These conditions are confirmed by the infant death rate, which is maintained, while the general death rate has in recent years been largely reduced. In some parts of England the infant death rate is higher than forty years ago. In England and Wales to-day, it is about 45 per cent. higher than on the Australian continent, and 60 per cent. higher than in Norway. In some districts of London the infant death rate is 184 per 1,000; in Dublin, 200 per 1,000; in one district of Sheffield, 234 per 1,000. Preston, with nearly one-half of its female population occupied, has an average infant death rate for ten years of 236 per 1,000.

The value placed upon infant human life is shown in Huddersfield, where one pound reward was offered by the mayor to any mother whose infant child lived twelve months; which resulted in a reduction of the infantile death rate to 54 per 1,000!

Of the deteriorating influences of urban life Drs. Jones, Strahan, Ireland and other investigators remark, "that the great tension of the nervous system produced by the city life of the day is as baneful as it is unnatural." Dr. Denison is of the opinion that it stimulates the nervous system to such an extreme as to injure the reproductive powers and favor sterility."—(*New York Medical Journal*, December, 1895.)

Professor Pontus Fahlbeck in his review of the English statistics from 1871 to 1900, shows that the increase in population was not due to an increasing natality, but to a decreasing mortality; and that the natality and mortality during this period grew more and more feeble."

Dr. Strahan shows that in the twenty-five years from 1866 to 1891, heart diseases increased 65.9 per cent., nervous diseases 10.2 per cent., kidney diseases 63.4 per cent., diabetes 103.1 per cent., and suicides 24.2 per cent., and that dementia precox, first mentioned in 1878, was previously unknown.

Lunacy has also remarkably increased: on January 1, 1859, the lunatics officially

registered in England numbered 1 to 536 of the population; in 1904, 1 to 293.

In 1906 the Lunacy Commissioners of England report that since 1859 "the rate of increase in lunacy exceeds the rate of increase in the population by 160 per cent.! The ratio of the insane to the population of New York has risen from 1 in 675 in 1875, to 1 in 294 in 1905.

Dr. Robert Jones, after twenty-five years' practice in the industrial population of London, is "convinced of the deterioration among the lower classes and their issue"; and that "degeneration is more marked than it was twenty-five years ago" ("Physical and Mental Degeneration," *Journal Osc of Arts*, 1904); and "that among children attending schools in London there is an amount of bodily deficiency and a latent degree of disease, which saddens a medical expert, and which must render the sufferers absolutely unfit for the struggle of life."

Dr. Ireland and others speak of the population of Yorkshire and Lancashire as "short of stature, narrow-chested, and with pasty complexions and stooping figures." An inspector reports that Dundee children under present conditions are sinking into a slough of incapacity, poverty and degradation." The importance of these factors in the problem discussed is shown by the fact that the urban population in England numbers more than three-fourths of the total population. In 1901 the percentage of the population living in towns of 100,000 and over, was in England 35 per cent., in Germany 16.2 per cent., and in the United States 18.8 per cent.

The stifling of self-reliance, self-respect, intelligence, ambition and progress, and a general weakening of the faculties from lack of use, is the untoward and unfortunate result of the conditions in the textile and parallel industries.

The mentally mechanizing influence of machinery is recognized by the English inspectors, and by all others who have made the factory system a subject of observation or study. "The machine ;

says Allen Clarke, "in its wonderful development has become almost human; while the human tenders have almost become machines."—(*Effects of the Factory System.*) "Skilled labor," J. E. Thorold Rogers declares, "is replaced by the mere overlooker of machines; the effect of machinery is to reduce labor to the function of attendance and guidance."—(*Six Centuries of Work and Wages.*) This influence is also recognized by the ordinary employer: Mrs. Van Vorst records her experience. "I applied for work as a 'hand worker'; he looked at me and gave me an answer which exactly coincided with my theory—he said, 'If you do hand work, you will have to use your mind.'"—(*The Woman Who Toils.*)

The combined effect of the factory system upon mind and body is outlined in *The Workers*. We read, "Life in its present course is to most of us a miserable bondage. We work daily to physical exhaustion, and with no power left for mental effort our minds yield to the play of any chance diversion until they lose the power of serious attention. In what constitutes the work of life, there is no pleasure, no education, no evolution of our better natures."—(W. A. Wyckoff.)

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, testified before the Industrial Commission: "I have no doubt that the specialist worker employed for a long series of years in doing a small part in the operation of a machine, suffered physically and mentally because of the monotony to which he is subjected."

Mr. Mosely, of the Mosely Educational Commission, in his address before the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, said, "To-day there is dawning upon us the question, whether it is wise to allow a man to become merely a machine?" Mr. F. P. Fish, president of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, in his address to the same body, remarked, "Our automatic machinery tends to minimize the intelligence that is necessary on the part of the

individual workman; his absorption in a particular line of work prevents the development of the all-round capacity that is required in an advanced employment."

From this and similar testimony, it will appear that in itself the factory system is powerless in training men to be its directing forces; and that such training now devolves upon the higher technical schools at home and abroad.

Professor Armstrong, of the Mosely Educational Commission, outlines the influence of machinery upon American life and character.

As one of the results of his observation he remarks: "The conditions in America have always been such as to develop enterprise and to stimulate individuality and invention; such being the case, it is important to remember that some at least of these influences are now withdrawn, and development may be along different lines in the future; especially, as the *enervating influence of machinery is coming into play more and more.*"

This modern classification of the factory operative is now being recognized in legislation. In 1898 the French Chamber of Deputies accepted a bill introducing the concept of professional risk by which "accidents to operatives are to be looked upon by the employer in very much the same light as accidents to machinery; and constituting one of the risks of the trade."—(*Commentaire de la loi du 9 Avril.*) This concept was recently recognized in the Workman's Compensation Act of England.

In the consideration of the great material progress of the last fifty years, by Sir Robert Giffen (*Economic Inquiries and Studies*) and others, a progress which is readily admitted—we observe the same neglect to recognize the physical and mental evils resulting from the increased demands made upon some of the important factors in this progress which is apparent in the treatment of degeneration. It is true that wages are higher, food generally cheaper, and that the general death rate has been decreased by im-

proved sanitation, and viability correspondingly increased. *Au contraire*, we must note that a higher standard of living and increased expenditure in all directions in disproportion to the earning capacity naturally follows any improvement in material conditions and precedes and causes the necessity and demand for increase of wages, which at the moment, in England, is, however, but a small portion of the increased cost of living. By that inexorable law of trade which demands the greatest efficiency for the least expenditure of money or time, the age limit of the worker at which his efficiency is diminished and comparatively unprofitable, is being gradually lowered by the conditions of his employment over which he has no control; a limit at which he may be capable of *good work*, but not equally capable of *quick work*, the working age is growing *shorter*, and the average duration of life *longer*.

This limit of the employment of skilled labor is being reduced by the great manufacturing and transportation corporations to 35 or 40 years; which is equivalent to an average earning period of twenty years. The maximum earning period of engineers in England is now 20 years; of iron and steel workers 16 years, and of railroad signal men 15 years.

Of these conditions Mr. Spender remarks, "After early middle age the decline of earning capacity sets in, to continue with increasing rapidity until the competition of the young, compels him to abandon all hope of earning a regular wage; in short, the tendency of modern industry is against the elderly and the aged."—(*The State and Pensions in Old Age*, J. A. Spender.)

Having reached the age limit under the conditions resulting from the extreme demands, and division of labor and the deteriorating influences of machinery and its environments, the workers with their families, in comparative poverty, without a trade, continuous employment, or any certain means of support, are now compelled to begin life anew.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, above cited, testified: "In two decades our workers have been specialized to do a small part of some business, and they know very little of the general industry or trade."

The Massachusetts Committee on the Unemployed in 1895 reported, "The shoemaker of a generation ago was an independent artisan, aiding himself with his tools; the worker of to-day has become merely an adjunct to some machine—a mere step in a great mechanical process."

In England, elderly men who in the prime of life earned 30 to 35 shillings, now earn but 18 shillings weekly, and are dependent upon their children or the poor law for the family maintenance.

And here we are brought to face a problem which in importance to the workingman, to society and the state, far surpasses in vital interest all others in the labor calendar, and in the eugenic field is of serious concern, *viz.*: How in the prevailing conditions is an ever-increasing tide of pauperism to be stayed which in England has already reached enormous proportions, is increasing, and which threatens here?

Mr. Burns makes the "startling and deplorable" estimate that 25 per cent. of the total working-class population of England and Wales over 65 years of age are dependent upon the poor law. It is asserted that the struggles of a large number of the remainder to keep clear of the law, would be equally startling.

A factor in the decrease of employment and the increase of poverty frequently overlooked, is brought out in the Massachusetts report above cited, *viz.*: "That the introduction and improvements of labor-saving machinery, together with the incidental saving of labor due to the specialization of work, and the consequent increased efficiency of the individual workman, have in twelve years, in some departments, resulted in a reduction of from 25 to 30 per cent. in the number employed." In England, in 1837, the number of operatives per 1,000 spindles was *seven*; in 1887, *three*!

Before the era of machinery the skilled workman had his trade for support in his declining years, and was able to make a comfortable provision for his family; now, without a trade, the only opportunity for him to create a fund of savings to draw upon in times of emergency or in old age is in the few years before marriage: after marriage, it is, with a family, practically impossible.

"The destiny of a pauper old age does not exclusively await the idle, thriftless or drunken; it is the common lot for the most part of whole sections of the laboring population."—(Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M.P., Report on Old-Age Pensions.) In the conditions described it is apparent that the insouciance, independence and simplicity, which in the fanciful philosophy of William James, are the heritage of poverty but denied to the wealthy, are likely to become the unrecognized, unappreciated and unhappy possession of ever-growing millions.

At the moment the only apparent, but partial solutions of the problem, are presented in coöperation and self-help, by Friendly and Benefit Societies (to which in some of our American states contributions are prohibited by law), in trade unions—and participation in the profits—or by a system of compulsory insurance as enforced in Germany and Austria, or by voluntary insurance, as in Sweden, Italy, France and Belgium, or in a state pension system as maintained in New Zealand and Denmark, and probably soon to be adopted in England, or in a return to the cultivation of the land individually or collectively. General Booth and Rider Haggard agree in the opinions that "to prevent the migration to the town, and the congestion there, the only remedy is property *in* or *on* the land." In the city the people are dying for work, and in the country the land is dying for labor. The existing conditions not unnaturally suggest to the unemployed wage-earning class, the drastic program of the *soi disant* Socialists, or Revolutionists, as they sometimes designate themselves. A

program which includes old-age pensions for every person over fifty years of age, a minimum wage law, a maximum of forty-eight hours working week, out-of-work payment, increased taxation of unearned incomes, nationalization of land, free primary, secondary and university education, with maintenance while at school or university, and a collective, democratically-managed organization of industries; and in default of these demands—revolution and anarchy.

An echo of these demands is heard in the resolutions recently adopted in a convention of the unemployed held in St. Louis.

Singularly, the attitude of the Friendly Societies of England toward state intervention was at one time that of strong hostility, alleging that "it would sap the independence of the working classes and cause unfair competition with the Friendly Societies."

In the industrial centers of our own country we fortunately have not yet reached the conditions existing in England or on the continent; but the tendency is inevitably in the same general direction.

As an indication of this trend the legislature of the state of Massachusetts, which stands first in the production of textiles as a whole, and employs a larger number in its factories than in any other industry, at its last session appointed a commission of five persons "to report upon the advisability of establishing an old-age insurance or pension system." At a recent meeting, the American Federation of Labor appointed a committee to consider the same subject.

For the optimistic opinions regarding the happy influences of the factory system occasionally expressed in this country, "that machinery is constantly lifting men out of low into high grades of employment, and constantly surrounding them with an intellectual atmosphere," that the factory, whether in this country or in England, means education, enlightenment, and an intellectual development utterly

impossible without it to a class of people who could not reach these things in any other way" (Carroll D. Wright, Catholic University *Bulletin*, volume 7, 1901), I find no support in the official reports of the English factory inspectors, or in the majority of contemporary opinions at home or abroad.

The weight of evidence given indicates that the factory system as at present conducted, does not "create skilled and intelligent workmen"—affords no opportunity for "intellectual development or educational acquirement" and is powerless in training men to be its directing forces.

That the great concentration of labor in crowded and unsanitary conditions results in lower standards of life and morals, an increased morbidity and a higher death rate.

That the confinement to the machine and its necessary environment results in in the physical and mental deterioration of all employed, especially of women and children.

That the limitation of age, and the ignorance of a trade, tend to the increase of pauperism and dependence.

That the unemployed deteriorate and become the unemployable.

That the unrest and prevailing discontent is the result of the painfulness of the struggle for existence, superinduced by the displacement of labor caused by the general introduction and great productive power of machinery, by the realization of an actual condition, increased by the knowledge that relief is slow in arriving, if not unattainable.

The conditions as outlined furnish additional evidence that environment is the architect of heredity, and abundant data for the bases of new, or the illustration of old theories of evolution—for various suggestions regarding racial improvement by artificial selection—for the more drastic control and treatment of the habitual criminal, and the sterilization of the mentally and physically degenerate—for selection through marriage—for the control of marriage by law upon a due

consideration of the characters and circumstances, without the parties having any choice in the matter as suggested by Dr. Samuel Johnson in 1776—for the revival of the practice of Asclepius, regarding the constitutionally diseased and intemperate, outlined in Plato's *Republic*; and based upon the theory that his art was not meant for persons of that sort, and that it was wrong to attempt their cure, a practice approved by some in our own time. Finally—

The increase of poverty in excess of population, and in the number of the unemployed

The decline in the general birth-rate and of fecundity in the upper classes.

The multiplication of inferior stocks.

The supercession of the craftsman.

The decadence of agriculture.

The increase of alcoholism, especially among women of the working class.

The decline of immigration and increase in emigration of the physically strong and perfect, naturally resulting in a decline in the marriage and birth rates, point to a "lower level of development" or deterioration, and "a lowered level of the hereditary possibilities of such development" or a degeneration, in the population of the United Kingdom which is incidental if not general, and which may, or may not, be permanent.

At the moment in England, and in the Kingdom at large, which has taught and leads the world in textile and other industries, the harvest in the eugenic field is not promising, and the industrial classes are apparently a negative factor.

In working, efficiency and the application of science and in the development of her own discoveries she is being outstripped. The English are no longer a rural, but an urban people.

That the masses are not thriving physically in the cities is only too apparent, and as has been remarked, the present conditions may be the result of over-prosperity in the past, from which we in America may draw some useful practical lessons.

Thomas Carlyle in his *Latter Day*

*Pamphlets* in 1850, inveighed against these industrial, social, moral and physical conditions, but was impotent in suggesting any practical solution of the problems; and to-day they are apparently no nearer solution than when described to Miss Bromley in 1870. "Alas! it is above thirty years since I started the

condition of England question as well worthy of consideration, but was met with nothing but angry howls and radical Ha! Ha's! and here the said question is still untouched, and ten times more unmanageable than then!"

GEORGE R. STETSON.

Washington, District of Columbia.

## "WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?" A SYMPOSIUM.

BY REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, ROSE PASTOR STOKES, HELEN CAMPBELL  
AND JOSEPH LORREN.

[*Notes:* In the December *ARENA* Rabbi Solomon Schindler noted the diminishing birth-rate in America and other leading civilized lands in a highly suggestive paper. In this issue four well-known leaders of the conscience thought of the Republic discuss the question suggested by the Rabbi. Helen Campbell is one of the best known and most popular writers on social and economic problems in America. Rev. John Haynes Holmes is the courageous and brilliant pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York; and Rose Pastor Stokes is a leading lecturer, writer and worker in the interests of social advance among the group of intellectually brilliant and morally enthusiastic Americans who are carrying on an effective propaganda very similar to that being furthered in England by the Fabian Society. A fourth paper is by a brilliant and thoughtful Hebrew lawyer of Boston, who for personal reasons prefers to use a *nom de plume*. His paper is unique and marked by that originality that stimulates thought. It will be noted that these writers are not in harmony with the shallow alarmists that seem to imagine that breeding is the chief end of a people, and who apparently are far more concerned with the number of children born into the land than with the quality of the lives called into existence and the environment during their plastic years. The subject is a timely one and the thought of these writers is richly worth the consideration of all earnest men and women.—  
THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA.]

### I.

I BELIEVE that Rabbi Schindler's question: "Why race-suicide with advancing civilization?" can most certainly be answered, and this on the basis of the very facts which he himself submits in his statement. He points out most aptly the wonderful advances which have been made in this western part of the

world in the case of the "child." He points out that "the clumsy midwife has been replaced by the skilled physician"; that "hospitals for children abound"; that "the kindergarten, the school, the vacation school, the playground supervised by an expert," are freely offered in every community; that "clubs of all descriptions supply the social needs of the growing child"; that "societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are numerous"; that "child-labor is regulated by law and prohibited up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years," etc. And what do all these things mean, if not that our Western civilization has at last awakened to the fact that no effort can safely be spared toward making it possible for every child born into the world to enjoy sound physical health, adequate mental and moral training and sure industrial opportunity? What do they mean, if not that society has come to recognize that its own security, if not its sentiments of justice and mercy, demands that no child shall be neglected or abused or exploited; and that if poor parents cannot or will not furnish adequate protection from neglect, abuse or exploitation, the state must? These facts mean, in short, that after long years of gross stupidity, to say nothing of cruelty, we are

beginning to understand that the conception, bearing and rearing of a child involve the most serious and solemn of responsibilities, and that these responsibilities, however lightly assumed, must be seriously and solemnly discharged.

This being the case, it is apparent, is it not, why race-suicide is in this age a universal accompaniment of advancing civilization. To-day as never before in human history men and women are declining to assume the responsibilities of parentage which they know they cannot discharge. It is significant that it is the upper and the more cultured, and therefore the more self-conscious and self-controlled, portion of the community which is failing to perpetuate itself, and not by any means the lower, more ignorant and more impulsive portion. To-day the average member of this upper or superior class is unwilling to bring a boy or girl into the world who cannot be given the advantages of the best physical and mental training, and thus so prepared for life's battle that success is assured. "I propose that my boy shall have a better start than I had"; "I could not go to college, but my child shall"—these are the expressions which are heard wherever the raising of a family is under discussion showing that latent in the hearts of the more serious, sober and earnest members of society is the conscious determination not to produce more children than can be safely and adequately reared. A certain indication of a high level of individual culture and self-mastery is the ability to "count the cost"—to live not merely for to-day but also for to-morrow—to see not only the present but the future; and it is the men and women who have reached this level who are responsible, generally from the best of motives, for that race-suicide which is so commonly deplored.

Thus considered, the tendency toward decreasing the birth-rate is wholly understandable and commendable. But is this all? Does not this conclusion at once raise the further question: Why is it necessary for people to commit race-

suicide in order to live in decent comfort and obtain a fair share of opportunity? "I can't have but one or two children," says the hard-working, intelligent man of the great middle class, "because I can't afford any more. If I have a larger family than I have at present, I shall have to deny to all my children the advantages which I can give to the one or two—advantages which every child ought to have and which I propose they shall have." This is a common statement. But what are we to think, I ask, of a social condition which forces a man of average ability, average intelligence and average industry to make deliberate choice between a smaller family (or perhaps no family) and poverty? Here we come right down to the stupendously tragic fact of our day and generation: that, in an age of unexampled material prosperity and practically inexhaustible material resources—in an age unparalleled in history for its accumulation of wealth, life is still, for the great masses of the people, so expensive an operation as to make prohibitive the rearing of a good-sized family. Here, in an age which, as Professor Patten points out, in his *New Basis of Civilization*, is no longer an age of "deficit," but of "surplus," an age in which there is enough and to spare of the world's goods to keep every living soul in comfort and plenty, the favored few, by some inexcusable and iniquitous mal-adjustment of our social systems, obtain practically everything and the many nothing. Here, in a country which is literally flowing with that "milk and honey" which seemed too impossible of practical realization to the ancient seer that he pictured it as one of the perfect conditions of heaven, you and I must deny ourselves the joys of parentage, lest we and our children starve. The truth of the matter is, as Mr. H. G. Wells points out in his *New Worlds for Old*, that "parentage which rightly undertaken is a service as well as a duty to the world," is actually penalized by our existing social system, and the parent hopelessly handicapped in our

remorselessly competitive struggle for existence. "The plain fact is," as he says, "that the better middle-class parents serve the state in this matter of child-rearing, the less is their reward, the less is their security, the greater their toil and anxiety. Is it any wonder, then, that throughout this more comfortable but more refined and exacting class, the skilled artisan and middle class, there goes on something even more disastrous from the point-of-view of the state than the squalor, despair and neglect of the lower levels, and that is a very evident strike against parentage? While the very poor continue to have children who die or grow up undersized, crippled or half-civilized, the middle class, which *can* contrive, with a struggle and sacrifice, to rear fairly well-grown and well-equipped offspring, which has a conscience for the well-being and happiness of the young, manifests a diminishing spirit for parentage, its families fall to four, to three, to two, and in an increasing number of instances there are no children at all."

Here, it seems to me, in this question of race-suicide, as in every other social question of our day and generation, we come right down to the question of the cost of living, which opens up the deeper question of the distribution of wealth, which in turn opens up the deepest question of all—the wisdom and justice of our existing social system. Here in this question of race-suicide we have simply one of that multitude of problems which are threatening the very permanency of our civilization and which can find no solution until society makes up its mind to see that justice is done. By what method justice shall be done, men must for long have the widest differences of opinion; but the important thing at the present moment, it seems to me, is to awaken society to a consciousness of existing injustice and to inspire it with a determination to act.

I rejoice, therefore, that the Rabbi has raised this perplexing question for discussion. It is but one of the many symp-

toms of the disease which has fastened upon the social organism. To discuss this symptom is, as I have just illustrated above, to be led to the discussion of the disease; to discuss the disease is to be led to the discussion of the cure; to discuss the cure is to take the first step towards health.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

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## II.

A great deal has been written and said about race-suicide by those who deprecate the prevailing tendency toward small families. It has come to be supposed by a good many people that the deliberate restriction of the birth-rate is a very vicious thing, and that those participating in such restriction are guilty of a heinous crime.

Public attention has been so centered upon this aspect of the question that another, and in the opinion of the writer, a more serious aspect of the question, has been completely ignored in most current discussions of the subject. I refer to the appalling destruction of life and equally appalling impairment of racial vigor due to the heartless grind of our modern industrial system.

Three-quarters of a million people die each year in the United States from causes other than old age; and the large majority of these deaths are due to the fact that nearly the entire working class of our country are precluded from the possibility of self-support except under conditions destructive of health and vigor. The conditions of employment to-day are determined with little regard for the welfare of the workers, but almost wholly with the view of obtaining the greatest possible amount of private profit for their employers.

If we were to add to the tale of physical destruction due to the present harsh and needlessly cruel struggle for existence, the tale of those who, through inability to live decently in this land of plenty, sink into the mire of despondency and despair and become vicious and depraved; and



of those who, driven by desperate want to "steal" their neighbors' goods, pass through penal institutions to a life of habitual crime; and of those in the great army of the unemployed who, unprofitable to private owners of industry, deprived of opportunity for home life and the rearing of families, sink low in the scale of human worth; and, if we were to add to these the tale of Society-as-a-Whole, inevitably leveled down by its neglected, vitiated elements, it would be seen that race-suicide, under present industrial conditions, proceeds at an appalling pace not merely on the *physical* plane, but on the *moral* plane as well.

And who would say that race-quality is less important than race-quantity?

Furthermore, let us consider the hundreds of thousands of women rendered unfit for motherhood by the infirmities due to excessive hours of labor under conditions least conducive to physical health though most conducive to unearned incomes; add also the long list of those women who, forced by a starvation wage, sell their bodies under circumstances that make motherhood and the rearing of children impossible.

Recently an intimate friend of the writer was told by a merchant prince of Chicago that his department store in that city had netted him approximately one million dollars a year for the previous ten years; yet hundreds of his girl employes were receiving wages so small as to render decent self-support impossible. Hundreds of thousands of girls, working under similar conditions, throughout the country, are thus forced into lives of shame. If it be a sin for one mother to limit the birth-rate by a few children, what should be said of one such employer of women?

Race-suicide, indeed! If it be a crime against the race to prevent children being born into the world, how infinitely more criminal it is to destroy children after they are born! The very term "suicide" denotes destruction of life, not merely its prevention.

If we would check race-suicide we must

check the grinding of little children into profits; the killing of little infants through unavoidable neglect by parents too heavily burdened by an industrial oligarchy; the thrusting of young girls and women into the abyss, and the destruction of life and limb of the adult workers of our country under this ruthless, anarchistic struggle for unearned wealth.

It may readily be seen by those who study our social problems and their causes, that our present system of industry, under which wealth is produced not primarily for social use but for private gain, is responsible for an immeasurably greater amount of race-suicide than any other factor; is, in fact, the basic cause of race-suicide, both as regards quality and quantity; and that such destruction is wrought most widely, not among those parents who deliberately restrict the birth-rate, but among those helpless victims of our industrial system who are either denied opportunities for family life, or who, having large families, cannot rear their children to manhood and womanhood; and who are themselves prematurely exhausted, and sink to early graves.

If we would effectually check race-suicide, we must first study those laws and other institutions of our country which "justify" the destruction of the millions, body and soul, that the few may revel in unearned wealth; and we must so modify or completely change these laws and other institutions as to render them operative for the material and moral welfare of *all* the people rather than, as now, in the material interests of the few.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

*New York City.*

### III.

To hold at once the place of agitator for better and always better conditions, not alone for the child but for struggling humanity as a whole, yet with a deep-seated optimism—a certainty that all, even at its worst, is working toward right and order and a better day, is not the contradiction it might seem. The advantage

of passing the Osler limit by many years is that a lengthening perspective gives not only the dark spots in the story of both past and present, but the steady background of a light slowly making its way, and clearer with each year—the source of what we are beginning to know as “social consciousness.” A very old book long ago put it, “No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself,” and we are learning this better and better day by day.

Thus it is that it is quite possible to accept each and every statement in Rabbi Schindler’s series of questions, and yet feel assured that the lessening birth-rate means, on one side at least, a growing sense of responsibility to the child. Selfishness, the increase of artificial and chiefly unwholesome methods of life, an entirely false standard of living, and ambition—these are the facts, and increasingly so for a large majority; but they do not, however, affect the underlying forces that are making a new world for the child, the most defective parents being thereby gradually educated in spite of themselves.

The Puritan family held up to us as an ideal was often a dozen or more, a fact of immense importance in a new country where every child meant a fresh pair of arms for plough or distaff. But one who studies old New England graveyards, on whose crumbling stones may still be seen the staid Puritan names of the three or even four or more wives sacrificed to bring about this plenitude of helpers, realizes the absolute blank of any real understanding of the question. In fact, under the prevailing faith any question would have been impossible. Children were of God. Blessed was the man who had his quiver full of them. Children in plenty, but not for one of them what we know as childhood to-day. Nor could it be for those early generations in the new land, stern and unyielding as its owners; daily life a battle with all natural forces, and hardships endured and made light of. The same conditions enforced to-day even for the poorest would raise a howl of indignation.

Slowly, how slowly, has dawned the thought that something more than mere numbers is the need of the family. Man found out long ago what laws must be studied and carried out in breeding for the highest results in animal life; the brood mare or other animal rested and skilfully fed. For the woman, such thought never entered the mind of either husband or wife. The formula, “God wills it,” lifted the burden of responsibility for defectives, or diseased, deformed or crippled children. Later, “moral education” societies went to the other extreme, their rigid formulations leaving no place for the love that can also hold law; the child born under such formulæ a rather bloodless product, never to realize life at its fullest and noblest.

In short, in the transition time mistakes of all orders gradually brought knowledge of the real needs of the child, and while one must still reckon with the army whose point-of-view is even now a purely selfish one, there is another army, filled as never before with the sense of what true parentage may mean. Not even the mad push for place, for more and more money, more and more personal ease, has had power to turn aside these deeper currents of life, a great and swelling tide, the “power that makes for righteousness.” The new thought, not only of the child’s rights, but of the right of the human being everywhere, is working out hourly for human betterment. Even our most difficult problem, the mass of ignorance and often of disease dumped upon our shores, is handled with more and more hearty conviction that from this great crucible in America, in which all nations are blending, will result a product born of the noblest, most progressive thought for the saving and uplifting of humanity at large.

“Fewer and better” is not even now a death-knell for the state. It is at once a study of past and present, and a promise of the larger life to come. The very most so-called fatal tendencies, the increase of degenerates of all orders, is simply another spur to profound and

effective study of causes, and no age has known so extraordinary advance in the deeper knowledge that will abolish the causes for the evils upon us. "Preventive medicine," we are just learning, is the only medicine required. "Prevention is better than cure." A little farther on the chief source of disease and crime and outrage, the tenement house, will have become an impossibility. The education that will abolish this horror—that is already beginning to do so, will accomplish its work, making more and better room for the child and the life that unfolds from the child. "Fewer and better" has its own mission, till the day comes when a trained motherhood and fatherhood will ensure to the state an order of citizens for whom that war-cry is no longer needed. The old phrase, "God's will," is to fill with new meaning. God's will and man's more and more one with every step forward in the knowledge of what life was meant to bring to every child of man. Race-suicide is a passing phase, a necessary one, till the lesson is learned; but it will be learned, and the future holds no fear, but a certain trust that only good and always more good is before us.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

*Eliot, Maine.*

#### IV.

American thought has been enriched of late by two classical answers to two classical questions. At the famous Cooper Union speech of William H. Taft, the first classical question was propounded. It came full-throated out of the mouths of the people: "Why enforced idleness in our Land of Plenty?" and the classical answer of our President-elect was "God knows!" The second classical question was propounded by Theodore Roosevelt: "Why race-suicide?" and the answer of the American people was, "God knows." In the first place the people asked and the President answered; in the second place the President asked and the people answered, but in both cases the answer was "God knows; we do n't."

IN THE ARENA for December that profound thinker and thought-stimulator, Solomon Schindler, whom we who know him dearly love to call Socrates Schindler, has propounded the second question once more. But unlike the platitudinous sledge-hammer questionings of our ubiquitous President, Dr. Schindler has thrown his question in a mould that pricks our gray matter at a thousand points. As I understand it, he neither asks for a cure, nor demands a brief of the defenders of the small family. His question is, "How is it that children are not wanted in the very countries that do all that science, humanity and philanthropy can suggest to raise the human plant, and that they prosper and appear in large numbers where nothing is done for them and all odds are against them?" At first this question took the wind out of my mental sails, and I was about to give the classical answer, "God knows," when I remembered that it was "God helps those who help themselves—to think."

My attempt to answer Dr. Schindler's question is not even an attempt at a full and correlated answer. I merely jot down several tendencies which, I believe, play a part in the depression of the birth-rate with the advance of civilization, in the humble hope that others, following the train of some of these thoughts will be helped to evolve an apodictic answer.

Some of the reasons for the concomitant decrease in the number of children to a family with the advance of civilization—race-suicide or race-selection—pick your choice of names—seem to be as follows:

(1) One may answer the entire question by denying its premises. Although I agree with my friend, the doctor, that the number of children per family decreases with the advance of civilization, *childhood* unquestionably increases with civilization. In mere number of children born to the family, savagery outruns civilization; in the units of childhood to the family, civilization outruns savagery. Let

me try to make my position clear. I maintain that as a practical matter we have a larger number of children per family in a state of higher civilization than we have in a state of lower civilization. We know that with the advance of civilization goes the *prolongation* of infancy; that the more uncivilized a state the human lives in, the less in years is the childhood life. The Indian papoose becomes a full-fledged man (by man I mean here the independence of the human from the support of his parents) as soon as he reaches his tenth year, while the present age of dependency of childhood of the high-class American is nearer twenty-five years than it is twenty years. Thus we see that in the matter of dependency, the American parent who has one child has in childhood units two and one-half children, as compared to the child unit of the Indian. Moreover, we find that the savage Indian parent gives very little of his time to his offspring while in the childhood state, while the American parent not only prolongs the infancy of his child, but he intensifies it by his zealous abandonment of himself to his child; so if it were possible to weigh childhood as we weigh butter, by the unit, it would appear that a child of the higher class American is equal to perhaps six or seven children of the savage. Thus the answer to the question is that although in the mere number of children born, the savage is ahead of his civilized brother; in the child unit of entire child measurement the civilized races are ahead, far ahead, of the savage. In other words, the answer to “Why race-suicide in America,” is “There is no race-suicide in America.”

(2) The second line of thought also leads us inevitably to the answer, “There is no race-suicide.” Although I agree with the doctor that the number of children born to savage parents are in excess—far in excess—of the number of children born in our civilized state, I believe that the doctor will agree with me that in the savage state, due to the very loose paren-

tal bond, and to the absence of medical and economic knowledge, the children die off in a far greater ratio than do the children of American parents, so that although the savage family gives birth to a larger number of children, his children do not survive childhood in the same ratio as the civilized child.

(3) The Doctor painted vividly to us the paradise in which the civilized child, especially the civilized child of poor parents, live in this country. Is it not possible that this very paradise is the very effect and also the cause of the lessening of our birth-rate? It is generally true that paradise can be enjoyed only by the elect. The very paradise of kindergartens, schools, vacation schools, playgrounds, hospitals, and all other concomitants of civilization are the effect (and also the cause) of a decreasing birth-rate. Is it not true that if we had as large a birth-rate as the savage, and could succeed as we do to-day to rear him to manhood, that the child would not have the paradise in which he now lives, and the Doctor's question would lose its force? Civilization is regulated by a system of checks and balances. The welfare of the child depends upon his numbers. All these hospitals, schools and other child-enrichening institutions of civilization have become necessities in our American life, and the support of them have become necessities of the American people. To enrich the lives of those children whose parents are not able materially to help them, the supporters of these institutions are, because of this very support, driven to a suppression of their own birth-rate. As civilization advances the luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of to-day. The luxuries of one thousand dollars a year become the necessities of two thousand dollars a year. And perhaps one of the most necessary of all these necessities of advancing civilization is the necessity of helping our less fortunate neighbors. The uplifting and upholding of our child-enrichening institutions has become one of our national necessities. With an

increase of our necessities goes an inevitable decrease of our birth-rate. With an increase of our necessities goes the decrease of our luxury margin. Marriage depends on our luxury-margin—therefore with the whittling down of our luxury-margin comes a thinning of our marriages, and the increase of late marriage with its necessary decrease in the number of births to the union.

(5) With the advance of civilization comes the advance of woman. From a slave, and a hewer of wood and carrier of water, and a mere child-bearer, she steps along the highway of modern life until she reaches a state of absolute, material and social independence of the male, which in its turn makes for celibacy. She enters with alacrity into the professions and industry, and in the struggle and strain of modern life her desire for marriage decreases, both from the social and sexual standpoint. Added to this we must take into consideration the tendency of higher education upon marriage—especially on its sexual side.

(6) There is, however, another cause,

psychological in its way, which tends to exhilarate a force set in motion by innumerable causes, some of which have been jotted down above. We are in the midst of a great mental epidemic, and we follow the paths of human nature which makes a fashion of necessity. In the haze of history, the Chinese were conquered, and as a mark of submission and of inferiority to their captors, their heads were shaven and a hair-sprout was left on top of the cranium. At first they fumed and were much ashamed, but as time softens all things, in due fulness of time they forgot the significance of the pigtail, and to-day it is a mark of fashion and even of religion. Because civilization sets in motion its innumerable forces for birth suppression, in time, the human accepts it as a necessity, which in turn becomes a fashion. With the acceptance of small families as a fashion in America, come the natural adoption and exhilaration of the idea of child suppression. Janus-faced, the Effect has become the Cause.

JOSEPH LORRENS.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## PROSTITUTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

LIKE every other social problem, prostitution may be scanned from two conflicting view-points, namely: the religious and the secular (or scientific). Unfortunately very few people have any clear idea as to what is the essential difference between these two attitudes of mind, and to most persons it has never even occurred to ask if there might be a difference in the resultant moral code. Briefly, to state this difference, as I see it, and to suggest some of its results in attempting a solution of the problem of prostitution is the motive for this essay.

In the most generally accepted Chris-

tian aspect, the problem of prostitution is but a fraction of the larger problems of religious activity, and resolves itself into a sub-division of theology. According to this view all prostitution, like all other sexuality without ceremonial sanctification, is judged by *a priori*, emotional methods, to be *per se* immoral because it is believed to be prohibited by God. In the scientific aspect the morality of conduct is judged only by its direct effect upon others. Hence it follows that no isolated act of prostitution can be judged as *per se* immoral, and the varying consequence of a multitude of such acts require

diversity of moral judgments, according to their respective ascertained and material effects and each relative to its alternative possibility.

Judged by religious standards of morals the evils of prostitution are usually measured by the violence it does to the religious feelings, and the consequent intensity of the emotions of aversion, which indiscriminately indict all (even indirect) participants without any pretense at balancing the relative social utility and inutility of segregated acts, or of the system. In the antithetical, scientific aspect the emotional aversion and moral sentimentalizing count for nothing, and the moral estimate of the act is determined by its direct and ascertained consequence upon persons who are immature, deceived, unintentional, or unintelligent participants therein.

These differences of view-point lead unavoidably to very different conceptions as to what constitutes the essence of the problem presented by the phenomena of prostitution. In the religious aspect the essence of the evil lies in the disobedience of accepted "divine command," and the loss of soul-salvation. The problem is best being studied from the religionist view-point, by inquiry as to how most effectively to secure obedience to theological "morality," and to attain soul-salvation for the devotees to prostitution.

In the scientific aspect the essence of the evil lies in actual material evil (physiological) consequences and the problem is one of discovering and removing secular (economics, hereditary or social) causes, and tracing the physiological and hereditary, evil, social consequences. In this aspect all religious, or *a priori*, moral codes, theologies, and soul-interests are disregarded. The sociologist concerns himself almost wholly with hygienic, prophylactic and educational methods for securing betterment, through an enlightened self-interest, and improving economic conditions and the victim's industrial efficiency. The religionist, from the necessities imposed by his moral code, for improved conditions relies chiefly upon

the brutalities of moralization by force, or its alternative of a hypocritical pretense of unconsciousness. With religious "morality" a secular state can have nothing to do without destroying its secular character. The sociologist, as an individual may sometimes find religion a helpful short-cut to the conduct he wishes to impose, if he can bring himself to making the appeal to superstitious fears as a coercive force, where he lacks the capacity, or patience, requisite to succeed by the scientific method. But every time that he does this he retards the achievement of that ultimate ethical ideal in which none will need to be coerced because all will have so broad and perfect a conception of human interdependence, as to find their own highest and noblest self-interest to be served by intelligently insisting upon the maintenance of those conditions which will insure to every one else the equal opportunity of promoting his same self-interest. If a scientist should thus abandon the scientific method of studying and treating the problem of prostitution, it must be because he sees no difference between the person who is good because in jail or afraid of hell-fire, and the one who is good from an absence of all desire to do evil, and intelligent enough to avoid it. For such a pseudo-scientist the church deceptively seems to produce good results by false methods. The more truly scientific spirit, it seems to me, will induce more zeal towards securing the conditions which will develop the more perfect man, rather than devotion toward securing coerced perfection of conduct from undeveloped and degenerate humans without bettering the man or the environing conditions which conduce to make him a criminal.

From these diverse attitudes of mind toward prostitution as a problem there also comes a corresponding difference in the attitude towards the prostitute herself. To the theologian she is, at the same time, an object of awe, of hate and rarely of pity. While he would like to see her converted, probably because he considers this

the only efficient means of her reform, he cares but little about her reform without conversion, except as it may be a first step to that end. On the other hand, the sociologist, purely as a sociologist, cares nothing for her conversion and everything for the cessation of her harmful practices. The theologian more often hates her as the emissary of the devil who, through fleshly passion, tempts men to ruin, primarily their souls and secondarily their bodies. The sociologist cares only for the physical man. Where the pious "moralist" hopes for her only as he does for Satan's surrender to the power and righteousness of his God, until surrender takes place, usually, he must hate her with all the intensity of a fable-demon. The sociologist, on the other hand, hates her not at all, but views her as a symptom of disorder in our social organism, a victim of hard conditions which are to be removed, and he studies her with the same dispassion that would possess him in working out a problem of mathematics.

Through our daily journals we often—too often—read the hysterical and insane overvaluation of the sinfulness of unsanctified sensuality, and the corresponding righteous vituperation of heartless cruelty and savage barbarity with which pious people quite generally denounce the courtesan. The scientist has neither use nor respect for this "morality" of defective intellects and diseased nerves.

When I hear, or read, the passionate outbursts of a pulpiter's maledictions which usually comes when such attempt to deal with the problem of unauthorized sexuality, it always seems to me that these must be the quacks of reform who dwell in the borderland of emotional insanity. So vehement have been their unreasoned onslaughts that they have submerged and obscured all efforts at dealing rationally with the prostitute and her problem. Those who have attempted to deal with these sanely and scientifically have been buried under such an avalanche of piety and righteous vituperation as to deter almost every one from examining such

presentation of the question, or attempting a like study of it. The sexual tinkers of theological cast of mind have so infected the public mind with their prudery that all must at least profess to shun not only the evil of prostitution, but the very knowledge of its existence, which is an essential precedent to a rational consideration of the problem.

After hearing the "moral" rant from the pulpits of quack reformers I like the relief which comes from re-reading the following compassionate statement of W. H. H. Lecky, the historian and moralist:

"There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed, for the most part, to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people."

Of course, the causes of prostitution are numerous. Chief among these is the economic cause which means not only low wages in general, but a wage discrimination against women and a lingering prejudice against their economic equality and independence, which compels them to

look to men for at least partial support, and the making of a return therefor. The thrifty shop-keeper and bargain-hunter soon learn to take advantage of a situation which enables women, by prostituting themselves for a partial livelihood, to accept merely nominal wages as a method of concealing their real means of support.

It seems to me that other provocatives to prostitution come from our irrational marriage ideals and social customs. The latter, especially in the middle, and the more conservative portion of the prosperous classes, so hedge about the social intercourse of young people, as to form a pernicious impediment to the development of that natural affection which leads to marriage. Another such impediment is the financial requirement of "society" in the culturine set. Another most efficient means of encouraging the business of the prostitute is those social ideals and statute laws which prevent divorce and the remarriage of persons who are no longer held together by the natural ties, which alone should bind. It is not to be reasonably expected that persons thus situated will allow a mere abstract respect for laws and customs that are easily evaded, to stand in the way of conduct in accordance with a natural impulse, especially when it is not apparent, at least upon a superficial view, that such conduct necessarily injures any one. Even a voluntary celibacy has produced much havoc in the world, and compulsory celibacy only intensifies the evil.

This branch of the subject is so important and so much underestimated or overlooked, that I am impelled to emphasize it by a few quotations from eminent authorities. In *The Outlook* for June, 1907, Judge E. Ray Stevens has this to say: "By refusing to grant a legal separation we can wipe out divorce entirely, but this will not change human nature nor make homes ideal. In some extreme cases, if the law does not give relief, the dagger will perform the function of the divorce decree. When Justinian sought

to stem the rising tide of divorce by somewhat radical reforms, poisonings and other attempts on life among married people became so common that his successors abolished these reforms. The countries that prohibit divorce are not exceptional for social purity. . . . During the twenty years covered by the Federal divorce report, 14,247 divorces were granted for adultery alone by the New York courts. In the state having the second largest population (Pennsylvania) eleven causes for absolute divorce were recognized, and during the same twenty years 16,020 absolute divorces were granted—only 1,773 more than New York granted for adultery alone. Chancellor Kent, after a long career on the bench of New York, stated that he believed that sometimes adultery was committed for the very purpose of obtaining a divorce because it could be secured on no other ground.

"In South Carolina, outside of the days of reconstruction, the legislature has refused to grant an absolute divorce itself, or to empower the courts to grant such decree. Aside from the presumption that this policy would have been changed if not satisfactory to the people, one can find little that commends it.

"Turning to the laws and decisions of the courts of that state, we find evidences of an unusual social condition. This is the only state, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that has found it necessary to regulate by law the proportion of his property which a married man may give the woman with whom he has been living in violation of law. As late as 1899, the courts were called on to apply this law in order to protect the rights of the wedded wife and her children, in a case in which it appeared that both the husband and the wife had been living in adultery since the separation.

"Evidently this is not an uncommon condition in that state, for Justice Nott, speaking for the Supreme Court of South Carolina, said: 'In this country, where divorces are not allowed for any cause



whatever, we sometimes see men of excellent character unfortunate in their marriages, and virtuous women abandoned or driven away homeless by their husbands, who would be doomed to celibacy and solitude if they did not form connections which the law does not allow, and who make excellent husbands and virtuous wives still.'

"President Woolsey some years ago, speaking of South Carolina, said: 'The white wife has often to endure the infidelity of her husband as something inevitable which no law could remedy and which public opinion did not severely rebuke.'"

Montaigne once wrote: "We have thought to make our marriage tie stronger by taking away all means of dissolving it; but the more we have tightened the constraint so much the more have we relaxed and detracted from the bond of will and affection."\* Such conditions of unreasoned restraint upon divorce are responsible for the very general belief that houses of prostitution find their main financial support from discontented, mismated married men, and not from the unmarried.

In dealing with the curtailment of the evil consequences of prostitution we always come up against the same impenetrable wall of unreason and superstition. To produce hysterical manifestations of moral sentimentalizing, in an audience of average religionists, it is only necessary to mention a few possible practical means and ends in dealing with this problem.

It has been suggested that segregation and publicity will lessen the contamination and enticement, especially of the young, and thus curtail the actual number engaged in prostitution. General instruction in personal prophylaxis against venereal infection, in all probability would lessen the spread of disease. It is claimed that public inspection and licensing would also limit the spread of "the great black plague." These have been suggested as

\*Essays, vol. 11, p. 15, here quoted from Letourneau's *The Evolution of Marriage*, p. 358.

partial remedies. Their value I am not prepared to pass upon nor at this time to discuss. I call attention to them only for the purpose of saying that the righteous vituperation and hysterical moral cant and a prurient prudery has thus far prevented the general public from even knowing the facts and arguments advanced by the advocates of these measures of relief, nor has the public anything like an intelligent opinion concerning any phase of these subjects.

It is this that I desire to protest against. Everywhere and always I wish to write myself down as the foe of the "moral" sentimentalism of the quack reformers with diseased nerves, who uniformly oppose scientific intelligence as a means of sex-reform, and rely upon moralization by force, directed by the ignorant, who know only the theology of sex.

I know a brave little woman who has thought somewhat upon these questions. Sometime since she wrote a very practical letter to a philanthropist, interested in this problem. This letter seems to me to contain some excellent suggestions. Indeed they seem so simple and practical as to be beyond the comprehension of ordinary professional reformers or those who are philanthropists for fame only. Indeed, these suggestions seem to me too good to be lost in a rich man's voluminous letter-file, so I have asked permission to copy the material portion and with her words, slightly revised, I will close this essay:

"Men who wish to do a practical good for those persons now on earth, and others who will come here before the millenium, must direct their efforts to reducing the evil consequences rather than the causes of prostitution.

"It is in the interest of such a movement that I write to you. The chief evils, it seems to me, are the spread of venereal infection, and the inability of those who are victims of the system to get out of it, because of their incapacity for self-support by any other acceptable service. Thinking upon these matters it has seemed to me that the most practical thing to do

would be to establish a sort of educational hospital, where no effort at moral sermonizing would be indulged, but where a woman afflicted with venereal disease might receive medical treatment and housing, thus removing the temptation to spread disease, and at the same time, either while living there for treatment, or even while working at her trade outside, give her an opportunity to come and learn how to do some useful work, so that all of these women may so increase their industrial efficiency that they are not compelled to remain in their degrading business, when it ceases to please them.

"From my point-of-view, the chief defect of the present rescue home lies in the fact that it does absolutely nothing to improve the mind or industrial efficiency of the women who come to it; and secondly the atmosphere of these establishments is too often saturated with repulsive moral sentimentalizing which oozes from weeping and praying missionaries, so that no prostitute except in the last extremity of despair will ever go near them, nor submit to their indignities.

"It has seemed to me that such an institution as I have suggested, devoted to a practical helpfulness, which is not a mere incident to 'soul-saving,' might even be made partially self-supporting from the money of the prostitutes themselves by inviting them to make regular monthly or weekly contributions on the basis of which they are entitled to enter the home when diseased, upon their agreeing merely to receive while there, instruction in some trade. In the matter of contributions to the support of this home I have in mind a plan akin to that of laboring men's assessment for hospital privileges.

"Sometimes I have been tempted to try to establish such an industrial school for unfortunate and diseased women, myself assuming the duties of manager, but it has always seemed too difficult to get money for anything so practical as not to appeal to the religious zealot whose only desire is for spiritual missionary work."

To these words of my friend I say  
"Amen." THEODORE SCHROEDER.  
*Cos Cob, Connecticut.*

## ERRORS OF THE ENEMY.

BY C. A. G. JACKSON.

**I**T MAY be true, as some of the opponents of Socialism claim, that no two Socialists agree on an exact definition of the aims and purposes of their system, but it is also true that the fundamental principles of Socialism are known and agreed upon, and those who oppose it ought at least to state fairly such fundamentals as are not matter of dispute.

There is a surprising amount of ignorance regarding Socialism, a general misconception of its aims and purposes, often coupled with a desire to misrepresent. So long as this misrepresentation succeeds in creating a misconception in the

popular mind it may serve to prevent men from incurring criticism by openly avowing themselves Socialists, but it will not prevent the spread of Socialist belief.

One of the grossest misstatements of Socialism that has recently come to notice is contained in a plank of the Republican party in the late campaign. It may perhaps be pardoned as something designed for temporary effect, intended to catch votes, but it ought to be exposed. This is the misstatement:

"The trend of Democracy is toward Socialism, while the Republican party stands for wise and regulated individual-

ism. Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take. Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess. Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party to-day believes in government ownership while the Republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately the Democratic party would have the nation own the people while the Republican party would have the people own the nation."

Holding no brief for the Democratic party I shall not undertake a defense that would be useless now that the campaign has ended; but the statement of the aims of Socialism is so absurdly wrong that it deserves to be exposed lest it create further misunderstanding, and when its errors are noted the strength of this finely-worded bit of antithesis is destroyed.

"Socialism would destroy wealth."

Either ignorance or malevolence penned that statement. Socialism makes no war on wealth. If one were disposed to discuss the question of the right of wealth to exist in private ownership he would find stronger denunciations in the writings of the early Christian fathers than in all the works on Socialism. Indeed, it is questionable if the Socialist attacks on wealth that have been made referred to wealth as such. Socialism is engaged in a war on capital, and capital must be distinguished from wealth. There is an economic difference. The wealth that finds expression in mansions, carriages, yachts, automobiles, books, paintings and tapestries, while it may have been unjustly acquired, is not oppressive or injurious as is the wealth actively employed in production—capital—which controls the lives of those whom it employs and satisfies its

greed from those who consume its products. It is wealth converted into capital, not wealth in general, that Socialism finds dangerous; but even this it does not seek to destroy. It would convert it from private, dangerous, into public, beneficent, capital.

"Socialism would give to each an equal right to take."

To take what? What he has helped to create? The real producer does not have an equal chance now. Not until various tolls have been levied and satisfied does the real producer now get his share. Before Socialism would give any one an equal right to take it would be assured that he has helped to make. It would insist that "If any will not work neither shall he eat." Socialism concerns itself as much with production as with distribution, as any system of political economy must; it is not communism, not a scheme for dividing everything equally, but for regulating industry equitably.

"Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess."

That is near the climax of absurdity. Division does not mean destruction. Property will not disappear, though divided. Perishable property will perish even if kept intact. Permanent property, houses, lands and so forth, will remain, even though divided and subdivided. But Socialism does not contemplate any such division.

As for the antithetical statement: "Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions"—the answer is a question: "Why has it not done so?" The great demand of Socialism is for equality of opportunity.

"Ultimately Democracy (Socialism) would have the nation own the people."

For "nation" we must read "government." The brilliant framer of the platform is tautological or confused. The nation is the people and the people are the

nation. In making this statement he has again shown his ignorance of what Socialism is. When he refers to the government owning the people he has the idea of government that prevails among the so-called upper classes, an agency apart from the people, ruling them, not obeying them—a European, not an American, system of government. He further confutes his own earlier assertion, for if property is divided it will be owned by the people individually, not collectively—by individuals, not by the government. So far as Socialism would acquire collective ownership it would be for purposes of control, not ownership for its own sake, for purposes of administration rather than possession and power.

As this platform was written for partisan, special, temporary purposes, we can afford to believe that the misstatements were made knowingly, intentionally, not through ignorance. But what shall we say of a distinguished educator who talks of Socialism with as little regard for truth? Shall we consider him ignorant or malicious? Chancellor McCracken of the University of New York, returning [from abroad last spring, gave this statement to the papers:

“If King Haakon were not a king,” he said, referring to his meeting with the ruler of Norway, “he would make a good professor of political economy. He understands the subject thoroughly. The king knows that Socialism is increasing and he recognizes the fact openly.

“He told me that he went among some workmen who were known to be Socialists and asked them if they were in favor of a division of wealth. They said they were. ‘Then let us appoint Friday at noontime for a division of wealth,’ the king said to them.

“All right,” answered the men.

“‘But hold,’ said the king. ‘At five minutes after twelve o’clock many babies will be born. They will be entitled to their share of the wealth. Shall we make another division then and another every five minutes?’

“The king did n’t get an answer to that question, so his opposition to Socialism was not checked.”

It is interesting to note that in the opinion of Chancellor McCracken utter ignorance of so widespread a doctrine as Socialism is a qualification for a chair of political economy. It is a surprising fact that men of intelligence and position in considering this subject of Socialism dismiss it with an incorrect assumption and a sneer at that assumption. Political economy, so called, is not a science and often deals with half-truths, but one may be pardoned a feeling of surprise at the way so eminent a man as Chancellor McCracken deals with the matter. A man in his position ought to be willing to learn and to teach the truth, but he seems to be pridefully ignorant.

There are candid and able opponents of Socialism, but the smaller foes either do not know what Socialism is or cannot answer its arguments, so they content themselves with a sneer and a false assertion. A sneer is not an argument, nor a lie, nor a refutation. The leaders of Socialistic thought have been men worthy the attention of thinking men and have received that attention. It is the unthinking and ignorant among their opponents whose utterances most readily and frequently reach the public.

Lest it should be thought that too much attention is here paid to offhand utterances, a platform designed for partisan and temporary purposes and a newspaper interview, perhaps given without any notice or preparation, let us turn to a more serious attempt to state something regarding Socialism. Mr. Henry Wood has achieved some repute as a writer of books on natural law, and has written one on *The Political Economy of Natural Law*. The following is from his chapter on “Socialism as a Political System”:

“With human nature as it is, how many would be provident, industrious or economical under the most perfect system of Socialism yet conceived? Enterprise, ambition, invention and progress would all

wither as under the shade of the deadly upas. If an ideal millenium had come upon the earth so that men loved others more than themselves there would be true moral Socialism from within; but *until such a time civil law and government will be indispensable.*"

Perhaps Mr. Wood's knowledge of natural law may be judged from his reference to the exploded story of the deadly upas tree. There is a curious inconsistency in arguing that Socialism, which is most frequently attacked as involving too large an extension of the powers of government, which would necessarily mean an extension of government activities, would destroy civil law and government. The things Mr. Wood says Socialism would destroy are the very things it would enlarge and amplify. No Socialist desires the destruction of government unless it be some foreigners who call themselves Socialists and are really Anarchists, for the idea of Socialism without government is a contradiction in terms.

Here is a further quotation from Mr. Wood, as unfortunate as the previous one:

"The genius of Socialism seems to be embodied in the old adage that 'the world owes every man a living.' No matter how lazy, improvident or reckless he may be, his industrious neighbor, who by patient toil has become the owner of accumulated labor, is expected to divide with him and, in future, to keep on dividing."

One might be led from this to believe that the founders of Socialism were the "lazy, improvident or reckless," but they were not. They were among the best and strongest men of their time. They were not desirous of division and future division, and their followers are not.

There are plenty of the "lazy, improvident or reckless" who, misled by such statements as Mr. Wood makes, may declare themselves Socialists in the false hope of gaining in the division he promises, and thus throw discredit on the system they profess to believe. The ignorant Socialist is as much an injury to the cause as its ignorant opponent.

If Socialism has any value as a theory of political economy it will have its chance to prove its worth. It is idle to say that the ultimate of human government has been reached, that we, "the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time," shall leave nothing better to our descendants than we received from our fathers. Mankind has never been content and never will be content. The struggle for freedom and equality, the struggle Socialism now represents, has been the primal cause of all the advance the world has made. We have progressed through individualism, tribalism, slavery, feudalism to capitalism, and he has studied man's history to small advantage who believes that progress ends here. Every development of government to-day, every step in improving the condition of humanity is in the direction of Socialism, not because of Socialism as a theory, but because the principles of Socialism afford the best solution of the concrete problems that present themselves. Whether the present progress toward Socialism will continue or whether some other and better theory will be presented is to be seen, but the present progress toward Socialism will not be stayed by ignorant or malicious attempts to deceive people as to its real meaning and purpose.

C. A. G. JACKSON.

*Montpelier, Vermont.*



## TAN-BARK.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE, A.M.

**I**N A RAMSHACKLE, fire-trap tenement of New York's East Side I visited a little boy ill with typhoid.

Groping through the halls dark and grimy as coal-pockets, I passed a sinister door where "policy" gaming was reported to flourish,

Lurking for the pennies of the poor at their very thresholds, like a tarantula under green fruit stinging the first hand thrust into its den.

I found the child upstairs crimson as a peony with the fever, but uncomplaining except to speak of his throbbing headache.

He had pinned to the sofa above his head some celluloid buttons that he wore when well, bearing trivial mottoes that here somehow took on a pathetic dignity.

Outside, the rattle of wagons over the broken pavement, and the raucous street-cries, made the little patient wince as though cut,

But ah, these were more like balm compared to the sudden inferno of clamor that now burst forth for his torture!—

A woman's strident voice from the stairs near the door vented such profane scurrility on some one who had mocked her,

That the very glass in the crippled transom seemed to chatter, and the sick boy stared with the amazement of the drowning.

Hastening out I confronted a tipsy harridan with dishonored gray locks straggling over her face, who clashed a beer-can against the banisters,

Like some horrible menadic accompaniment of cymbals to the witch-chant of her shrill blasphemy.

My appeals to her to have pity on the suffering boy but added fuel to the flame of her wrath, as I might have foreseen.

Were you thinking that the Russian revolutionists have cause to be rebels against social conditions and those who prop them, but Americans have no such cause?

Would your resentment at the needless woe of such a sick child, and of ten thousand others like him, have been appeased simply by his going to the haven of a hospital the next day?—

Or would you have felt it shame to take the contrast as a matter of course, when in the elegant residence-district uptown you found tan-bark spread thick over the street, and you knew this meant that some one—another child perhaps—was ill in one of these houses, and must have the very pavement muffled for his comfort?

In imagination you could see the quiet, skilful nurses ministering to every whispered wish, and losing no opportunity to reduce the fever and fortify the cherished body with delicate and costly nourishment.

You did not grudge one benefit, or device for ease and healing, to the child of wealth, but you mightily vowed you would die on some invisible barricade of revolt,

Sooner than accept the smug plea that social inequalities such as involved what you saw the tenement child endure, are grounded in the constitution of God's world.

As I thought again and again of the reddish-brown, pungent-smelling quilt laid over the rough granite bed of the street, with such consideration for sensitive nerves,

I found it assuming the aspect of a symbol—suggesting all the expensive and clever contrivances that cushion the impact of distress on refined ears,

And hush the rasp and din of anguish that cries from a hundred city slums for no more exorbitant boon than justice.  
 Yet even now like a new Herakles or Iphigenia, a man or woman here and there rises from the couch of social invalidism,  
 Crying, "I will hear and see truth!"—and to the chagrin of companions to whom such quixotic venture seems sheer treason,  
 He girds himself to twelve modern labors for his kin who had been beyond his pale, and she to a sacrifice of service, undeterred by the knife of ridicule, as dauntlessly as her Greek sister long ago.

ELIOT WHITE.

*Worcester, Massachusetts.*

## THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

### THE PENDING CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IDEALISM OF THE NAZARENE AND THE MATERIALISM OF CÆSAR.

"Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still. To dream of castles in Spain is well; to dream of Utopia is better."

"To construct the people! Principles combined with science, all possible quantity of the absolute introduced by degrees into the fact, Utopia treated successively by every mode of realization—by political economy, by philosophy, by physics, by chemistry, by dynamics, by logic, by art; union gradually replacing antagonism, and unity replacing union.

"And at the summit the ideal.

The ideal!—the stable type of ever-moving progress."

—*William Shakespeare*, by VICTOR HUGO.

**T**O THE modern philosophic student of history who views life from the standpoint of idealism, certain great faith-inspiring facts present themselves which declare by unmistakable implication that the sunrise is before and not behind the human race. They come to the truth-seeker who with his God-given reason as a lamp fearlessly pursues the pathway of scientific research, as bugle notes of victory from those who have marched in the van.

Thus, for example, the modern seeker after truth, while accepting the revelations of science and critical research, which frighten the timid and the ignorant, beholds that the long and toilsome journey humanity has made since the first man faced the heavens with a question and a prayer, has been an upward course. He knows that our historic record of the race constitutes but a fraction of the story of its

ascent; that the long way has been marked by upward and downward movements, victories and defeats. There have been valleys of death and quicksands that have swallowed up many peoples, but the general course of life has been upward; the key-note has been growth—development born of experience and the upward strivings of a soul bearing the Divine Light within its sanctuary. Here at every turn has been a groping toward light, a rising from the lower to the higher, and the broadening of the horizon at every waiting stage. Here has been a continual unfoldment of new worlds in the microcosm of man no less than in the macrocosm of the universe. Continents of truth, subjective and objective, have been discovered.

Nor is this all. The idealistic student of history, if he view life in its broader aspects, cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that he is in the presence of a wonderful, orderly, law-directed universe throbbing with unfolding life that speaks not only of a Cosmic Mind, but of progression toward some great and glorious goal. He is not blind to the fact that races, civilizations and nations have their periods of retrogression; that to them, indeed, are opened the pathways which lead to life and to death; and furthermore he sees the highway of history is strewn with the wrecks of civilizations and of peoples who have elected to follow the broad road of sensuous life and self-desire. But on the other hand he notes

the fact that peoples and nations who have come after them, have learned something of the inexorable law of life, so that the general sweep of humanity is upward. And even in hours of national depression, when moral idealism seems at a low ebb, the philosophic student is able to sing with the poet:

"Yet sometimes glimpses on my sight,  
Through present wrong, the eternal right;  
And step by step, since time began,  
I see the steady gain of man."

Another fact that impresses him is that the same battles have to be fought and won in different stages of man's upward advance. One illustration will afford a hint of this truth. For long ages man was under the dominance of the physical. His creature comforts, his appetites, desires and passions were the dominating factors in his life; and even after many of his fellow-men rose to higher concepts, the master-spirits who represented or embodied the controlling thought of their races, lands or nations depended on physical weapons and prowess for victory. Take our civilization as a striking example. In the Middle Ages, and, indeed, up to the dawn of the democratic era, we find the masses wrapped in intellectual ignorance, while the masters were men who depended on the sword of force. The serfs supplied them with the creature comforts obtained from the storehouses of nature, and their retainers fought the battles of their masters against other warriors who under the compulsion of lust for power, gold or the gratification of physical appetites, strove to crush their neighbors. The people were kept in ignorance, oppressed and maltreated, through the weapons of physical force. It was the age in which brute strength was the master-note.

Then came the Renaissance and the Reformation. A wonderful wave of intellectualism swept the world, shotted with the gold of idealism. But the spiritual element was subordinated to the egoistic forces. Here, it is true, was the gray dawn, but it was only the prophecy of a coming day. Out of this wonderful awakening, that gave to Italy the most glorious summer-time of art known to the planet; to the lands north of the Alpine peninsula an even more wonderful intellectual renaissance, in which moral idealism and the scientific or truth-seeking spirit were markedly present; and to the countries west of Italy the *wanderlust* or searching spirit which drove the ships of Columbus to America, those of Vasco

da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and which led Magellan's vessels to circumnavigate the globe—we say, out of this period of awakening came in the fulness of time the great democratic epoch that illuminated two worlds and lifted nations to a higher plane of consciousness than they had attained before. But here it was the egoistic intellectualism that won over the altruistic impulses or moral idealism that so largely dominated the master-spirits of the democratic era; and here we find the old battle for mastership by the few, the struggle of the would-be despots to gain control of the masses, but not now, as of old, by brawn or physical weapons, but rather by intellectual cunning or mental prowess. It is no longer the feudalism of force or the exquisite tortures of a Spanish Inquisition that have to be met, but other forces of evil and oppression, more subtle, less apparent to the superficial eye or sense perceptions, but none the less deadly in their influence. Let us glance at three phases of this aggressive evil which now confronts Christian civilization and which is distinctly retrogressive in spirit.

The great evolutionary scientific discoveries which shattered the temple of superstition seemed for a time to the more shallow friends and foes of religion to imperil the spiritual foundations and render illusive the eternal moral verities. Yet this view, which is always present when great new truths are flashed upon the consciousness of the way-showers of humanity, merely threatened that which was false in the old. But certain philosophers, whose visions were more centered on sense perceptions than spiritual verities, were quick to promulgate a materialistic philosophy, and others have striven to elaborate in the realms of letters and art the pessimism and cynicism that are the inescapable companions of an egoistic and faithless intellectualism. This pessimism and cynical doubt born of a crass materialism is one of the master evils to be combatted by the philosopher, poet and dramatist. Out of this condition of faithlessness has arisen a new feudalism—that of the market, as thoroughly materialistic and cynical as it is self-deluded and Pharisaic, and withal quite as heartless as the feudalism based on physical force. But the new form of despotism is confined chiefly to the intellectual domain. Craft and cunning are its master weapons, while lawyers rather than knights are its most faithful retainers.



A third evil that goes hand in hand with cynical pessimism and arrogant commercial feudalism manifests itself in the department of law or the machinery of so-called justice, in such a way as to subvert the ends of righteousness. We have not, it is true, the rack, the thumbscrew or other instruments of torture that went hand in hand with the older despotism based on arbitrary authority and the feudalism of force, but the spirit or actuating motives are the same, though the plane of conflict and the weapons have been changed.

To recognize the nature of an evil is much, and this recognition is not only forcing itself upon the consciousness of the noblest minds of the age, but already the leaders in the advance of ethics, art and letters are ranging themselves on the side of civilization in what will prove the greatest conflict of the ages—the battle between egoism and altruism, the warfare between the idealism of the Nazarene and the materialism of Cæsar.

It is indeed a wonderful privilege to live in a great crucial moment like the present, if one is wise enough and great enough to apprehend the nature of the conflict and the awful responsibilities that are placed on every individual, and strong enough to resolutely put all thought of self aside and take a stand for altruism. The age in which we live is a winnowing moment in time, aptly described by Lowell when he wrote:

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment  
to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good  
or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering  
each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep  
upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness  
and that light.

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share  
her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 't is prosperous  
to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward  
stands aside,  
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is cruci-  
fied,  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had  
denied."

Life is always serious to those who even dimly recognize its solemn responsibilities; but in great crucial periods, when the very existence of nation or civilization hangs in the balance, the responsibility that rests on every unit in the social organism becomes tenfold

greater than during waiting periods. Then, as never before, life becomes august. Its potentialities are too great to be measured, and its opportunities for good are beyond words to describe. Then no man, be he ever so obscure, is quit of doing his full duty. No man can be a cipher; all can be potent factors for progress. But it is on the men of genius and imagination, the leaders in the realms of thought, art and life, that the gravest responsibilities fall. Happily for the cause of civilization, leaders are coming to the front. There is noticeable on every hand, side by side with the ranging of certain clergymen and churches under the banner of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, the gathering together of the apostles of the religion of the Nazarene and the prophets of social progress on the side of the people. In social and economic domains many leaders are also boldly taking their stand with the friends of justice and fundamental democracy. In poetry there are signs of life. Edwin Markham in the New World leads the altruistic advance. In the drama, as we have already noted, there is being manifested a truly wonderful ethical awakening which touches in a fundamental way the great social, economic and political problems of the hour; while of late many works have appeared from profoundly philosophical brains that cannot fail to make a deep impress on leaders and moulders of thought. *The Economy of Happiness*, by James MacKaye, is such a notable work, and in Dr. G. C. Mars' masterly philosophical volume, *An Interpretation of Life*, we find this new note clearly and forcibly sounded.

Dr. Mars shows what was the ideal of the American and French revolutions in the dawning hour of the democratic era, which was dominated by the ideal of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The dream of the founders, however, has been far from realized, and this author clearly points out that at our best we are as yet but in a transition stage, battling with reactionary forces that must be met and overcome before the triumph of popular rule will be signaled. The great undercurrent of civilization, however, is bearing us toward the true democratic ideal, or the Golden Age for all the people.

A few extracts from this luminous discussion of social, political and economic problems in this truly great work will show our readers how foremost philosophical thinkers are ranging themselves on the side of progress in the great struggle now being waged between ego-

ism and altruism. In considering the ideal that animated the master-spirits among the leaders of America and France, Dr. Mars says:

"In the French and American republics, government, it was declared, must be based on the consent of the governed, and must mean liberty, equality and fraternity for all; and, since men are born free and equal, they possess those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in accordance with which doctrine, the character of all laws must be determined.

"The state organized on this basis, in its formal claims, at any rate, approaches for the first time in history, the ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth, in which the sacred rights of every individual man, as man, is acknowledged and made the ground of all laws, which themselves express the moral life of the whole social body. The individual's obligation to the state is as absolute as of old, but the state now is based on the individual. The individual is no longer suppressed by the state, but realized in the state; and the state thus ceasing to be a mere mechanism of law, becomes a living organism of ethical principles in which every individual finds his place of service, and his own highest personal realization. St. Paul symbolized this noble conception for the church, in the body of Christ. For the state, this symbol means a social condition in which the individual no longer stands over against the state, as a subject, but becomes an integral part of it, and thus one with it; or in which the state no longer dominates the individual, but expresses itself in and through him.

"Nor is this principle of individual right restricted to the citizens in a state, but is slowly being applied to the nations. Since the days of Grotius, and with the developments of rapid communication, international law has become more definite and universal in its application. In spite of the natural and deep-seated national selfishness, which unfortunately obtains, the great nations unite variously in concerted action not only to protect themselves, but to support some fundamental principle of right which is meant to secure justice for all; and, indeed, their interests have come into such close contact, the world over, that no nation, however weak and insignificant or however strong and aggressive, can now be said to be without the bounds of a moral protection or control. Such protection and control by no means reaches the ideal, but it grows with a growing world-opinion, in favor

of international justice and peace, and toward the solidarity of the race.

"But, while this principle of universal justice among individual citizens of the nation and between individual nations of the world is generally recognized, it by no means stands for the end of moral development in history. It is but a transitional stage in man's moral evolution that moves toward the supreme and ultimate goal. It is the acceptance, but not the fulfillment, of the Kingdom of God on earth. It has, indeed, risen above the primitive, external, patriarchal authority on the plane of sense, to the intelligible realm of the understanding where, by rational codes of law and civil constitutions, all are justly to fare alike; it has made the individual rather than the state the center of human government, and has transformed the last figment of sovereignty, in the divine authority of kings, into the divine authority of the sovereign people; but it has not yet worked out the germinant principle that lies implicit in it, because its fraternity, liberty and equality are still effectuated by external instruments of law and justice. Justice, as we have already seen, however desirable and necessary as a stage of progress, is, after all, an equilibrium of selfish interests, and represents only an external form of moral development. It is that altruism that does good to others for the sake of the self. To bring moral development to its full outcome, already foreshadowed in the primitive affection of the family, it must be transformed into the deeper law of goodness within. And this transformation is rendered possible by reason of the freedom secured to the individual, through a universal justice. For it is now wholly within the individual that the transformation is to take place. The primitive affection of the family, as an outstreaming good-will to others, must be widened to include all men, and the self must thus find its realization, by enfolding within its interests, the interests of all other selves. The ethical consciousness can only thus reach its final goal, upon the plane of rational intuition, where it recognizes that the true nature of the moral will is universal love.

"In his search for the ultimate ground of ethics, the great Kant, by reason of his pause upon the plane of the understanding, just failed to make clear the distinction between the law of justice and the law of love. His 'categorical imperative,' as an objective law of moral action, was universal enough: Let

every act be such as to follow a rule, capable of universal application—but it missed the true intuitional motive of the will. It made the moral life a hard bond-service, the more meritorious, the harder it became; and remained external to the real meaning of goodness. Schiller deeply felt and resented this impossible view of the moral nature.

“Though, by the utmost care, I should reduce all my actions to universal rules, I might still remain morally dead. For true morality is not any specific set of actions according to rules, but the simple, inner, impulse of good-will. ‘Without love I am nothing,’ so far as my true moral life is concerned. The supreme moral question for me is always: Shall I, as a scientist, knowing nature, and, as an artist, appreciating and mastering her values, will to appropriate the goods of life for myself, or, with an outstreaming will of good, share them with others?”

“The universal moral law, then, is not the ‘categorical imperative,’ or even the Golden Rule, of which it is an abstract statement, but that deeper and more inclusive law: ‘Love thy neighbor as thyself.’ Deeper and more inclusive, because, while in the former I look to the condition or act of another for my standard of duty; in the latter, I look simply to the universal obligation of good-will within my own heart. Such is the ultimate law of the ethical reason, for it is, to use St. Paul’s fine expression, that love which ‘is the fulfilling of the law.’”

But the noble dream of the fathers has measurably failed because political independence and emancipation were not complemented by economic independence; and a new feudalism of privilege has arisen and in recent years has grown with alarming rapidity, until we have a plutocracy threatening to shoulder out democracy in the great Republic. In considering this real peril, Dr. Mars’ words are pregnant with wisdom.

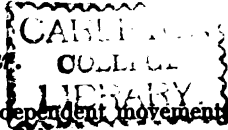
“We like,” he observes, “to boast in America—and not without some color of justice—of our progress over the past, and our political advance over other peoples; but it would be superficial folly to lay the flattering unctio to our souls that we have, with all our civil liberty, reached anything like true social and economic reality; that is, a condition of human fellowship that can be called ethically real, or correspondent to the objective, harmonious, cosmic law of universal goodness.

“We have indeed deeply imbedded in the

national consciousness the principle of political equality and freedom, but that only serves to emphasize more clearly our industrial, commercial, financial or economic servitude. The production of wealth, its accumulation, and its distribution are factors in our civilization which have as yet been brought into nothing like rational harmony, representing rather the irrational chaos of a competitive, struggling egoism.

“In a country of unexampled resources, where all start even, with the understanding that man is man, and where there is professed the sacred doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity, there emerges at the end of a century an economic condition in which a thousand men, or one-sixtieth of one per cent. of the entire free electorate, own over sixty per cent. of all the country’s wealth; in which single families spend five hundred thousand dollars a year, and then do not exhaust their income, while the average laborer, if he keeps well and can get work, earns five hundred dollars a year, or one-tenth of one per cent. as much, and thus walks from day to day on a thread above the abyss of hunger and pauperism. And this is to say nothing of that margin of respectable poor who proudly and hopefully struggle on to the point of exhaustion, or until they lose their grip and fall into the hopeless ranks of careless degeneracy.

“Thus there grows up in a republic of free men the widest and most incongruous divergence between the rich and the poor, between the favored and privileged, and the unfavored and unprivileged. Equality and fraternity cease to be—except in name—and liberty becomes an impossibility. Equality in intelligence, force of character, and skill, and, consequently, in economic value and earning capacity to the community? Most assuredly not! No one ever believed that. But equality of opportunity, in a free and unrestricted field, up to the measure of each man’s native capacity and merits. And such a condition as that does not exist economically among us. There has indeed been the liberty of an open, unrestricted field, in which the strong, the fortunate, the cunning, could prey upon the weak, the unfortunate, the simple; but this is not liberty, this is the destruction of that liberty for which men fought in order to free themselves from the oppressive restrictions of a natural selfishness; and it is a reversion to the license of the primeval slime of competitive, brutal animalism against brutal animalism, and is not



the coöperative fraternity of human association or of rational moral beings.

"Such wide economic discrepancies are rationally and morally absurd in a Republic, the very genius of which lies in its power to develop, not the material fortunes of favored individuals, but the intelligence, character and skill of all its citizens, as self-respecting, competent and free men; and to destroy those old false, traditional limitations and barriers of fortuitous circumstance and privilege that inevitably distort and degrade the fortunate as well as the unfortunate in body and mind."

This author strikes the key-note of the political issues of the hour in these lines:

"The great world-problem of our modern era is economic. It is not of our human contriving. It is cosmic, and has been forced upon us by the irresistible advance of rational evolution. It is not simply economic, but scientific and moral, and goes back for its immediate cause to the Renaissance and Reformation, and for its remote cause to Hellenism and Hebraism.

"Before the Renaissance, the poor and unfortunate could be consoled by the 'sacred, revealed' doctrine of the Church that the world at best is a howling wilderness, and that man's real affluence and happiness is to be found after death in the world beyond.

"Before the Reformation, the oppressed and wronged could be consoled by the 'sacred revealed' doctrine of the Church that it mattered little what society is here and now, for the oppressive cruelties and injustice of worldly rulers would in time be escaped for the Kingdom of Heaven *in Heaven* hereafter. So far as government was wise and good, it was regarded as divinely established and therefore never to be desecrated by change, or the thought of change; and every man was to regard it, as a most sacred, religious obligation, to be content with that lot in which it had pleased a wise Providence to place him.

"But the Renaissance destroyed forever that old *theoretical*, and the Reformation abolished forever that old *ethical* dualistic supernaturalism; for the Renaissance showed that the world is a glorious abode for man, provided he knows its objective laws and obeys them; and the Reformation showed that the Kingdom of Heaven is a possibility on earth, when the dignity and worth of every man is fully recognized as *man*, on the basis of his intelligence, character and capacity of service.

"And the Renaissance and Reformation

are not two independent movements, but two distinct phases of the same movement, the lofty significance and inescapable obligation of which now imperatively demands the attention of our thought and the obedience of our will.

"What, in these premises, my brothers, are you going to do? You cannot dodge the issue; it must be squarely met. The vast and undreamed-of resources which a growing scientific knowledge of nature is more and more laying bare before our astonished eyes: how shall we share them among ourselves? That is the supreme question of the hour; and, while upon the surface it is an *economic*, at bottom it is a *moral* question.

"We shall never answer that question on the plane of selfish struggle; nor shall we ever answer it on the plane of justice, which is but a balance of selfish struggling interests. It will be answered alone when we rise to the level of that one objectively real, ethical principle, which is an outstreaming will of good towards all. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

To the puerile and shallow cry of the apologists for the feudalism of privileged wealth, that if the object of great material gains was taken away men would not exert themselves, Dr. Mars replies:

"If we were to sweep away the fierce and bitter struggles of our economic feudalism, the irrational contrasts of state between rich and poor, the jumbled chaos and waste of industrial relations, there would not be wanting able men who, rather than wrest from their unwilling competitors and discontented subordinates an enforced acknowledgement of their power, would gladly assume the honors and responsibilities, such as those of a chief magistrate or a great general, in order to coöperate with all the economic forces that go to build up and maintain the welfare of the whole community.

"It is only thus when each, according to his ability, shall render this service to all and for all, that economic freedom can be said to approach civil freedom, or rather the economic state become one with the political state, as, throughout all its relations, a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The position of many people, who imagine they are very godly and who think it a virtue to close their eyes to the existing evils of the hour, is something that must sturdily be combatted.

"We must not yield," says Dr. Mars, "to that easy and comfortable inertia of con-

servatism which conforms or submits to any given order as ultimate, on the basis of present satisfaction, convention, authority, or the permanence of a fixed and unalterable human selfishness. We must ever remind ourselves of the historical meaning of that great word, evolution, in the light of which we mark the beneficent and progressive developments of the past.

"And we must equally remind ourselves that human nature is much more than selfish; it is also deeply unselfish. Man is as good as he is bad. Crushed down, baffled, oppressed, driven to desperation by misery, or the fear of misery, he has displayed at times only the cruder, elemental instincts of the brute. Free him, throw open the gates of opportunity to the development of his normal powers, and there emerges the nobler and higher man."

In these words we find voiced the new conscience, the awakened ethical reason of the better minds of the hour in various domains of intellectual activity. We are in the opening hours of the greatest moral conflict of the ages. On the surface it is political; at heart it is

moral. And in the battle no man of conviction, no lover of humanity can afford to take his stand on the side of privileged wealth that is warring against the genius of democracy, which is the side of materialistic commercialism dominated by money-madness, that is warring against the ideal of justice, fraternity and coöperation.

As the master goal of the last great struggle was political emancipation, so the master aim of the present conflict is economic emancipation. As the master note of the democratic dawning era was justice for all the people, the new epoch will go a step further and demand that love shall be the supreme note—that "love thy neighbor as thyself" shall so permeate the state that the people shall see to it that the aged and afflicted shall be cared for and that all persons shall be so environed that they may shadow forth the highest and the best that is in them, instead of being the victims of man's cupidity and of the injustice and indifference of a slothful or corrupt government.

B. O. FLOWER.

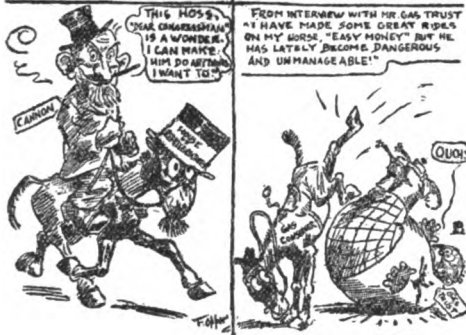
*Boston, Massachusetts.*

**POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.**



Leipziger, in Detroit News.

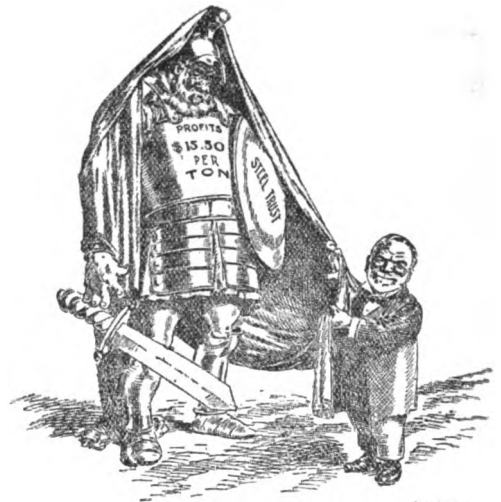
**EMBARRASSING.**



Opper, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

**HORSEBACK ENDURANCE RIDES ALL THE RAGE!**

**Prominent Equestrians Try to Beat President's Record.**



Macauley, in New York World.

**REVEALED!**



Naughton, in Duluth Herald.

**TOO MUCH TURKEY.**

**The Doctor Prescribes a Medicine the Patient Does Not Like.**



Johnson, in Philadelphia North American.

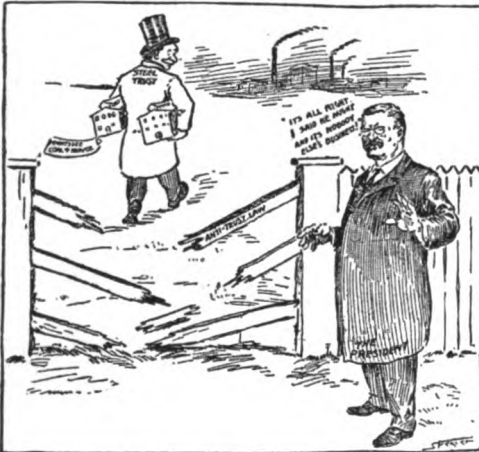
**WHICH?**



Rogers, in New York Herald.  
"BON VOYAGE."



Bradley, in Chicago News.  
CALIFORNIA'S MISFIT.



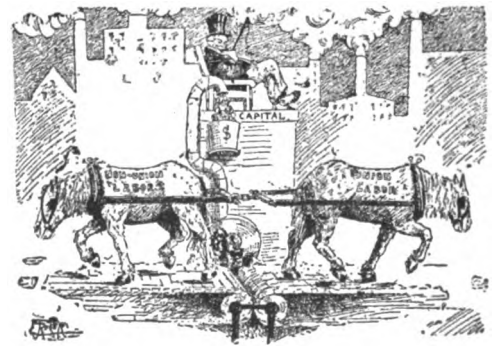
Spencer, in The Commoner.  
"UPON WHAT MEAT DOETH THIS, OUR CÆSAR, FEED?"



Macauley, in New York World.  
BACK TO THE SIMPLE LIFE.



Ruger, in New York Call.  
WILL THE CONSTITUTION BAR THE WAY?



Ruger, in New York Call.  
MAKING IT EASY FOR HIM.



# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATION LEADERS AND THE COURTS.

### Arrogation of Unwarranted Judicial Power Fatal to Free Government.

**F**OR MANY years THE ARENA has insistently emphasized the menace to free institutions that lay in the steady arrogation of power by the judiciary. No deadlier blow has been struck against free government in the last fifty years than the abridgment of the right of trial by jury; while the abuses of the injunction power have established a set of precedents that under certain circumstances might easily render the feudalism of privileged wealth as dangerous to republican institutions as was the throne of the Stuarts, when bulwarked by a servile judiciary, long capable of thwarting the wishes, the interests and the will of the people. The solemn lesson taught by English history, by the Star Chamber acts and by the monstrous crimes of Jeffreys, ought to prove a solemn warning to all Anglo-Saxons awake to the priceless value of a free heritage, clearly showing them that if they would preserve the rights of free government they must at all hazards combat the assumption of autocratic power on the part of the judiciary. Especially must they oppose all attempts to abridge the fundamental right of trial by jury, else it will only be a question of time when autocratic power will be used, as has been the case in the past, by the judiciary to bulwark some form of despotism or injustice.

Judges who prior to their appointments have long been corporation attorneys, and who may owe their position on the bench to the interests they have faithfully served, may in their hearts desire to be fair and impartial; yet in the great number of cases they will be strongly biased in favor of their former clients. They have long been accustomed to look at all questions through the glasses of the interests, when their client's case ran counter to that of the state or the citizens. This alone will more or less affect the judgment of many judges who might intentionally desire to be fair and just. In other instances, the long personal friendship and business association with the master-spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth will give marked bias to the rulings of the

judge. Though lamentable, this is not surprising. But it makes it all the more important that friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy should resolutely oppose every aggressive step on the part of the judicial as well as the executive departments of government.

### Immunity for "Malefactors of Great Wealth," Punishment for Champions of Toil, a Master Cause of Growing Distrust of The Judiciary.

Since the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth and its entrance into American politics, through the agencies of the boss and the money-controlled machine, one of the most striking phenomena presented has been the ease with which capital has evaded adequate court punishments for defiance of law, when it has been unable to prevent the enactment of legislation to safeguard the interests of the people and protect government from the debauching influence of corrupt wealth. There appears to have been little difficulty in punishing the offenders against the law when they were poor men or when the strong arm of privileged and capitalistic influences has not been stretched out in their behalf. The recent conviction imposition of a fine, and nullification of the court's award by the higher judiciary, in the case of the Standard Oil Company, and the conviction and prison sentence of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are only two striking recent illustrations of this grave reactionary tendency that has become more and more marked during the past thirty years.

Of all the powerful heads of law-defying and government-corrupting corporations, and master-spirits of high finance whom the insurance revelations and the various graft exposures have implicated during recent years, not one has found his way to the criminal docks. Mayor Schmitz and Abe Ruef have properly been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their corrupt practices; but none of the public-service company bribers, either in San Francisco, St. Louis or elsewhere, are to-day wearing striped garments.

But when capitalistic interests desire to



prevent labor from showing who its enemies are and from striving to protect the organized toilers in the battle with corporate wealth, the courts are ready with injunctions; and then, when the organ of the laborers and the agents of the Federation exercise what they believed, and what all persons until very recently held, to be their rights under the Constitution, they were proceeded against.

And in passing let us note the important fact that when a corporation like the Standard Oil Company is brought before the bar, its officers are not proceeded against criminally, and on conviction merely a fine is levied; but when the American Federation of Labor is brought to the bar, the blow is dealt against its leaders and they are treated as criminals.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that there is a growing distrust of the courts. The attempt to abridge the rights of the citizens in regard to trial by jury, and the abuses of the injunction power, when supplemented by the general futile attempts on the part of the government and the courts to adequately punish the great capitalistic offenders, afford perhaps the most startling illustrations of the rapid strides of reaction against democratic government since the corporations entered politics.

#### **A Fundamental Democratic Thinker's Summary of The Situation.**

The ablest and most exhaustive discussion of the vital points involved in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case appears as the leading editorial in *The Public* of Chicago, for January 1st. Space prevents our giving more than two brief extracts from this statesmanlike paper, which merits the perusal of every American citizen. In the following, however, the vital issues involved are so clearly set forth that they will tend to remove much of the confusion from the public mind which the capitalistic papers have been actively engaged in creating:

"When judges administer the law, their decrees, though manifestly erroneous, should be respectfully obeyed. This is necessary to good order. But if judges usurp authority, their lawless edicts should be ignored. This is necessary to the preservation of liberty.

"For that reason Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison—executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, and editors of *The American Federationist*—are worthy of all commendation for having

ignored a judge's injunction which assumed to control their public utterances. They stand in this respect, not as labor leaders merely, but as editors and American citizens jealous of their fundamental rights of editorship and citizenship. By ignoring an injunction destructive of their Constitutional right to print and publish upon responsibility only for the abuse of the right, and solely to a jury, they have been vindicating Constitutional guarantees of the first importance. The fact that it is a judge instead of an executive whom they have thereby disobeyed makes no difference. Judges may be tyrants, too; and it is as true of them, when they usurp power, as it is of every other kind of tyrant, that disobedience to a tyrant is obedience to the law.

"The same thought holds good of all local labor unions and their publications throughout the country which have followed the example of those patriotic and courageous labor leaders—Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. It may be that the boycott of organized labor upon the goods of the Buck's Range and Stove Company is unlawful; but that is a point we shall not here discuss, for it is irrelevant. It may be that publication of the fact of this boycott, with a suggestion, express or implied, that it be encouraged, is unlawful; but neither shall we discuss that point here, for it also is irrelevant. The relevant point is the despotic and unlawful method of prosecution. If these publications have been unlawful, there is one way and only one way, known to the fundamental laws of our country, of punishing the offenders; and this is upon the verdict of a jury, and after a regular trial in which not only the fact of the publication itself but its excuse or justification may be passed upon. Our fundamental law authorizes no other method or process for the punishment of an abuse of freedom of speech or of the press. Punishment by means of an injunction, and through proceedings for contempt—such as the proceedings against Gompers and his associates—and at a hearing in which the only question considered is the mere fact of publication, and at which there is no right of trial by jury, is not authorized by our system of law.

"Around that point no niceties of legal interpretation or construction legitimately cluster. Acute lawyers and astute judges are not needed to decide it. It is a broad political as distinguished from a technical legal question. Every one who knows his American history knows that a judge-made prohibition of free-

dom of speech or press can issue only in defiance of fundamental American law. Not even the legislature, not even Congress, can make such a prohibition. And may judges, raised above the control of the people, command what the legislative authority is powerless to enact?

"Mr. Taft, now President-elect, was, while he sat upon the bench, one of the early innovators in the direction of substituting for jury trials for crime the summary proceeding by injunction with its chancery penalties for contempt. Little by little the innovation has proceeded, until now a judge at the Capital of the Republic proclaims the injunction as a legitimate substitute for jury trial in libel cases. Twenty years ago the American bar would have been horrified at such a declaration. Leading lawyers would have denounced it as 'bad law,' and serious hints would not have been wanting from that quarter that the judge uttering such heresy must be incompetent or worse. But to-day, this judicial heresy draws out no serious criticism from the bar, stimulates no repugnance, excites no wonder. Even the newspapers, those that are not yet in danger of this mode of attack, are supine unless indeed they encourage the reaction. So far then have we gone on the backward road toward absolutism.

"Even as the injunction originated in despotic kingly power, even as it was a device for overriding the law, so now is it passing back again from a regulative process of value within limitations—having overleaped those limitations—and asserting itself as a mandate of despotic authority. Originally a device of the king for usurping judicial functions, it is coming to be an instrument of judges for usurping kingly functions."

#### Judge Parker Points Out How Sacred Constitutional Rights are Being Trampled Upon by The Courts.

Another very able summary of some of the fundamental issues involved was made by ex-Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, Alton B. Parker, in a statement made public a few days after Judge Wright rendered his decision. Judge Parker goes at length into the legal points involved and cites numerous decisions bulwarking his contention that the courts have no constitutional right or power for the exercise of the authority they have arrogated to themselves. In the course of his argument he says:

"The constitution of every state provides

in effect that every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press.

"In fear that the Federal government might attempt to control public speech and the press, the first amendment to the Federal Constitution provided that 'Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.'

"What the Constitution prohibits is not punishment of an abuse of the right of free speech or the right of free publication, but all attempts to control in advance free speaking or free publication. *The attempt to control in advance constitutes a censorship over freedom of the press and of speech, which it was the aim of the framers of our Constitution to prevent.*

"It has been urged that even if the court, in violation of the Constitution, does make an order prohibiting a man from making a speech on a certain subject, or prohibiting a newspaper from publishing an editorial on the same subject, the party enjoined must nevertheless obey the decree; if he does not, the court may punish him, although it has no power to make the order.

"But certainly that which the Constitution prohibits, the court may not do, any more than the legislature. The unconstitutional statute need not be obeyed; and so the courts have held time and again. He who elects to disobey the statute takes the risk; but if the statute be unconstitutional, no harm can come to him for ignoring it. And this is so, say the courts, because the statute is absolutely void. It would seem to follow that a decree of a court offending against the Constitution need not be obeyed, because it is wholly and completely void.

#### Potency of The Court.

"So far as we have been able to discover, no court has ever held otherwise. But if one should presume to do so, it would place itself in the absurd position of according to a court decree the potency and force superior to the statutes or of the legislatures of states. It would in effect hold that the law-making power (which, within the limits prescribed by the Constitution, can create the law which the courts must obey—can by statute tear down the common law, which the court has builded up, and substitute in its place its own law), is less potent than the administrator of the law created by it.

"Certainly it seems to me that the judicial

department of the government will not be guilty of the absurdity of holding that an unconstitutional enactment by the law-making department of the government may be defied by the humblest citizen with impunity because absolutely void, but that on the other hand, a decree of the judicial department, equally offending against the Constitution, has such force and vitality as to support imprisonment of him, who, standing on his constitutional rights, dares to violate it."

A few more years marked by reactionary precedents on the part of the executive and judicial branches of government, and the old safeguards which bulwarked democracy will

have been swept from the people, and America will present the spectacle of a nation which, though under the form of republican rule, will be a despotism responsive at all times to an irresponsible, materialistic and unscrupulous feudalism of privileged wealth. Students of history well know that when the people of Florence allowed themselves to be lulled to sleep, the di Medici family became the absolute rulers of the so-called republic, without holding any office or officially arrogating any power to themselves. Shall Florence be a prototype of the great Republic? This is the solemn question for every earnest American to consider.

### THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AS VIEWED BY MR. ROOSEVELT AND BY JEFFERSON AND DE TOCQUEVILLE.

**M**R. ROOSEVELT'S amazing attempt to have the government prosecute a newspaper that had had the temerity to publish some ugly rumors that had gained wide currency concerning the Panama Canal, and to add to this offense by demanding that the Congress of the United States thoroughly investigate the charges, has happily brought into bold contrast the essential difference between a great, broad-minded, democratic statesman and an autocratic politician whose sympathies are far more in accordance with the ideas of the Emperor William than with those of an upholder of free or popular government.

No President, with possibly the exception of Abraham Lincoln, was ever more shamefully slandered, misrepresented or calumniated than was Thomas Jefferson. Yet in the face of all this calumny he bravely defended the right of freedom of the press, not because he regarded the slanders as unobjectionable, but because he knew that if the great experiment of democracy being made in the New World should prove a failure, it would be in one of three ways: either by the strong arm of militarism, the abridgment of the right of free speech and a free press, or by the arrogation of unconstitutional and arbitrary powers by the courts. Hence he strenuously opposed everything that tended to foster any of these things that might easily be used to undermine popular government. We are to-day seriously threatened by all these reactionary and democracy-destroying

influences. Hence the words of Jefferson, and those of our great French critic, de Tocqueville, on the freedom of the press are very timely.

In a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, Mr. Jefferson wrote:

"The only security of all is a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure."

To Judge Tyler he wrote:

"Our first object should be to leave open to him [man] all the avenues of truth. The most effectual hitherto found is the freedom of the press. It is therefore the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions."

In a letter to Edward Carrington he said:

"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

A free press and universal education Mr. Jefferson held to be the true safeguards of a free government. Thus he said in a letter to Charles Yancey:

"When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe."

And again, in one of his addresses, he observed:

"The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties."

To the Spanish Commissioners he had this to say:

"Considering the great importance to the public liberty of the freedom of the press, and the difficulty of submitting it to very precise rules, the laws have thought it less mischievous to give greater scope to the freedom than to the restraint of it. The President has therefore no authority to prevent publications of the nature of those you complain of."

At the time when the great Frenchman, de Tocqueville, visited America, the press exercised a greater degree of license than would be dreamed of to-day. He was naturally shocked at the recklessness and unprincipled action of many editors. How great his contempt was for the reckless and unjustifiable editorial action of many newspapers may be gained from the following strictures in his great work on *Democracy in America*:

"The journalists of the United States are

generally in a very humble position, with a scanty education and a vulgar turn of mind.

"The characteristics of the American journalist consist in an open and coarse appeal to the passions of his readers; he abandons principles to assail the characters of individuals, to track them into private life, and disclose all their weaknesses and vices.

"Nothing can be more deplorable than this abuse of the powers of thought."

Yet while fully awake to the evils of an unscrupulous press, he knew, from the lessons of history, that there would be grave danger in any attempt against the freedom of the press. Hence we find him saying:

"The more I consider the independence of the press in its principal consequences, the more am I convinced that, in the modern world, it is the chief, and, so to speak, the constitutive element of liberty. A nation which is determined to remain free is therefore right in demanding, at any price, the exercise of this independence."

## THE REACTION TOWARD GOVERNMENT BY CORPORATIONS.

THE New York *World* is evincing alarm at the arrogant advance of the forces of reaction and despotism which represent government by the corporations. In view of the aggressive warfare waged by the *World* against Mr. Bryan and all who represented fundamental democracy or popular government, this new rôle reminds one of the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, for we doubt if in the East a single daily has been more effective in its reactionary influence than the New York *World* during the past two years. It is, however, refreshing to find this paper beginning to realize the perils which all fundamental democrats and thoughtful friends of free government anticipated in the event of the triumph of the forces that represent government by corporate wealth; and much of what the *World* says is worthy the serious consideration of our people. Thus, for example, in its editorial leader of December 25th we find the following:

"The evidences of reaction are on every hand. Just as the triumph over free silver in 1896 sent the pendulum swinging toward corporation government, so the end of Rooseveltism, with all its follies and excesses, is likely to

send the pendulum swinging back toward corporation government.

"Even Mr. Roosevelt himself has surrendered and proposes to emasculate the Sherman law, which he never attempted impartially to enforce, substituting in its stead Executive control over all interstate business.

"There is no mistaking the significance of the applause which greeted ex-Governor Black's attack upon the anti-trust act at the dinner of the New England Society. It represents too general a state of mind, due largely to disgust with the Rooseveltian methods. Elihu Root, whose 'adroit mind,' as Mr. Harriman said, was the mainspring of all Thomas F. Ryan's successful corporation manipulations, is to represent New York in the United States Senate. This is more reaction. It is certain that whoever succeeds Philander C. Knox as United States Senator from Pennsylvania will be a corporation man and Mr. Knox's mental and political inferior. Mr. Taft is seeking to send his brother to the Senate from Ohio, although Charles P. Taft is a corporation manager, with none of the qualifications for the office which distinguish his statesmanlike rival, Theodore E. Burton.

Charles P. Taft's election will be another reactionary triumph."

The *World* further holds that Mr. Roosevelt has been "the most dangerous enemy of true radicalism," as his indiscriminate and intemperate denunciations, it believes, have invited the reaction which now threatens the country. "Rooseveltism," it observes, "is not radicalism in any sane, rational or intelligent sense. It is a great misfortune that so many people confuse the two."

The *World's* position in regard to President Roosevelt is only partially true. It is not the President's fulminations against his enemies among the representatives of predatory wealth, and elsewhere, that are chiefly responsible for the present reactionary sweep, but rather the fact that from the first he has persistently chosen as his intimate counselors and counted among his friends reactionaries and men holding intimate relations with the feudalism of privileged wealth and the political bosses, and the fact that he has time and again, after taking a strong stand for the people, compromised with their enemies at the time when victory was within his power; while the autocratic precedents he has established and the arrogation of powers not delegated to the executive department have dealt probably the heaviest blows to the theory of free or democratic government that have been given by an executive since the foundation of the Republic.

(1) Mr. Roosevelt, as *THE ARENA* has shown time and again, has surrounded himself by men who are thoroughly satisfactory to the "malefactors of great wealth." He numbered among his warm political friends the notorious Matt. Quay, and probably the man who has been nearest to him during all his Presidential career has been Elihu Root, who, from the days when he was severely reprimanded by the judge for his action in behalf of Boss Tweed, to the

time he entered political life has been the trusted friend and handy-man of the great corporation chiefs of the Whitney-Ryan type. George B. Cortelyou, William H. Taft, Philander Knox, Henry Cabot Lodge, and ex-Senator Spooner are among the reactionary counselors and friends he has chosen among public servants.

(2) As we have had occasion to point out in numerous instances, after defending the cause of the people against their corrupt and lawless enemies, such as the railway corporations and the poison-disseminating beef trust, he has compromised with the people's enemies after the victory for what he demanded was within his grasp. He foisted Taft on his party, well knowing that this gentleman was one of the best beloved among public men by the railway interests and other public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies which are exerting such a sinister and democracy-destroying influence on the nation; and he furthermore knew that Mr. Taft was with the upholders of government by corporation and boss-rule in his outspoken opposition to popular rule through Direct-Legislation.

(3) But it has been in the exercise of autocratic and unconstitutional power and his attempts to ape old-time despots, as in his recent effort to have the government proceed against one of the great metropolitan papers for what might well be characterized as *lèse majesté*, that we find the gravest menace to free institutions that has characterized the reactionary course of the President.

The impartial historian, writing of the administration of President Roosevelt, will, we believe, be forced to conclude that in spite of some most commendable acts on his part and of many fair and noble utterances, he has been the most reactionary President the nation has yet known.

## MR. CARNEGIE'S REVELATION OF THE EXTORTION PRACTICED BY THE STEEL TRUST.

**T**HE ARENA has repeatedly called attention to the extortion practiced by the Steel Trust on every American citizen. This robbery, legalized through the tariff, has resulted in diverting millions upon millions of dollars that rightfully belong to the American

wealth-producers and consumers, into the pockets of the holders of the watered stock of the trust. These stockholders are largely the high financiers, stock-gamblers and captains of industry, whose sinister influence is so clearly seen in the government and the controlled

press of the land. On more than one occasion persons have questioned the charges of extortionate profits being made by the Steel Trust. Such questioning will hardly be repeated, however, in the future, as Andrew Carnegie, than whom no man in America is better qualified to speak authoritatively as to the cost of the manufacture of steel, recently emphatically declared before the Congressional Committee that the Steel Trust was clearing \$15.50 on every ton it produced. The *Boston Post* thus editorially comments upon Mr. Carnegie's positive declaration:

"When Mr. Andrew Carnegie found his testimony before the tariff committee at Washington interrupted by a whispered conference between Chairman Payne and Congressman Dalzell, he turned to the audience and said: 'They are saying, "The jig is up."'"

"Is the jig up? Carnegie ought to be a competent judge of the situation. And the testified facts seem to sustain his judgment. The report of the Steel Trust shows that it has made profits of \$158,000,000 on 10,000,000 tons of steel, figuring out an absolute profit of \$15.50 a ton. Does this infant industry need more protection? Is it not able to go alone, having grown to its present fatness by feeding upon American industry?"

"Mr. Carnegie says: 'I made the statement that a ton of steel could be made cheaper in America than in any foreign country, and if that were tested to-day in Pittsburg, where the original cost of rails was fixed at \$15, and if foreign manufacturers adopted the same method of telling their costs, I do not think that Pittsburg would lose the trophy of the honor of being the cheapest steel producer in the world.'

"Producing steel cheaper than any country in the world, why should American consumers of steel products be compelled to pay more than any other people in the world? Why should the people of this country be taxed for the further profit of the steel-makers?"

Of course, all the influence of the papers controlled by J. P. Morgan, August Belmont, Thomas F. Ryan, the Steel and other trusts, and the railways and other public-service corporations, will be employed as of old in an attempt to fool the people with vicious sophistries and plausible half-truths. Indeed, we are again hearing the old cry that the American workman is the best-paid man in the world—a fact if considered from one point-of-view, but a glaring falsity if considered honestly or from the view-point of what he renders for his service. In this connection we call the attention of our readers to the following extract from an address recently delivered by the Rev. Charles Stelzle of New York city, in which the hoary half-truth of the multi-millionaire beneficiaries of the high tariff is clearly exposed. Said Dr. Stelzle:

"The American workman is the best-paid workman in the world by two or four times as much as his brothers in other countries, but in proportion to what he produces he is the poorest paid man in the world. This statement I get, not from labor leaders, but from the United States government, where it was studied out."

Under these circumstances, as shown by the government reports, the man is blind indeed who does not see that the tariff on his products "increases the worker's cost of living without increasing his wages."

## THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRET SERVICE AND CONGRESS.

**T**HE GRAVE character of the things involved in the scandal arising from the President's intimation of Congressional corruption, renders out of place the levity displayed by certain journals in treating the question. And it is equally deplorable that just at a time when the people were beginning to demand that the *New York World's* Panama charges should be thoroughly sifted by Congress, this matter should be seized on by politicians in administration and Congressional circles, as

well as by certain capitalistic newspapers and made the subject of such sensational dust-throwing that the ugly charges of the *World* bid fair to pass without any searching investigations on the part of Congress.

To the outsider it certainly appears that in spite of the rage manifested by President Roosevelt and his attempt to terrorize the *World* by his threat of *lèse majesté*, neither he, Congress nor certain high financiers were anxious to let in the light where only a search-

ing investigation could exonerate the administration from the grave charges that undue influence was exerted to secure the Panama instead of the Nicaragua route. If for no other purpose than to clear the skirts of the administration, a rigid and impartial investigation should be made. To hush the matter up will make the people more than ever feel that their Congress is a craven body that dares not investigate matters of vital moment to the integrity of the nation, when certain interests do not desire an investigation.

Whether the hue and cry about the President's insult to Congress was raised to divert the public mind from the Panama scandal, we cannot say, but certainly since the question has been raised as to the integrity of Congress, only a body conscious of the damning guilt of many of its members could accept in shamed silence the humiliating intimation, which amounts to a charge, from the President, especially after it had been threatened in such a manner as to constitute a dare.

At the time when Congressmen were fulminating against the President and declaring what their bodies would do, the press dispatches announced that Mr. Roosevelt had had the secret-service agents collect a vast amount of data that would be used in exposing Congressmen and substantiating his charges, if the legislative bodies resented his charges. This threat has up to the date of the present writing seemed to have had the effect of a cold sponge-bath on the heated and erstwhile sensitive representatives of the people; while to every honest, decent and nation-loving citizen the necessity is clear for such an investigation as Congress first declared would be forthcoming. If Congress does not act with fearlessness in the presence of the President's insult, it will stand before the nation convicted by its silence.

But this is not all. The President has placed himself in a position almost as deplorable as that in which he has placed Congress. Either his intimation in regard to the corruption of Congressmen was true or false. If true, the subject is too vitally important to the American people to be permitted to be hushed up. If the secret-service agents have collected, as has been intimated, a vast amount of damaging, if not damning, evidence against the people's representatives, a solemn and inescapable duty devolves upon the President, who possesses that evidence, to give it to the public. To do otherwise would be to betray the inter-

ests of the people, to be false to his pledge, and in reality to become *particeps criminis* in the wrong against the electorate. He has no right to use this evidence merely as a club wielded by an irresponsible autocrat to gratify personal whims or to terrify Congress. Either the people's servants have or have not been guilty of grave offenses, and if the United States secret-service agents have accumulated damaging evidence and placed it in the hands of the President, what shall be said of Mr. Roosevelt if he allows the guilty miscreants to remain in a position to betray the people, when, by giving to the public the evidence he possesses, the public career of these traitors would be terminated by an aroused people?

Whether or not Congress will cringe and skulk before the President's threat, the action of Mr. Roosevelt, viewed from any standpoint, is reprehensible. Either he had no right to make the grave charges or intimations, or if, as later reports indicate, he possesses a vast amount of evidence that would implicate the people's representatives occupying high places, he is recreant to his high and sacred trust if he does not make public that evidence.

Since writing the above, the President has sent a message to Congress evidently intended to mollify that body and prevent it from censuring his reckless utterances. In it he disclaimed intending to convey meanings which the members of Congress and the general readers naturally inferred from the wording of the message. Congress, however, was in no mood to be mollified by the President's disclaimers and it promptly acted in the matter by severely rebuking the President, characterizing his statements in his annual message as "unjustified and without basis of fact; a breach of privilege of the House." The offensive passages in his message were tabled.

Never since the impeachment of Andrew Johnson has a President of the United States been so severely rebuked by the national House; and the fact that the resolution thus censuring the President was passed by such an overwhelming majority adds materially to the humiliation of Mr. Roosevelt, as it indicates that the large majority of the members of his own party no less than of the opposition have grown to feel that his insulting, autocratic and arbitrary action and words have become intolerable.

It is greatly to be regretted that the House did not come to its senses long ago, when the

Executive Department of government began to make bureaucratic rulings to compass legislation that Congress had positively refused

to place upon the statute books, as then precedents perilous to popular government would not have been established.

## THE LATE DR. ALEXANDER KENT AND HIS SERVICE TO SOCIETY.

ON THE tenth of December occurred the death of the Rev. Alexander Kent, one of the noblest representatives of practical Christianity, or the social and religious ideals of Jesus of Nazareth, that has occupied the pulpit during the past fifty years in the United States. For seventeen years Dr. Kent has been the pastor of the People's Church in Washington—a church that has been the center or meeting-ground for all the noblest and most earnest social, economic and political workers whose aims were the furtherance of the principles of fundamental democracy and social justice. Dr. Kent was formerly a Universalist clergyman. For fifty-two years he has been an active minister. His last pastorate in the Universalist denomination was that of the Church of Our Father, in Washington. He left this pulpit in 1890 to become pastor of the undenominational People's Church.

The *Washington Star*, in a comprehensive news notice published on the day of his death, well said:

"Intensely practical and an idealist, he applied Christianity to the problems of the day—ethical, religious, social and political. For twenty years he has spoken on these topics. . . . Several years ago Dr. Kent was employed by the government to investigate coöperative communities. His report on this subject is a standard authority. His addresses and sermons have also been widely published."

Dr. Kent was in vigorous health up to three or four days before his death. He contracted a cold at a conference held for the promotion of the Initiative and Referendum, at which Governor Chamberlain of Oregon and United States Senator Owen of Oklahoma were present. This cold developed into double pneumonia.

A fitting memorial service was held in Washington on December 20th, presided over by Professor Thomas E. Will, A.M., the distinguished educator and well-known contributor to *THE ARENA*. In opening the memorial meeting, Professor Will said:

"Human societies grow like trees. They

pass from stage to stage, from epoch to epoch. In so doing they shed outgrown ideas, institutions and customs as a serpent sheds his skin.

"Such transition threatens privilege. Its beneficiaries oppose the change, and fight for things as they are. Their watchword is, 'Let well enough alone!' 'As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be.'

"But the transition likewise carries with it promise. Those who sit in darkness see a great light. They greet the change as the harbinger of a better day. Their battle-cry is, 'Forward to victory and freedom!'

"A century and more ago the struggle was on between decadent feudalism and a higher social state. Power and privilege, wealth and blood, respectability and rank, buttressed the old, and bade a starving people eat grass.

"And ready to their hand were prophets to prophesy falsely, and priests to justify injustice and to call evil good.

"But the people, staggering beneath their burdens, were not wholly voiceless. Alike from the dens and caves where toilers dwelt, and from gilded palaces where Belshazzars feasted came warnings of a wrath to come, and prophecies of a reign of liberty, love and light.

"The storm broke. The tempest of hail swept away the refuge of lies. The God of Justice scattered the proud, put down the mighty from their seats, and ushered in a new, historic era.

"To-day, the names of the champions of privilege are forgotten. But of the tribunes of the people we may say with Pericles of those who fell in defense of their country: 'Their glory shall never die; the whole wide world is their sepulchre; their epitaphs are written in the hearts of mankind, and wherever there is speech of noble deeds their names are held in remembrance.'

"History repeats itself. Civilization to-day struggles in the throes of a new birth. And again Ormuzd and Ahriman, light and darkness, contend for the mastery. But as surely as God lives, and truth, though crushed shall rise, right again shall win.



"We have met to-night to honor the name of one of the evangels of progress, justice and freedom; of one of the apostles of the cause of the common man. We are here to testify that the memory of the just is blessed, and that his pathway is as a shining light. He was known to you all. Opportunity is now afforded you to pay him your tribute of respect."

Among the speakers at the memorial meeting were United States Senator Robert Owen, Rabbi Stern, Dr. A. D. Corey and Dr. Croffut. The *Washington Herald*, in noticing the memorial meeting, thus referred to the remarks of Rabbi Stern and United States Senator Owen:

"Speaking from an acquaintance and friendship dating back thirty years to the early period of his ministry, Rabbi Louis Stern summarized his estimate of the dead pastor in the word 'gentleman.'

"'If to be a gentleman,' continued Rabbi Stern, 'means to be a man "distinguished by his fine sense of honor, strict regard for his obligations and consideration for the rights and feelings of others," Dr. Kent was a gentleman indeed. He was a man strong physically, intellectually and morally, strong in his convictions, yet most gentle and kind, affable and courteous, thoughtful and considerate.'

"United States Senator Robert Owen, of Oklahoma, spoke of Dr. Kent's service to society in his fight for equal opportunities.

"'Society,' said Senator Owen, 'is struggling with the question of the equal distribution of the fruits of human labor. It is a fight in which thousands of us are engaged, and the solution of the question must be in the Initiative and Referendum, which is simply another name for the rule of the people. Dr. Kent devoted his life to furthering that ideal, and in his sturdy stand against special privileges he was a monument of power and strength.'"

Few men have actively engaged in social and reformative work in the United States who possessed so broad, tolerant and lovable a spirit as Dr. Kent. Like Professor Parsons, he will be greatly missed from our ranks, and his passing to the great majority renders it doubly important that all those who realize the grave demands of free institutions and social justice, and the perils which are threatening fundamental democracy from the aggressions of privilege, shall redouble their efforts in behalf of the government founded by the fathers, whose spirit was so splendidly embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the life, example and utterances of the Great Emancipator.

## PRESIDENT ELIOT ON THE LAWLESSNESS OF CORPORATE WEALTH.

ON THE occasion of the opening of the Civic Forum at Carnegie Hall, New York city, on the night of December 16th, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, made a very notable address on lawlessness, in which he noted various kinds of law-defiance and evasion which are eating into the moral integrity of society. The immunity with which crimes of violence are committed in this nation, he held to be a disgrace calling for more effective repressive forces; and from this phase of the subject he passed to a consideration of the lawlessness of corporate wealth. His views on this vitally important subject are so timely and, coming from the foremost American educator, are so significant, that we give them in full:

"A far worse form of lawlessness is the violation of law by rich corporations. No crime of

explicit violation of law may have been committed, but innumerable lies have been told and many credulous people have been swindled out of their money. The operation taken in its entirety can only be described by the word 'theft,' although it may be quite impossible to get the thief dealt with by the courts as they would deal with a man who snatched a purse in the street or stole coupon bonds from a safe. Nevertheless the form of larceny is more vicious and much more injurious to society than the ordinary form. The public mind is often confused on this subject because not all promoters are lawless; some are only sanguine and ill-advised; they actually believe their own prowess and predictions and so are only chargeable with lack of good judgment and reasonable caution.

"It is a real misfortune for society that the

dishonest promoter so often escapes the clutches of the law because his kind of swindling can be and often is detected without express and admonishable violations of the law. Any man or any corporation who conducts his business on the edge of the law, so to speak, is morally a lawless person, though he never goes over the edge. An habitual law-evader is almost as bad as an habitual law-breaker.

"When a set of men should procure an act of incorporation in one state, proceeds to another and there procures an act of corporation, the assumption is a natural one that they mean to do in their business things which would be illegal in their own state. In the interest of the community some states impose restrictions on the conduct of corporations' business which other states carefully avoid imposing. Thus one may do things under an act of incorporation obtained in Maine or New Jersey which one could not do under a Massachusetts or New York act. And yet the restrictions imposed in Massachusetts and New York are presumably for the good of those communities, and of any community. They have been imposed by the legislature for good and sufficient reasons.

"Low standards of business conduct are often justified by the statement that business cannot be conducted in conformity with elevated ethical standards, and the business man must take his chance between destroying his business and taking advantage of the lowest standards which the law allows.

"If the law in one state has foolishly set the ethical standard too high, the practical man will move his business into another state where the standard is lower. We cannot say that by such conduct it is lawless, but we can say that it is degrading to the men who perpetuate it, and the community which witnesses his career, particularly if that career is successful.

"It is a safe rule to suspect lawlessness in all business transactions which have to be kept secret between buyer and seller or between agent and their principal. When, for instance, a transportation company gives rebates or other illegal advantages to one shipper, but not to all similar shippers, the act must be kept secret, because it is illegal, and the corporation which habitually does such things is justly described as lawless. Any individual or company which accepts such favors is also lawless,

and the profits which result from such secret arrangement are lawless profits.

"The briber and the bribed are both lawless, but the worst of the two is the briber. It saps the public faith in legislation and legislators.

"Another form of some lawlessness is the hiring of members of the legislature to promote some agricultural or manufacturing or transportation interests when questions of taxes or tariff legislation are under discussion in the national legislature. It is supposed by law that legislators under such circumstances may be themselves disinterested and impartial because their votes are to settle the general policy of taxation to be adopted and special enactments in which that policy is expressed. That any of them should become hired agents to promote the interests of any particular industry or manufacture is utterly repugnant to the law and to every principle of equity, and yet whenever Congress engages in the discussion of a tariff such transactions are apt to occur and sooner or later to be revealed, although they are secrets at the critical time."

The above mature conclusions of the venerable head of our greatest university cannot be lightly dismissed by the apologists for the feudalism of privileged wealth as the reckless utterances of the despised muck-rakers, whose wholesome and necessary work, by the way, is largely responsible for the great awakening among our educators, clergymen and other moral leaders. They are the careful conclusions of a man accustomed to weigh his words, and they are based on facts that cannot be disputed. True, there is nothing in the above remarks that has not already been appreciated and more or less clearly pointed out by many of our leading social reformers; but that they come from President Eliot is as inspiring to earnest friends of honesty and progressive government as it is significant. It clearly shows that we have reached a point in the campaign to compel the people to take cognizance of the moral criminality which flourishes under the *régime* of the feudalism of privileged wealth, where the public conscience is so aroused that even the reactionary leaders in the government, the press and certain educational and religious institutions will be powerless to stay the rising tide of civic righteousness and social advance.

## REMARKABLE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN BRITISH UNIVERSITIES.

WE HAVE noticed at length the rapid spread of Socialistic thought among the Church of England clergymen. Socialism is also making rapid headway in the great universities of Great Britain. A typical illustration of the rapid awakening in educational circles was afforded at the University of Edinburgh on November 21st, when G. Bernard Shaw delivered an address before an audience of about two thousand persons. Professor W. P. Patterson presided, and there were about forty professors on the platform. Mr. Shaw spoke on a program for a Socialistic party in Parliament. The address lasted an hour and a half, and at its close the great audience desired the speaker to continue longer. About thirty dollars was paid for Socialist literature at this meeting.

The *Fabian News*, which gives an account of this significant meeting, also publishes news notes that show the aggressive propaganda

work that is being carried on by the societies in the Cambridge, Glasgow, London and other leading British institutions of learning.

Many things are operating to augment the sweep of public sentiment along Socialistic lines in the Mother Country. The spirit of the age favors union or coöperation. The oppression of the masses by various privileged classes, and the remarkable growth of general intelligence among the toilers, the awakening of the church to a realization of the urgent demand for instilling the ethics of Christ into the religion of the day; and last but not least, the vigorous, persistent and on the whole wise, educational agitation carried on by Socialist bodies and leaders, are combining to bring about a revolution in the conscience-guided thought of Great Britain that presages rapid modifications, if not indeed a fundamental change, in the political conditions in Great Britain.

## MR. ROCKEFELLER'S DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE IN THE REPUBLIC.

WE HAVE often had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the masterly editorials of Mr. Louis F. Post in *The Public*, of Chicago. This writer is not only a fundamental democrat, but he is as morally courageous in facing evil conditions as he is intellectually clear-visioned in discerning basic remedies. Recently Mr. Post wrote a brief editorial under the title of "An Example to be Shunned," in which he pointed out the demoralizing influence that has resulted from Mr. Rockefeller's life and example to the American nation, in a few words that ought to be read and thought upon by every youth in the Republic.

"For a disclosure of thwarted justice," observes Mr. Post, "we are indebted to the proceedings at New York in which John D. Rockefeller participated as a witness. It might well make every right-minded person sick at heart. Like a similar attempt some years ago to drag the truth from Croker, it was sadly farcical. And Croker! Why,

he does not compare with Rockefeller. It is doubtful if there is another man in the world to-day whose influence upon civilization has been so demoralizing. Rockefeller has lowered the moral tone of our country beyond the possibility of all the ministers his money has made to raise it; for he poses as a good man, as a benefactor, as a brotherhood-of-man sort of man; and young men looking up to him, justify to their consciences their own moral angularities by his career. If he should relinquish every dollar he has extorted, he could not restore the moral integrity of business life which he has done so much to destroy. While it is true that privilege created by law is the destructive agency which makes a Rockefeller as well as his victims possible, let us not forget that law-created privilege is made and maintained by men, and that Mr. Rockefeller not only has been, but still is at the forefront in making, perpetuating, intensifying and financially flourishing upon law-created privileges. Can any one be blamed for denouncing a man

so conspicuous as an attractive but deadly example? Let the reader who thinks so turn to the fourteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew, and read as much more of the same chapter as seems appropriate. It is not always best to denounce persons instead of conditions, but Matthew records a good precedent for it in proper cases; and if John D. Rockefeller's is not a proper case, how can there ever be one—ay, how could there ever have been any?"

If every minister not in bonds to tainted money should read this editorial; also the passages from the Gospel of St. Matthew to which the *Public* refers, and supplement that

reading by a careful perusal of the first five verses of the fifth chapter of the Epistle of St. James, and then proclaim from his pulpit the duty of the church as pointed out by the Founder of Christianity and the New Testament writers, the result would be the awakening of the sleeping conscience of the nation in far greater degree than has resulted in a decade of revival meetings such as most churches annually resort to. So long as the church tolerates in her fellowship men who acquire fabulous wealth by means of secret rebates, law-evasion and other indirect methods, the religion of the Nazarene will be mocked in its pretended home.

### A CLERGYMAN ON MR. ROCKEFELLER'S GRIP ON THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

IT IS encouraging to note that not a few clergymen, in most instances young men of marked ability, are taking a brave stand for sound morality and that pure and undefiled religion spoken of by the Apostle James.

In the November *ARENA* the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, the pastor of the largest Unitarian church in New York city, contributed one of the most thought-compelling papers ever written by a prophet-preacher, on "The Responsibility of the Churches."

In our January issue the Rev. Eliot White gave a graphic account of the remarkable growth of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, an organization which already numbers some hundreds of members among the American clergy.

In this issue an exceptionally able New England Episcopalian clergyman, the Rev. P. Gavan Duffy, considers the question "Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?" from the view-point of the teachings and example of the Primitive Church.

A short time since a young New England clergyman, a Baptist minister from New Hampshire, boldly protested in the New England Baptist Conference held in Boston, against his church becoming the bond-slave of John D. Rockefeller. Here is an abstract of the words of this minister, the Rev. R. A. Bateman, as given by the *Boston Herald*:

"Will the Baptist church continue to maintain an attitude of timidity when John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil is mentioned?

"If this is so, I and a few other young men whom I know, who have n't reached the dead line yet, would like to know it. We want to do something.

"I come from a small town," said Mr. Bateman. "There are many small towns throughout this region where one corporation owns the town and owns the people, body, soul and hymn-book. And looking over our churches, taking note of the people in the pews, some of us young ministers have begun asking ourselves this question: Has n't the church somehow or other got itself bound up, hand and foot, with the money end of this proposition?"

"What has stirred our people more than anything else is this nefarious Standard Oil business. The proposition confronting us is this: "Will the Baptist church prove itself the great bulwark of democracy?" I'm giving away state secrets, I know, but I'm going to tell this as an illustration. Four years ago some of us students in the Newton Theological Institution arranged a debate on the question whether institutions of the church should accept gifts from questionable sources. We received a request from the authorities of the seminary to indefinitely postpone the debate.

"The gist of my argument answered the request. My argument was that a policy of the most tender consideration was being shown toward people whom it did not seem advisable to offend for mercenary reasons. The Newton Theological Institution, I may add, had recently received a gift of \$150,000 from Mr. Rockefeller. After receiving this reply from

the debating society the governing board took a new vote and the debate went on.

"Nothing has such a nefarious influence on our church to-day as the feeling that we are in the shadow of this mammoth corporation. I want to know if we are expected to revere that old man who has a failing memory at all times except when he indulges in minute reminiscences for the benefit of his grandchildren—telling them how to become fine old gentlemen.

"What attitude is the Baptist denomination to take toward this situation? In none of our church publications have I ever seen any indictment of the Standard Oil Company or of Mr. Rockefeller, but they appear everywhere else.

"Pardon my boldness for breaking out like this. I know the man is still living. Perhaps he has another \$150,000 he may drop, or \$100,000 to give to foreign missions. And then there is the matter of bequests to be considered. Is it the attitude of this church that it won't do to tamper with this old gentleman for fear he'll get wrathful and disown us? Is this true?

"We can have, apparently, only one of two sorts of men in our churches. We can have

the men of wealth who take the attitude so often that God is needing money again, or we can have the men of toil who believe in Jesus Christ and are clean and honest. To-day they are slipping out the back door of the church unnoticed. Hundreds of thousands of them have already gone, but we have n't marked their going because they have n't got the coin. It's time to ignore the rich man and concentrate our attention on laboring men. We can afford to lose every dollar of these vast fortunes if only we can have the poor man in the church."

These are but a few of the rapidly-multiplying signs of a general spiritual renaissance throughout the Protestant churches of America. But promising as are the signs of this awakening, the hour of danger is by no means passed. Indeed, we may say, only the gray streaks of dawn are as yet visible. A grave duty devolves on all conscious-guided ministers, teachers, editors and citizens in general—that of personally combatting to the utmost the aggressions of the materialism of the market, the soul-deadening encroachments of the feudalism of organized greed and privileged wealth.

## MR. THOMAS F. RYAN AND HIS ACQUIRED WEALTH.

**T**HOMAS F. RYAN, whose almost fabulous fortune has been so largely acquired by methods familiar to modern high finance and rendered possible in many instances by the efficient aid and intellectual prowess of his lawyer, Elihu Root, now announces that he is going to withdraw from many business enterprises in which he has been engaged. He will keep his grip on several of the great gold mines which he has acquired in the metropolis and will also have a stud of racing horses on his Virginia estate to which he proposes to retire. Thus he will be able to vary the monotony of cutting coupons and cashing checks derived from watered stock and inflated securities with diversion with his racers.

Mr. Ryan has relieved the people of millions upon millions of dollars through control of public-service corporations which ought to have been owned and operated by the people, and through watering stocks and the manipulation of money of corporations like the Equitable Assurance Society for his own personal

enrichment. His name has gained a most unsavory reputation in connection with the street-car scandals of the metropolis and other matters that have been more or less exposed in recent years.

The *New York World* thus satirically refers to Mr. Ryan's pretended retirement from business life:

"Thomas F. Ryan pathetically announces his retirement from active business. He has sent in thirty-four resignations as director in various corporations. He says that by his doctor's advice 'I am unloading business responsibilities as rapidly as I can in justice to the interests involved.'

"All that Mr. Ryan retains is control of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, with half a billion dollars of assets; control of the Morton Trust Company, which has the underlying railway securities of Manhattan and the Bronx; control of the National Bank of Commerce, which is next to the biggest bank in the United States, and control of the American

Tobacco Company, which supplies the cigars, cigarettes, smoking and chewing tobacco to a great part of the world.

"These small interests aggregate only a little over \$1,000,000,000. That is not much more than the funded debt of the United States. These trifles, with a race-horse breeding farm added, Mr. Ryan will retain for playthings and as diversions to keep himself from being bored and the wolf from the door."

In a excellent cartoon the *World* further

emphasizes this pretended exit of the man who has fattened on wealth that under the old business ideals, under legislation which would render criminal the watering of stocks and other methods of acquiring instead of earning wealth, and under wise public-ownership such as marks the management of public utilities in various other leading nations of the world, would have gone to enrich the community and all the people, instead of making one man abnormally and dangerously rich.

### THE FUNCTION OF A STATE HEALTH DEPARTMENT.\*

**N**OW AND then through the maze of reports, statistics and clippings that make up the history of social progress comes a glimpse of the finished picture toward which we strive. Sometimes it shows in a colossal plan, sometimes in the faith and enthusiasm of the individual worker. Combining both, I have before me the annual report for 1907 of the New York State Board of Health, eloquent from cover to cover with the state come into its own. From theories of government we preach now this, now that, we smile indulgently at the man who advocates "paternal" measures, or we fight him, as our interests demand. Meanwhile quietly, impartially, supremely, the state comes into its own; not through theories or politics or weight of words, but because science leads the way and proves beyond opinion that such and such the state must do, only the state can do, and, not doing, courts its own destruction. In city and state alike the boards of health have advanced from mere registration functions through prohibitive legislation to constructive application.

I cannot refrain from giving Dr. Porter's own words on "The Function of a State Health Department." It is all too rarely that our public men can so clearly analyze their relation to the common life:

"In health there is liberty," said Amiel many years ago. Health is the first of all liberties, and happiness gives us the energy which is the basis of health. Emerson said in his 'Conduct of Life,' 'The first wealth is health.' We are all agreed that the greatest blessing is health, and when that is gone, all is gone.

\*State Department of Health, New York, 28th Annual Report, Eugene H. Porter, M.D., Commissioner.

"How far, then, shall the state go in its endeavor to protect and extend the public health? The fact that this question is being asked repeatedly with increasing force is significant to the students of social progress.

"The old days and the old conceptions of disease and health are passing away. The beliefs, selfish and ignorant, that human beings could be crowded into humble houses destitute of light and air, reeking with filth and swarming with vermin, to die like vermin; that men and women must work more hours each than flesh and blood could bear; that children should be dwarfed and maimed by cruel labor; that the distressed and destitute must protect themselves against not only want but against the fatal diseases caused by man's ignorance, greed and inhumanity; these beliefs are passing away. The old way has cost more lives than all the wars since Alexander and more gold than has ever been mined. Slowly the lesson has been heeded. We have been led to more general concepts and away from the limitations of earlier prejudices and antagonisms.

"In new situations vigor and enthusiasm construct a higher ethics, the practice of which elevates the plane of living. Now this drift of scientific, and to a very appreciable degree, also popular opinion, can mean but one thing. It means that sanitary science has in its process of development become a practical science and that it is now recognized as such. We have learned that if we allow our neighbor to die of plague we are likely to take passage with him across the river; that if we allow tenements of death we are exposed in turn to the Great White Plague, and that if we allow our neighbor to wallow in filth we must expect to suffer

some of the consequences. We have learned, too, that we improve society when we improve its individual members. Every expansion of human intelligence has proved of advantage to society and all the great advantages in the social condition have turned to the profit of humanity.

"Knowing these things it may be asked again, what is the duty of the state—of its health department?

"It is to prevent disease by causing the individual to do all the things he can do, and then doing for him all the things he is unable to do. A real protection of the public health may only be attained by means beyond the reach of individuals. These things belong properly to the budget of the state and should not be added to that of the family. This policy should be pursued in sanitation as it is in the extension of education.

"The citizens of the state have as much right to demand protection in health as safety from bodily violence and robbery. We all know the quick public change from an indifference regarding public health to one of frenzied apprehension in the face of an impending calamity. A little further progress and such crises would be avoided. And so, if, as Dr. Patten has said, the foundations of our very civilization have been somewhat changed, the old thought will gradually disappear—not because it is argued away, but because men's sentiments and opinions are changed by new activity and an accumulating store of fresh experiences.

"On broad lines to cause the citizen to do the things he can and ought to do, and then to do for him the things that he cannot do, but should be done, is the duty of the state, and that being interpreted means the real prevention of disease.

"And I need not speak of the remarkable advance of sanitary science in the last few decades—its victories over yellow fever, cholera, typhus fever, and plague, save to emphasize the fact that with all this advancement there have come to us new duties and increased responsibilities.

"One of the greatest of modern biologists has recently said: 'As we march onward toward the true goal of existence, mankind will lose much of its liberty but in return will gain a high measure of solidarity. The more exact and precise a science becomes the less freedom we have to neglect its lessons.' These new duties are before us, and it is only by organized, enlightened and persistent effort that we may hope to accomplish our ends."

Besides the usual vital statistics the report covers the state's traveling tuberculosis exhibit, the meeting of the sanitary officers of the state, and well-prepared reports of many special investigations, as, for instance, on pollution of streams, investigation of water-sheds, sanitary investigation of cities, of summer resorts, of all sewage-disposal plants, of all public water supplies, of eyes and ears of school children, of meat, of ice supplies, of malt beverages, and so on. The right of the state to take up these intimate matters is no longer questioned; its duty to do so is recognized. We as individuals no longer have the power to control what we eat and drink. We can choose whether to eat this or that, whether to drink this or that, but we cannot affect the wholesomeness, the quality, of either this or that. These things the state must do. Take, for instance, beer and water. We cannot analyze them, nor can we afford to have our individual drink-stuffs tested. The state can act; it can tell us in pluses and minuses just what ingredients each brand of beer has, just what qualities each kind of water possesses. Then, and then only, can we choose the good from the bad, and by emphasizing one condemn and destroy the other. So in the other fields the work of the Board roots out the evil conditions and destroys them by their own weight. To those who profit by the harmful conditions the burden is heavy, but to the average citizen—and the state is but the personification of the aggregate average citizen—the cost is infinitesimal compared with the gain, for the gain is Health and Efficient Liberty.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## THE DEMOCRACY OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

AT THE annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League held in Boston November 30th, eloquent appeals were heard in behalf of Democracy. The speakers made it clear that the retention of "possessions" like the Philippine Islands denied its fundamental principles while the people of the "possessions" themselves were denied its fundamental rights. The secretary quoted from the address made by Señor Osmena, speaker of the Philippine Assembly, on the last day of a session which was conducted with decorum and efficiency. Señor Osmena said:

"We Filipinos desire national independence, a desire existing before our second uprising against Spain and continuing thereafter equally under the shock of arms and the ægis of peace. We believe ourselves capable of ruling our own destinies. The phrase 'immediate independence,' inscribed upon the banner of the majority, is neither a new inscription nor a new ideal. 'Immediate independence' is the motto of our country to-day and her motto forever, for it incarnates and signifies her true aspiration, that aspiration which has suffered neither change nor decay and which her children through all vicissitudes and adversities, have never forgotten for a single moment: ay, not even in the moment of swearing allegiance, for that allegiance involves no repudiation of our ideals, and we believe allegiance to America still permits us to be faithful to our consciences as men and to our sacred desire for national independence.

"Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as deputy and representative of my compatriots and under my responsibility as president of this Chamber, that we believe the people desire independence, that it believes itself capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal affairs and externally as one of the concert of free and civilized nations, and that we believe that if at this moment the United States should grant the suit of the Filipino people for liberty, that people, upon assuming responsibility, could discharge to the full its obligations toward itself and toward others, without detriment to liberty, to law or to justice."

A similar appeal was made at the last Lake Mohonk Conference by the resident Commis-

sioner of the Philippine Islands, Señor Ocampo in these words:

"Returning again to the question of whether the Filipinos are fit for independence or not, a fitness which some are not prepared to acknowledge for purposes of their own, allow me to say that facts have eloquently shown and proven the capacity of my people. An evidence in support of this, and which no one would dare challenge, is the incontrovertible fact that the government established there has marched onward with conquering success. No political organization nor economic nor administrative institution has been created there that has not justified its object since the response from the natives, in whatever capacity they figured, was found to surpass expectation. New, as the system is to us, there is not a single instance which could be considered a failure by the strictest critic.

"The aspiration for independence is a general sentiment all over the islands, and the Filipinos would wish to have it to-day, were it possible; their true representative, the Philippine Assembly, through its speaker, having given expression to this general aspiration in the closing speech delivered by him in Manila, last June. This declaration, instead of presenting the popular will in the form of a resolution or a bill, as it seems logical and consistent to do, mentioned the cherished hope of final emancipation, as a goal looked forward to by the Filipinos, an ambition which is actually a religion.

"I mention this very significant fact to corroborate my former assertion that the aspiration for independence is not mere intemperance, neither is it radical nor demagogic. The way it was made public, the solemn form in which the speaker of our Assembly announced it, shows his wisdom, tact and sound judgment. And all speaks highly in favor of the fitness of my people who, calm yet filled with hope, confidently expect to obtain from the United States, without commotion, without patience, without upheavals, the verdict she will pronounce on our cause, a legitimate one in all respects."

Mr. Moorfield Storey, the president of the League, said:

"The Americans and Filipinos in the islands are not coming into closer relations, but are drawing apart, nor is anything else to be



expected. Our whole policy rests upon the assumption of our superiority. We insist that we are so much above the Filipinos that we can determine whether or not they are fit to govern themselves in their own country, and because we have decided that they are unfit we are there. It is not surprising that the Americans in the islands should share this feeling, and decline to treat the Filipinos as equal, nor is it strange that a proud people should resent such treatment. Of all civilized people we are most affected by the prejudice of color, and for that reason we are the least fit to govern men whose skin is darker than our own.

"With America desiring to be rid of the islands and the Filipinos desiring to be free, it would seem that a separation could not long be delayed. It is not possible that the first nation to proclaim that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed should long be false to its principles when they are receiving recognition in Turkey and Persia; and though it may be that for a while under President Taft our cause will seem to lose we have behind us moral and economic forces that cannot be resisted, and the 'self-evident truths' on which we stand are a rock which cannot be shaken. Meanwhile our duty is clear. We must continue the contest without faltering. We must lose no opportunity to lay the facts before our fellow-countrymen. We must point out that the policy of Mr. Taft does not mean independence, that, as he frankly admits, he hopes the Filipinos will cease to desire it, and that his measures are designed to realize this hope. We must resist every step in this policy, and so far as in us lies we must show the American people that to hold the Filipinos as our subjects against their will is wrong—politically, economically and morally wrong—that from this wrong nothing but evil can come alike to ruler and subject, oppressor and oppressed, and that as its history has abundantly shown, this nation cannot endure part free and part subject to arbitrary power. The end of the contest may come soon or late, but whether we live to see the end or not, the fight for freedom must never be abandoned."

A stirring address was made by the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, former mayor of Auburn, New York, and now one of the Public Service Commissioners of that state, in which he said:

"To keep the islands for the mere sake of increasing our territory is silly; to keep them for the purpose of robbing them of their wealth

is wicked. There remains one other consideration along this line, for there is wealth also to be secured without robbery—the wealth comes from honest, legitimate trade. If there were time this point is worthy of development at length; but I must simply point out that the wealth of commerce—the honest wealth that comes to both sides through the natural exchange of commodities—can be just as well carried on and better with a friend as with a master. When Massachusetts was an unwilling dependency of England she refused to trade with the mother country; when the United States was at war with England in 1814 Massachusetts almost severed the union rather than give up her trade with her old enemy. You cannot gain or secure the blessings of trade by issuing orders to dependencies, or even by treaties; for trade is done between individuals for the benefit of both parties and you cannot force individuals to trade where they do not wish to. Trade will be far better between the United States and the Philippines if the latter are set free, than if they are unwillingly held; especially if our absurd tariff wall were broken down so as to allow of natural and free interchange of commodities. At present we hold fast the islands to obstruct trade; could anything be more hopelessly futile and illogical?

"Next we come to the arguments based upon nobler grounds—the welfare of the Filipinos; and the point is urged that we must maintain our rule over the islands because they are unable to uphold a government of their own. If we should withdraw, anarchy would ensue. The first answer is that we have no right to assume anything of the kind; the second is that even anarchy is to be preferred to tyranny. So the anarchy argument fails whether looked at from the historical or the ethical point-of-view. As an historical fact what we mean by anarchy in this case—serious social confusion—has been again and again the outward evidence of deep-seated movements which result in the formulation of some system of government best fitted for the time and circumstances. Never yet in the world's history has one nation been ultimately successful in forcing upon another its own civilization and ideals. We can only warp, distort, or destroy a tree or we can aid its growth and development; but we cannot make it grow. The principle of life is in the tree—and in the ground about it—in the sunshine and the air; we can only assist the processes of nature, we cannot substitute our own. The Philippines are entitled to their

own form of development be it what we call anarchy or progress. Japan has shown what freedom from outside interference can do when a nation has within itself the germs of growth. Perhaps the Filipino has the same God-like faculty. Let us beware how we assume that he has it not and crush down, warp or distort the purposes of God.

"Next we are told that we must hold the islands to prevent them being seized upon by some other power—Great Britain, Germany or Japan. This argument is no less flimsy than the others. One might begin by hazarding the suggestion that if it's a question of the Filipinos being held in subjection by some one, perhaps the inhabitants might prefer to choose their guardian; possibly they would gain by the rule of Japan or Great Britain rather than 'benevolent assimilation' by the United States. Why should we assume that our particular rule is so necessary to the Philippines? Has it spared war and bloodshed? Does it satisfy the people of the islands? Have we been so successful in perfecting the details of our own form of government that we are justified in deciding upon those for other people? And if these are answered satisfactorily there still remains the fact that nothing could be simpler than to take the Philippines under our protection and say to every nation in the world, 'Hands off!' It would be as easy to protect the islands in the character of a generous and unselfish friend as in that of an imperious over-lord, and perhaps easier. Our attitude toward Cuba convicts of ridiculous inconsistency out of hand.

"Next comes the argument that it is our duty to civilize and educate the inhabitants of the islands; with or without the implied admission that they are to be set free some time or other. If the true education of a people consists in material things—in good roads, fine bridges, uniformed police—all those wonderful evidences of administrative efficiency such as are to be seen in India, for example, then I grant that it can probably be produced in the Philippines under our rule much quicker than by home rule; a veneer of civilization under imperialism is comparatively easy to produce—there were no sights more impressive than the relics of Roman government of old or of British imperialism of to-day—but was not that the very kind of civilization which our ancestors spurned when they threw away the comforts and refinements of English sovereignty? Education of a sort can be forced wherever you have

the power—there are no places in the world so offensively and tragically clean as your prisons; but is that the education we demand for our own children? or would accept even at the point of the bayonet? What business have we to go to the other side of the globe, to a land where by accident we have the power, and say, 'These are our ideas of what is good for you; and we propose to civilize and educate you according to these ideas. It makes no difference what you want or do n't want—what you like or dislike—we propose to decide for you. You must submit—because we are stronger than you, and can beat you and, if necessary, will beat you into submission.' England has been trying this sort of thing in India for over a hundred years; and doing it much better than we can ever hope to do it. Is it a success? India is seething with discontent; the viceroy has recently had to abandon his trip of inspection and has returned under a heavy guard to Calcutta; in the different provinces bombs are being hurled at the chief officials, and murders are becoming alarmingly frequent; native newspapers are being suspended and suppressed. On all sides it is agreed that never since the great mutiny has the situation been so serious. Yet—irony of fate!—the Secretary of State for India in the British cabinet is John Morley! Can we do more for the Philippines than Great Britain has done for India? No—and yes. We cannot hope to excel her in excellent administration; for we are a democracy while England is an imperial aristocracy, but at the end of a term of years we may perhaps bring about something approaching the efficiency and excellence of the Indian government and with the same results—a discontented population on the verge of a violent outbreak against its unselfish and well-meaning oppressors.

"But we can if we choose do more—much more than England has done for India; we can make the people of the Philippines a free people; we can make ourself their loyal and devoted friend; opening our ports to reciprocal trade; offering every help in our power toward high ideals and high accomplishment—and giving the most efficient help possible in setting a great example. The way to do this is to withdraw our army and establish independence; and the time to do it is, not a century hence, nor a generation hence, not ten years nor five, but now, straightway, the sooner the better. Every moment of delay is fraught with injustice to the Philippines and danger to ourselves."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**Municipal Ownership and The Water and Light Problem.**

**O**F THE 158 cities of over 30,000 covered by the census report of 1906, 117 owned and operated their water-works. All but three of these cities showed an excess of receipts over expenditures for their plants, and in one of these three the plant did not supply the city proper but merely one of the villages taken over by the city. The total revenue from these plants was \$51,922,865.

The value of all the public-utilities properties operated by the cities was \$836,522,737. The outstanding indebtedness on their account was \$469,479,255, so that these cities have earned from revenue nearly half the cost of their industrial plants.

The 1907 report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health adds the following figures in regard to the commonwealth. There the water-works are owned by the municipalities in all the cities (33) and 106 of the towns, while in 46 towns the works are owned by private companies. Only 6.2 per cent. of the urban population of the state live in the towns that have private plants.

With San Francisco and New Orleans building their own water-works the "issue" of public-ownership of water-works in large cities goes out of existence. Here and there are still some private water companies, but every city in the country of over 100,000 population has its own plant and is making it pay. In the smaller towns the fight goes on, but there, too, the end can be foreseen.

In lighting we have not progressed so far—and that is curious when one remembers that light as a public service is so very much more intimate than water. We can get along with out water in every house if must be, can rely entirely on a common supply. But the common supply of light is insignificant. We must have light to work with, we must have light in every room, and always at our command. Light—and, of course, power, too—is one of the elements of our industrial pace, one of the factors in the number of hours the day possesses. Why in a civilized community water

should be publicly owned and light left to private exploitation is indeed difficult to understand.

Moreover, in the majority of cases the two are inseparable. A water source is a power source, and the latter must, for the sake of the former, be controlled by public authority. As a health measure and as a business measure the city must control its waterways for both water and power purposes. Such ridiculous situations as that in Chicago where the city under one name drives itself out of business under another name serve simply to bring the whole matter clearly before us. The experience of cities that own their water but sell their water rights to individuals give us daily proof of the necessity of recognizing the great value of the possession of water-power. And as these various inconsistencies gradually reduce themselves to the inevitable absurdity, the relation of light and water will come out more and more clearly, and the private ownership of lighting like the private ownership of water will take its place in the past.

**Baltimore, Maryland.**

THERE was considerable press comment last spring—with a curious sameness of phrase—about the failure of the "Municipal Lighting Plant" of Baltimore. This "plant" in the cellar of the city hall was used to light that building and the court house. The chief point mentioned was that a private company was willing to do for \$7,500 what the city had done for \$30,000. This looked like a reduction in taxes—and a beautiful example. The latter it surely was, for hardly a month after this enthusiasm the private lighting company raised the minimum price of electricity so that the small dealer and householder had to pay ten cents per Kw. instead of from two and a half to seven cents. Could anything be simpler? Only one thing, the result. Baltimore is now seeking to build a lighting plant of its own to be operated by the water-power at the dam of the city's new water-works on the Gunpowder river.

**An Indiana Report.**

THE EXTRACTS given below are taken from the report of the city controller of Richmond, Indiana, Mr. Webster Parry.

"The subject of municipal ownership of lighting plants, so far as this city is concerned, was so fully covered by former reports of the city controller that it might seem useless at this time to do more than give the figures showing receipts and expenditures, were it not that up to this time the failure of the municipal light plant in the city of Richmond is heralded and advertised by the Electric-Light Trust and newspapers which are, from principle or money interests the enemies of municipal ownership of public utilities. Therefore, I shall again attempt to so analyze the conditions and figures as to make plain to every reader the falsity of such reports. . . .

"During the past year a strong competition has been waged by our competitor, by which patrons of the city plant who were large consumers of electricity have been offered prices, or have been allowed to name their own prices, admittedly so low as to be less than the cost of manufacture. Such prices have in no cases been met by the municipal plant, the Board of Works who have it in charge believing it not only unbusinesslike, but also unjust to other patrons, to meet the competition. Although the patronage of some of our large consumers has thus been taken from us, the loss has been much more than made up by others who have without solicitation come to us because of their loyalty to the city and its interests.

"Also a campaign of misrepresentation has been carried on for the purpose of causing distrust, dissension and suspicion in the minds of our citizens against the municipal light plant and its management, and the Electric-Light Plant Trust, through its local representatives, went so far as to propose and urge that they furnish experts at their own expense to investigate and tinker with the city's light plant and its books sufficiently to show that the municipal plant, as well as its competitor, is losing money. All readers of this have doubtless noticed that every 'expert' witness in court is *expert* enough to make out a plausible case for his employer, however plainly the facts show the opposite to be true, hence the disinterested fairness of the proposition did not appeal to the Board of Works, nor so far as we can hear, to the citizens generally.

"But not withstanding all this, the business of the municipal electric-lighting and power

plant is in the most prosperous condition of its history, as I think the detailed statements accompanying this will prove.

"January 1, 1907, the city light plant had 1,731 patrons, and January 1, 1908, there were 2,083, a net increase of 342, or a trifle more than 20 per cent., which was accomplished without a solicitor being in the field at any time during the year.

"On January 1, 1907, the municipal plant owed the city for money advanced, \$190,776.01, of which amount \$144,000 was evidenced by the city's 4 per cent. bonds, leaving a balance due the city for cash advanced from the general fund, \$46,776.01.

"During 1907 the city paid for operating expenses, interest and betterments, \$79,761.34, making a total of \$126,537.35, from which we deduct the year's receipts, \$72,956.94, leaving a balance due the city on account of \$53,580.41, which is but \$6,804.40 more than one year ago, notwithstanding almost \$23,000 was paid during the year for extensions to the original plant.

"The gross receipts of the plant for 1907 were \$9,768.16 greater than in 1906, an increase of more than 15 per cent., while from commercial business alone the increase was \$9,469.26, a gain of more than 23 per cent.

"It is well known that the light plant was built to meet local conditions well-nigh intolerable at the time, and *not* as an investment of the city's funds, but, looking at it as an investment alone, it should be satisfactory to any of our capitalists or taxpayers. There was probably never a time when the city had more money invested in the plant than January 1, 1905, when the books showed a debt of \$212,470.52. If we take this as a basis and add the amount spent in 1907 for construction, new equipments and extensions, \$34,832.57, we have an investment on which the city has earned a profit of:

Gross receipts.....	\$72,956.94
Less operating expenses.....	44,928.77
Net.....	\$28,028.17

which is more than 11 per cent. Or, we may deduct 5 per cent. for depreciation and still have left more than enough to pay a dividend of 7 per cent. on a capitalization of \$247,000 after paying bond interest and setting aside over \$10,000 as a sinking fund.

"The real cost of lighting the city's streets is found by deducting the receipts from all other sources from the operating expenses, including

interest, insurance, etc., but one year ago, in order to be over-conservative, we added to this the entire amount of construction expenses chargeable to the original plant and then added 5 per cent. for depreciation. Taking this overly-conservative plan at this time we get the following results:

Operating expenses.....	\$44,928.77
Construction .....	11,901.42
Depreciation .....	10,623.53
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$67,453.72
Less receipts.....	50,851.32
Leaving a balance of.....	\$16,602.40

which, being divided by the average number of arc-lights, gives us \$4.70 as the real outside cost per arc-light per month, for lighting our streets, for an all-night schedule, as against \$7.50 charged the city before the municipal plant was installed, after deducting for depreciation, a sum entirely unwarranted under the existing circumstances, when construction expenses are figured in with the operating expenses.

"I have tried herein to give you a full and true report of the business of the municipal light plant for the year 1907 and of its condition at this time, and have in no instance made it more glowing than the figures demanded, and I confidently believe that no unprejudiced citizen who reads this can fail to be satisfied that nothing but gross mismanagement of the plant from this time can cause it to be the failure so falsely claimed by its enemies, whether they be the Light Plant Trust or the local press."

#### Collingswood, New Jersey.

THE PEOPLE of Collingswood, New Jersey, are the latest victims of the Jersey hold-up game. The town voted strongly in favor of public-ownership, and now the water committee of the council wants to give the water company a new contract. There is apparently something in the political conditions of the state which fosters this form of prostitution. The Recall will soon be a necessity in the Trust State.

#### Notes.

THE GOVERNMENT during the financial year ending June 30, 1908, made a profit of \$10,-541,371 on the coinage of silver, nickels and one-cent pieces.

THE NEW constitution of Michigan allows the cities of that state to finance their public utilities by certificates of indebtedness against the property purchased and the revenue derived from it. This relieves these plants from complication with the problem of the city debt limit and puts them on an independent basis.

IT IS reported that the Canadian government is considering the Public-Ownership of grain elevators.

CHICAGO is following the lead of New York in recognizing public health as a form of property which demands protection. The police in the Windy City will hereafter cooperate with the Health Board in the active work of preventing the spread of contagious diseases.

THE CITY of Freudenstadt, Germany, according to the *Boston Post*, has no taxes. All its income is derived from the sale of its franchises and of the wood in its municipal forest.

#### Postal Reform.

OUR FRIENDS who are seeking reform in the postal service should include in their program some measure reducing the cost of sending out public documents. Department reports should at the very least go as second-class mail matter. Publicity is desirable for these institutions but is at present an expensive luxury. Many small towns and departments refrain from publishing reports on account of the postage expense. Circulation should be free in the territory immediately concerned in a report, just as the privately-owned county papers are delivered free in the county they cover.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

By ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,

Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

Missouri.

**T**HE FOLLOWING is a copy of the Missouri Direct-Legislation amendment, adopted November 3, 1908, by a majority of 35,868:

"Article IV., section 1. The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent. of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the state shall be required to propose any measure by such petition and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure as proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon.

"The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, and laws making appropriations for the current expenses of the state government, for the maintenance of the state institutions and for the support of the public schools), either by the petition signed by five per cent. of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the state, or by the legislative assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded.

"The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the state shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any

measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be: 'Be it enacted by the people of the state of Missouri.'

"This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum, shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the secretary of state, and in submitting the same to the people he, and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

The remarks of Dr. William Preston Hill at the banquet tendered to him by the Missouri Referendum League on December 2d, answer so well questions repeatedly asked, that the main points he made are hereby noted.

He said in part: "The referendum idea has been slowly taking possession of the American people. Eight states have now adopted this great measure of self-government and it is knocking at the gates of twenty more. It has swept from Oregon to Maine, and the reason is that the people have lost faith in the integrity and efficiency of our state legislatures. They have been disgusted with the corruption which has prevailed in our political life and now they realize that you cannot intrust uncontrolled power in the hands of the average man without having it abused. They know, too, that it is useless to simply change the men in the office; that it is the system itself, the real source of corruption, that must be changed. For this reason they are adopting the Initiative and Referendum, for they have found that if they want good government they must attend to it themselves."

Apparently the free-bridge delay was in the

mind of Mr. Hill when he flayed the habit many officials have of refusing to take action on the most pressing needs of the people, who rule as despots over those whose votes put them into office, those who must endure the tyranny until the term of office expires.

"In the face of this the people of Missouri are now to be congratulated. In the Initiative and Referendum they have the instrument of a peaceful evolution, which is a guarantee of peace, security, law and order."

Newspapers in St. Louis that have attacked the Initiative and Referendum and are predicting that it won't work were referred to by the speaker. He said these before the election had predicted the defeat of the measure and that that prediction was on a par with their present prophecies. These papers, he said, forgot, apparently, that our legislatures have made mistakes and they want to deny the people the right to make their own mistakes.

"And if the people do make a mistake they will never do it intentionally, but a compact majority of the legislature may themselves benefit by a mistake which they made at the expense of the whole people. Now, however, the people of Missouri will be able to correct speedily any mistakes which they or their legislatures may make."

Dr. Hill answered the assertion that with the new measure every Tom, Dick and Harry who have a supposed grievance would demand a vote of the people by saying that the requisite petition signed by 56,000 voters from two-thirds of the state would make this impossible. The referendum fight had given the League representation in every precinct of the state.

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#### **Maine.**

THE PEOPLE of Maine seem determined to make their newly-acquired powers effective. The following is a letter that is being sent to the various senators and representatives elect of the state:

"Dear sir:

"At the September election the people adopted the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the state Constitution, giving the people the right to initiate laws upon petitions and to refer enacted statutes to popular ballot upon petitions.

"The State Referendum League believes that there is a popular demand for the enactment of a corrupt practices act to eliminate the use of money and intoxicating liquors at elec-

tions; the enactment of a direct primaries law, to include the popular expression on the election of United States Senators; and the enactment of a reform ballot law.

"At a recent meeting of the State Referendum League it was voted to ask the members-elect of the next legislature to define their attitude upon each of the above measures, and this letter is sent to you for that purpose. The League recognizes the paramount truth that the state legislature is the proper source for all legislation as the representative body of the people. Whenever the legislature does not respond to popular demands, however, the Initiative and Referendum is the power to be applied as the proper remedy. The people of Maine are entitled to as wise statutes as are the people of any state, and the legislature should be the source of such laws as are mentioned above. If the disposition of a majority of the members-elect is in favor of giving these three measures favorable consideration next winter, there is no call for any movement to use the Initiative; but, if it is evident from the replies received, that no favorable action to purify politics, to give the power to nominate candidates for public offices to the people direct, and to provide a form of ballot that will reduce disfranchisements to the minimum, then it is plain that the Initiative should be invoked that the standard of government may be raised in Maine to equal the best known.

"A meeting of the League is to be held within a short time in Augusta when we shall take up these important matters for discussion and to determine just what part we may need to take in securing laws of general benefit to the people. We ask that at that time we may have some expression of your views respecting, first, the need of legislation of this character; second, which of the three measures suggested stands first in your opinion; third, if you will be able to give thought and time to the especial bill covering the reform measure or measures selected. It should be plainly understood that no correspondence will be considered as confidential. Among the membership of the State Referendum League are enrolled men of all political parties, and the only interest the organization has in this subject is to secure wise legislation."

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#### **Michigan.**

THE FOLLOWING statements concerning the revision of Michigan's state Constitution are extracted from a communication by its special

staff correspondent to the Newark (New Jersey) News:

"The women's suffrage provision in the new document does n't give women the same right to vote that the men have. A general suffrage clause was proposed in the convention, but defeated, and the only chance Michigan women will have to go to the polls now will be when a referendum is taken on some question of appropriations or other expenditure of public money which may affect the taxes on their property. Women who have no property won't have any vote.

"The Initiative and Referendum provision in the new Constitution is about as feeble an imitation of Direct-Legislation as the female-suffrage provision is of the vote for women. For nearly a month the convention members wrangled over this feature. It was strenuously urged that Michigan should follow the example of Oregon, North Dakota, Missouri and Maine, write into the Constitution a method by which legislation and constitutional amendments could be initiated by popular petition, passed by a popular vote at the polls when the legislature refused to act, and give the electorate of the state an opportunity to veto by popular vote such unpopular acts as the legislature might pass. The ultra-conservatives and politicians in the convention, however, finally defeated this proposition and then tried to satisfy public sentiment, which was very strong for the Initiative and Referendum, by adopting a compromise plan. This compromise is a little the queerest bit of constitutional machinery yet devised.

"It will now be possible to secure amendment of the Constitution by initiative petition in Michigan, but not to secure the enactment of statutory law by the same method. The legislature continues absolute in the making of statutes, and can submit to a vote any sort of proposed amendment to the Constitution it sees fit. The people may petition the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment. Petitions of this sort must be signed by twenty per cent. of the voters of the state. After the petition is filed the legislature may submit the question or not, as it pleases. If the amendment petitioned for is approved by the legislature it goes to the people for approval. If the legislature disapproves that is the end of it. When an amendment is proposed by initiative petition and approved by the legislature it goes to a vote of the people at the next general election, and becomes a part of the Constitution, if the total vote in its favor

amounts to one-third of the total number of votes cast for any office in the election. If an amendment is submitted by the legislature, without having been petitioned for, it requires only a majority of the votes cast for and against it to decide its fate.

#### "THE REFERENDUM PROVISION.

"About as funny is the referendum provision adopted. Referendum advocates in the convention urged that no bills excepting emergency measures, should become law until thirty days after their passage, and should be referred to a popular vote for approval or veto if within that time the people petitioned for a referendum on any measure or part of a measure. Instead of this, the convention provided that the legislature may tack a referendum clause on any measure it pleases, and that bills so equipped with a referendum provision shall not go into effect until after the vote is taken. In brief, the Michigan legislature continues to be absolute in making statutory law. The people may petition for constitutional amendments, and the legislature will decide whether or not amendments so petitioned for shall be submitted to a vote, while the legislature may provide for a referendum on any measure it pleases.

"The constitutional provision for municipal ownership and operation of utilities by cities and villages is a part of a rather broad-gauge policy adopted as to municipal government. All legislation providing for the government of townships, villages and cities is to be general. There are to be no special charters and no special acts affecting municipal government. The legislature is to limit the rate of taxation for municipal purposes and to restrict the powers of the municipalities in borrowing money. Otherwise the municipalities are to conduct their own affairs about as they please, subject to the Constitution and general laws of the state."

#### Notes.

THE *Examiner*, of Chicago, has the following comments on the necessity of the referendum in order to save the cities from being overwhelmed with debt:

"If Chicago is to escape the debt-ridden fate of New York and Boston it will only be by the submission of new public debts to a popular vote. Once remove the 'lid' on bond issues and the tax-eaters will do the rest.

"Let everybody admit that Chicago needs more money for public improvements. That



does not argue against the referendum, but rather for it. The public can be trusted to sanction all outlays that are unmistakably for the public good.

"The wiser heads among the new charter-framers are probably aware that hostility to the referendum merely tends to render the whole work of charter-framing nugatory, as before. It is little more than a year since a majority of Chicago's voters rejected a carefully-drafted charter. They did so mainly because the loopholes for extravagant bond issues and decreased taxation were glaring.

"The mere fact that last year's charter sprung a leak at the polls is probably one of the best arguments for the referendum. This year's amended charter will also have to abide by the popular verdict. It should at least be made seaworthy if it is hoped to escape the rocks.

"It is a libel on Chicago's taxpayers to say they are indifferent to public improvements. All they demand is the veto power on extravagance in the interest of politics-ridden administrations.

"The referendum insures this veto power, and is here to stay."

THE vote at the general election in Lincoln, Nebraska, on the adoption of the commission plan of city government carried by a plurality of 3,500. This plan is in force in Galveston and in Des Moines and has been very satisfactory in those cities.

THE LAST legislature passed an act submitting to the people of Alabama, to be voted on at the general election to be held November 3d, an amendment to the present constitution, commonly called the "New Counties" amendment. The sole effect of this amendment is to change the method of determining whether or not a new county shall be formed. Under the existing conditions the question is left to a two-thirds vote of the legislature, while under the amendment it is decided by a vote of the people.

THE common council of San Jose, California, has called a special election for the purpose of submitting to the electors nineteen questions, among them the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall.

THE American Federation of Labor is committed to the principle of the Initiative and Referendum. This Federation has grown in a dozen years from a membership of 264,825 to a membership of 1,586,885. It has affiliated

with it 116 international unions representing as many crafts, and including 28,700 subordinate local unions. In addition, there are 583 local unions under the direct administration of the federation, these being composed of scattered trades not yet organized into national unions. The local unions are coördinated into central labor unions in the cities, and into state federations and these bodies are also affiliated with the national federation. During the past year the federation has expended an income of approximately \$200,000.

THE FIRST use of the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri may be on the liquor question. An organization formed in St. Louis December 3d will appeal to the Missouri legislature to submit a prohibition constitutional amendment to the voters of the state in 1910. If the legislature refuses to do this, the association plans to circulate a petition for a prohibitory law under the Initiative and Referendum plan.

DECEMBER 5th at Washington, D. C., Governor George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon, who attended the conference of governors, called at the White House to pay his respects to President Roosevelt. In the presence of several representative citizens Mr. Roosevelt grasped the governor's hand and said:

"I am glad to meet you, Governor Chamberlain and Senator-to-be. While I would have preferred to have seen a Republican Senator from Oregon, yet as you are the people's choice I want to see you elected. I believe in the people's rule."\*

#### Steps Toward Pure Democracy.

1897. Iowa applied referendum to all franchise grants.

1897. Nebraska made Initiative and Referendum optional in cities.

1898. South Dakota adopted Initiative and Referendum amendment.

1900. Utah adopted amendment, for which legislature has never passed enabling act.

1901. Illinois passed public-policy law providing for advisory referendum.

1902. Oregon by constitutional amendment secured an effective form of the Initiative and Referendum.

1903. Los Angeles, California, applied Initiative and Referendum to municipal affairs.

1905. Nevada by constitutional amendment adopted the referendum.

\*Statement by George H. Shibley, to whom Governor Chamberlain related the meeting the next morning after it took place.

1905. Grand Rapids, Michigan, applied Initiative and Referendum to municipal affairs.

1906. Montana adopted Initiative and Referendum amendment.

1906. Delaware by popular vote instructed legislature to provide for the Initiative and Referendum.

1906. Nebraska gives to cities power to adopt Initiative and Referendum, which has been quite generally accepted.

1906. Des Moines, Iowa, adopts Initiative, Referendum and Recall in connection with commission plan of government.

1907. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, adopts Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

1907. 1. Oklahoma placed Initiative and Referendum in the constitution to be submitted to the people.

2. Maine legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment.

3. Missouri legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment.

4. North Dakota legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment. (This must be passed on by another legislature before it can be submitted to the people.)

5. Delaware legislature placed the Initiative and Referendum in the charter of Wilmington.

1908. 1. June 1st, the people of Oregon

demonstrated the people's ability to legislate more clearly than was ever done before by voting very discriminatingly upon nineteen measures, four being amendments to the Constitution, four measures referred to the people by petition, and eleven measures initiated by petition.

2. September 15th, the people of Maine adopted a Direct-Legislation amendment to their constitution by a vote of over two to one, in spite of influential opposition.

3. November 3d, Missouri adopted a Direct-Legislation amendment to the Constitution by a majority of 35,868, though it was disadvantageously placed on the ballot. Four years ago this same amendment was defeated in Missouri by a majority of over 53,000.

4. Ohio adopts Referendum in regard to franchise in cities.

5. Numerous minor victories for Direct-Legislation, and demonstrations of the efficacy of Direct-Legislation resulted from the November 3d elections.

6. Movement started in Ontario and other provinces in Canada for Initiative and Referendum.

7. Movement started in England for Initiative and Referendum, headed by committee of most influential citizens.

*Query: What will 1909 bring forth? Let us all work for greater and more numerous victories for the people during 1909.*

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

### **The Right-Relationship League's Co-operative Wholesale Store.**

REPRESENTATIVES from 72 Right-Relationship League stores, nearly all of which are within 100 miles of Minneapolis, Minnesota, met in conference in October and voted to establish a coöperative wholesale store from which the smaller stores might draw their supplies. The combined membership of these stores is about 5,000, and all of these members have subscribed for a \$100 share of stock, and the majority have already paid for their share. This makes an actual capital of \$500,000. The sales of these stores are at present about \$50,000 a month, or \$600,000 a year. Twenty-six new stores have been organ-

ized and started since the conference which was held by the League in January of last year, and the work is steadily progressing. There have been no failures. Two stores have been turned back to their former owners. A large percentage of the stores are earning ten per cent. on purchases, besides interest on capital. Nearly all of the stores have adopted the plan of having their books audited by the official auditor of the League, and this has been so satisfactory that it is to be continued, and most of the new organizations now desire it from the first. With but one or two exceptions these stores carry general stock, and the value of the goods carried averages from \$6,000 to \$15,000.

The by-laws of the new wholesale company

provide that the name shall be "The Interstate Common Good Company," shall be located in Minneapolis, and shall do a general wholesale business in the merchandise used by the stores and in the produce taken in by them, and also manufacturing. To quote from the League's report: "There is a board of seven directors. There are two hundred shares of \$50 each, which shall be increased to five hundred shares when the two hundred have been taken up and more stores apply. Only stores which are organized on the plan of the Right-Relationship League who subscribe for the twenty shares and agree to buy all their goods from the wholesale shall be admitted as shareholders. Each shareholder shall have only one vote, regardless of the amount paid up. Any company wishing to sell any or all of its shares must first give ninety days' option to the wholesale. There shall be the usual officers with the usual powers. The president, secretary and treasurer shall constitute a finance committee who shall through the manager carry on the active business. There shall be an auditor elected at the annual meeting by the stockholders, and he shall audit the accounts and business quarterly and send a printed report to all shareholders.

"The manager shall have active charge of the business, and he shall give a personal bond in an amount equal to twenty-five per cent. of the average value of the assets, conditioned that he account properly for all the cash, notes, merchandise and other property that comes under his control. All merchandise shall be charged to the manager's account at its selling price, and he must account for either the goods or the money proceeds at the full selling price.

"Meetings of the board of directors shall be held quarterly. The business is to start immediately, or as soon as a manager and location are found, and it shall at first consist in assembling and consolidating the wants of the stores and buying from factories or others at first hand. As soon as the business and paid-in capital warrant, a store-room shall be taken.

"Each shareholder shall pay \$4 per month toward expenses, the intention being that all shareholders shall contribute to the expenses, whether they buy much or little.

"An inventory shall be taken quarterly, and from the profits shown shall be paid a quarterly dividend of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the capital;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. shall be written off from the value of fixtures,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on machinery and

buildings; 5 per cent. of the profits shall be set aside for education and propaganda; 10 per cent. for a surplus, and the remainder shall be apportioned as dividend in proportion to purchases, non-stockholders receiving half-dividends. Coöperative stores and other stores who are not local competitors of the share-holding stores shall be entitled to buy on the same terms as shareholders, but are entitled to half-dividends only.

"Goods shall be bought exclusively for cash, and shall be sold at the market prices for cash within ten days of shipment.

"The directors may receive deposits and loans from shareholding companies and their members, not exceeding the amount of paid-up capital and surplus, and at interest not exceeding 6 per cent., and they may borrow from other sources at market rates of interest an amount not exceeding the paid-up capital and surplus.

"Applicants for shares may be accepted upon the approval of the president and secretary."

#### Notes From The County Co-operatives of The Right-Relationship League.

THE FIRST store of the Juneau County Coöperative Company which was organized by the Right-Relationship League in January, 1908, at Wonewoc, Wisconsin, paid a 7 per cent. dividend on its first six months' sales. During that period they sold \$13,654 worth of merchandise, and \$4,250 worth of produce. The net profit for the six months was \$788. To the members of the organization they paid also 6 per cent. on purchases, and to non-members 3 per cent.

THE coöperative store at Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, one of the Dane County Coöperative Company's stores, made a net profit last year of \$2,275, sufficient to pay 6 per cent. interest on investment and 10 per cent. purchase dividend to members. A new store of 80 members was added to this company at Stoughton in October. Stoughton is a manufacturing city of about 5,000 people. Its chief industry is the manufacturing of wagons, and its two factories furnish employment to about 1,500 people, a number of whom are interested in the new coöperative store.

IN A LETTER from the manager of the Chipewa Valley Coöperative Company of Wisconsin he says, in regard to the progress which the coöperative store at Durand has made:

"Our members are well satisfied and we have had three members take out shares since our annual meeting without solicitation. In nine months we sold merchandise to the amount of \$15,183. Our running expenses were ten per cent., and we paid eight per cent. interest on stock and a purchase dividend of seven per cent. on trade. Our net profits were \$925. Five per cent. went to promotion fund, five per cent. to reserve, and five per cent. to fixture fund. We have 64 members. Since our annual meeting we have taken in a branch store with twenty-one members, all paid in cash, and are doing one-third more business in our store here."

THREE new stores have been added to the Otter Tail County Coöperative Company, Minnesota, making four in all. The company was organized at Wall Lake in April, 1908, and has now a total of 189 members. The second store organized at Underwood, Minnesota, started out with 73 members. They bought one of the local businesses formerly owned by O. F. Loseth & Son, and the junior member of the firm, Odin Loseth, became manager of the coöperative company. The third store was organized at Weggeland, which is about nine miles from Fergus Falls. Its members are composed largely of Scandinavians and Germans. The fourth at Phelps, Minnesota, started with 47 members.

THE coöperative store at Stillwater, Minnesota, organized under the Right-Relationship League in March, 1907, has made a good record during its first period of existence. At the end of the first year there were 126 members, an increase of 84. In September of 1908 the business transacted amounted to \$2,350 while the business for the first month of organization was \$1,150. They have recently taken over the general merchandise stock of one of the oldest Stillwater merchants, and as is so often the case with these stores, the former owner will remain as manager of the coöperative store.

THE Scott County Coöperative Company has added another new store to its list, making four stores in all. This store is situated at Bongards, Minnesota, and the members are chiefly Germans. They elected officers for the year, purchased the general merchandise stock of one of the local merchants which was valued at \$5,000, and leased a store building for a period of three years.

A CO-OPERATIVE creamery which has been

reorganized at Triumph, Minnesota, under the Right-Relationship League plan, reports an increased membership from 48 to 71. The creamery belongs to the Martin County Coöperative Company.

A SECOND store was added to the Lyon County Coöperative Company at Russell, Minnesota, in July. The merchandise stocks of two small stores were purchased.

### **The League at The State Fair.**

AT THE Minnesota State Fair which was held in September, the Right-Relationship League had a large tent known as the "Coöperators' Rest Tent," which was visited by hundreds of people. They sent out this invitation to all coöperators:

"Yourself and friends are invited to call at the Coöperators' Rest Tent of the League just south of the main building at the Minnesota State Fair, August 31 to September 5, 1908. Rest yourself, eat your lunch, meet other coöperators, and get literature and information. All will be welcome."

### **A Prosperous Bank.**

THE Haverhill, Massachusetts, Coöperative Bank recently held its thirty-second annual meeting, at which its old officers were reelected. This bank was organized in 1877, and has over 1,200 members. The bank now has total assets of over \$460,000, and also a reserve fund which amounts to over \$6,500, and over \$425,000 has been earned in dividends for its depositors in the 31 years of its existence. The bank has loaned the money for the erection of 1,000 homes, its purpose being partly to promote regular systematic saving, especially by persons in moderate circumstances.

### **Co-operative Advertising.**

A NEW line of coöperation has been started in Chicago by an organization known as the Cushman Company, which is planning to do coöperative advertising for the small drug stores, who must advertise to keep their goods before the public and yet who cannot afford to keep a special advertising man for that purpose. Each store is to receive individual advertising; that is, special particulars relating to the druggist himself, to his store, and to the neighborhood, the people to be reached, their peculiarities, etc., will be considered. In this way much local color, character, origin-

ality and individuality will be incorporated in each advertisement.

#### Co-operative Training in Industry.

THE Lewis Institute of Chicago has just put into operation a coöperative course in mechanical arts similar to the plan adopted by the University of Cincinnati which has proved so successful. The course is for two years, comprising fifty weeks of work and two weeks of vacation. During each year 24 weeks will be spent in the school and 26 in the shop. The students are to be arranged in two groups alternating week by week between the shop and the institute. The responsibility of the shop training rests with the employers of the boys and the responsibility for the instruction rests with the institute.

#### A New Grange Store.

REPRESENTATIVES of about a dozen subordinate granges of Kennebec county met late in November in Augusta, Maine, and voted unanimously to establish a coöperative store immediately. With a Grange membership of over one thousand within a radius of ten miles of Augusta nearly all of whom naturally go to that city for their supplies, there seems to be a

most valid ground for predicting as great success for this company as the Houlton Grange of Maine has already accomplished.

#### Massachusetts Grange.

THE Massachusetts State Grange in its annual session held in Worcester, early in December, voted to incorporate a coöperative store company with a capital of \$25,000 in shares of \$5 to be sold only to members of the Grange. Orders for stock were taken, and a certain amount of stock was sold at once.

#### Another Co-operative Theater.

A CO-OPERATIVE theater is to be erected in Lake Michigan Park at Muskegon, Michigan, one of the popular lake summer resorts. The land has been purchased and it is planned to have the theater in operation next summer. The thing is being done by fifty vaudeville actors drawn from all parts of the country.

#### A Parish Bank.

A CO-OPERATIVE bank has been organized by the members of St. Mary's Church, in Manchester, New Hampshire. The officers are elected from the shareholders.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the Proportional Representation League.

(Continuation from last month of Mr. Humphrey's article.)

#### "AN ELASTIC LIST SYSTEM NECESSARILY COMPLEX.

"The description of the Swedish system given in the *Blue Book* (Miscellaneous No. 3, 1907, Cd. 3,501), refers only to the original proposals of the Swedish government, but it is a sufficient indication of the difficulties experienced in introducing greater elasticity into a list system whilst, in the little pamphlet 'The Finnish Reform Bill,' published at Helsingfors in 1906, it is stated that the Finnish electoral law has aimed at *not* checking the liberty of the voters in making up the lists. It therefore not only allows the names of candidates to figure on more than one list, but even

permits the voter to prepare a list of his own composed of any three of the candidates that have been duly nominated. In a word, whenever an attempt is made to introduce elasticity into the list system, whether by permitting combinations of lists, or by permitting names of candidates to appear in more than one list, or for the purpose of conferring upon the elector complete freedom in the exercise of his vote, then with each new facility so granted there arises a fresh complication in method, and the great virtue of the list system—its simplicity—disappears.

"THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE.

"The Single Transferable Vote secures all

the advantages of freedom and of elasticity which the modern improvers of the list system seek to attain, and in other respects compares quite favorably with them. The Single Transferable Vote differs essentially from a list system in that a vote has but *one significance*—a vote is a vote for the candidate to whom it is given—and seats are allotted in accordance with the votes recorded for candidates.

“THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

“The question of remainders is more satisfactorily disposed of, for there is but one remainder—a section of electors less than the quota. In the list systems there may be two or three remainders which, between them, constitute more than a quota, and when constituencies are small, returning, say, five members only, this, as has been pointed out, is rather a serious drawback. With the single transferable vote in a constituency of the same size each successful candidate would have secured one-sixth of the votes plus one, and, in the return of five members, over five-sixths of the votes would have been utilized. Looking at the distribution of seats from the party point-of-view it may be said that each party obtains seats for every quota of votes polled and the odd seat, if any, represents the mean of the remaining votes. In the earlier list systems, certain fractions were given an enhanced value; in the d’Hondt rule, fractions are ignored; in the transferable vote, fractions are averaged.

“All such devices as ‘combined lists,’ etc., are rendered needless by the operation of transfers. The question of ‘panachage’ does not arise because each elector has but one vote and, to utilize that vote to the greatest advantage, he must indicate his true preferences. The further problems as to whether the party organization should arrange the order of candidates, whether the elector should have a limited vote confined to one list, whether he should be permitted to accumulate votes upon any candidate in any list, or whether as in Finland, lists should contain but three names in which the votes recorded are of descending values, all these problems disappear. Again, the majority in any party can always make sure of exercising its full share of influence; there is no necessity to arrange for an even distribution of votes over certain candidates as the simple device of making the vote transferable prevents the loss of voting power.

“DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS VOTES.

“But are there not, it will be asked, some special troubles or difficulties connected with the single transferable vote? There is but one—the distribution of surplus votes. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the degree of exactitude required in this distribution. The earlier advocates of the single transferable vote contented themselves with the proposal that ‘surplus’ votes should be taken from the top of the heap of the successful candidate whose surplus votes were being distributed.

“THE ELEMENT OF CHANCE.

“The criticism was at once made that an element of chance entered into this method of distribution. This point is ably dealt with on pages 45–47 of Lord Avebury’s book on *Representation*. As there stated, the matter was referred to Professor Stokes, the eminent professor of mathematics, secretary of the Royal Society, and, it would appear, from his opinion, the element of chance would not (with constituencies of 25,000) affect an election more than about once in 10,000 years. But, in order to meet the critics, the modern advocates of the single transferable vote propose that all the votes of the successful candidate shall be re-sorted into heaps corresponding to the next preferences marked on the papers, and that to each next preference there shall be allotted its proportionate share of the surplus. This is the scheme which was embodied in the Tasmanian Electoral Act of 1896, and was adopted by the Proportional Representation Society in its illustrative election of December, 1906. The method is in every way practicable, and the Society’s experiment confirms the more authoritative reports of the Tasmanian Returning Officer.

“BY-ELECTIONS.

“In the matter of by-elections, list systems have some advantage over the single transferable vote. With the list systems provision is made for the election of supplementary members belonging to the same list that shall take the place (in the order of their election) of any member that may die or retire during the lifetime of the parliament. It will, therefore, be seen that under a list system the party representation remains unchanged from one election to another. In a word, by-elections are abolished. In the Tasmanian Act by-elections

are retained, and whenever a vacancy occurs in the constituency the whole of the constituency is polled; the single transferable vote is used, the quota in the case of a single vacancy being one-half plus one. If by-elections are to be retained, this is the simplest solution. There are, however, some obvious objections. The party which is in a majority in the particular constituency in which the by-election takes place may obtain an additional seat at the expense of some other party. On the other hand, the election would often result in the election of some able citizen who was not an extreme partisan. Should, however, it be decided to abolish by-elections, any casual vacancy might be filled by the process of coöption (by the group in whose ranks the vacancy occurred), but although this practice was in force in School Boards, by-elections have always been a conspicuous feature of the English parliamentary system, and the Tasmanian system will perhaps be preferred. With the shortening of Parliaments, however, by-elections will lose a great deal of their importance.

"PRACTICABILITY. COUNTING THE VOTES.

"The relative practicability of schemes must, of course, be taken into account. I have been present at the Belgian elections; I have watched a small experiment in France; I have conducted illustrative elections in England; I have been present at the counting of English Parliamentary and municipal elections, and I have come to the conclusion that the varying schemes differ in the facility of counting in the following order:

"(1) The *single* transferable vote when the surplus votes are taken from the top of the successful candidate's heap;

"(2) The Belgian list system with its *single* vote;

"(3) The *single* transferable vote with the surplus votes distributed *proportionately* to the next preferences;

"(4) List systems *in which more than one* vote is recorded and, with these, the counting

necessarily increases in difficulty with the complexity of the scheme.

"The reasons for this conclusion are briefly these: whenever the ballot paper (as in the Belgian system and with the single transferable vote) represents but one vote only, the process of counting consists of *sorting papers according to the votes given*, and then *in counting the heaps of papers so formed*. When ever there is more than one vote recorded upon a ballot paper it becomes necessary to prepare an abstract upon recording sheets of all the votes given. This is the case in the London Borough Council elections, when the *scrutin de liste* in its simple form is used, but when, as in the list system proposed by the French Chamber, the elector may accumulate or distribute his votes as he pleases, selecting candidates from any or all the lists, it will be seen that the process of extracting votes must involve considerable labor. By comparison, the process of sorting and counting ballot papers is extremely simple. In the illustrative election (single transferable vote with proportionate transfer) described in Proportional Representation Pamphlet, No. 4, some 12,400 votes were dealt with in four hours, and I should say that with proper organization and arrangement it would be quite possible to count in a day some 80,000 votes, or even more. It is doubtful whether in the Transvaal the votes for some years to come will, in constituencies returning five members, exceed 15,000 or 20,000 votes, and I have no hesitation in saying that the single transferable vote will be found to be perfectly practicable should it be introduced into the new South African Constitution. The Belgian law makes provision for the employment of two 'professional calculators,' who are responsible for the accuracy of the arithmetical calculations, and if the proportionate form of the single transferable vote is adopted, it will be desirable that the returning officer should have two assistants whose special duty it should be to verify the accuracy of each stage of the process."

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

# MAN IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY.\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

## I.

**HENRY FRANK** is one of the deepest, clearest and most thoughtful liberal thinkers of our time. He is a man whose passion for humanity overmasters all baser motives. He has read widely and thought deeply, and his reading and thinking have all had one object in view—the uplift of man. The message of any one who has thus consecrated life to the service of civilization is worthy of careful consideration.

Our readers will call to mind that some time since we reviewed at length Mr. Frank's *The Kingdom of Love*. The present work is a no less thoughtful volume, though personally we do not so fully agree with the author's views in *The Mastery of Mind* as with those expressed in the earlier work. That is to say, our viewpoint is different. We hold to the idealistic rather than the materialistic theory. To us the concepts of the Great Galilean, of Plato, Kant and the host of prophets, poets, seers and philosophers who have apprehended the spiritual world to be the real world, are far nearer the truth than are the theories of our present-day materialistic philosophers. As to this fundamental difference in opinion we shall have more to say toward the close of this review. At present we wish to examine the contents of the volume and notice some of the fine thoughts and lessons that are here given in a lucid and popular manner.

## II.

The book is divided into three parts: "The Psychic Factors," "The Physical Instruments," and "The Moral Agents." In the first division the author considers the *Mind*, the *Heart* and the *Soul*. The second division is concerned with the *Brain*, the *Nerves* and the *Body*; while the concluding section is devoted to the *Parent*, the *Teacher* and the *Environment*.

On the threshold of his discussion the author shows how vague, futile and impractical has

been the psychology of the past. Even since the nineteenth century dawned, bringing with it the era of critical modern methods of research, progress in this department of scientific investigation has been slow and snail-like. Mr. Frank's views in regard to orthodox psychology and the present needs are well expressed in these words:

"We are still too much within the grip of ancient and traditional philosophy; we are still studying man as a marvelously and wonderfully made being, entranced by its mysterious formation, but paralyzed into ignorance by its overawing complexity. Thus we read in Sir William Hamilton's *Metaphysics*: 'Mind is to be understood as the subject of the various internal phenomena of which we are conscious, or that subject of which consciousness is the general phenomenon. Consciousness is in fact to the mind what extension is to body and matter. Though both are phenomena, yet both are essential qualities; for we can neither conceive mind without consciousness nor can we conceive body without extension' (Chapter VIII.).

"From this definition we are forced to conclude that there is a vast background of existence, an abyss, which does not fall within the realm of mind, because it is beyond the plane of consciousness. We are continually aware of things happening, the source of which seems beyond our grasp. We are, so far as our conscious mind is concerned, but an open door through which mysterious visitors and messengers approach us by the corridors of the feelings, perceptions, thoughts, etc., like ghostly presences that come and go, which we can neither conjure nor despatch. What is this deeper realm of which each individual is instinctively conscious, yet which he cannot instantly apprehend? Is it no part of mind, because it rises not into the objective plane of conscious activity? Is it some strange, sub-lunary sphere, which surrounds our conscious orb of being, and floats like a *fata Morgana* on the shores of self, ever but to amaze and confound us? Can we be satisfied with a Mental Science or a Psychology which omits the

\*"The Mastery of Mind in the Making of a Man." By Henry Frank. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.00. New York: R. F. Fenno & Company.



interpretation of so vast a section of one's organity, and presumes to study only what is apparent on the surface of the self, yet leaves to vague conjecture the deeper source of all?"

The discussion of "The Mind," though containing some views which we are not prepared to accept, is rich in suggestive truths and practical lessons so clearly and beautifully set forth as to be at once fascinating and mentally stimulating. The author shows how subtle influences are often destiny-shaping in their imperial sway over the mind of an individual:

"Sometimes a mere word, a chance acquaintance, a casual suggestion, weaves an unseen web of power around one's life that alters and defines its destiny. Had not Peter the Great, while yet an inconspicuous hereditary ruler met LeFort, the Swiss genius who inspired him with a thousand new ideas and passionate resolves, he had never been known to history as the immortal forerunner of Russia's reformation and the masterful builder of a gigantic empire. Some of the greatest achievements of art and literature owe their existence to this subtle law, of which so few are aware."

Of the power of thought, Mr. Frank has much to say that is highly suggestive. Thus, for example, he observes:

"The thought that the mind impresses on the nerve substance is never lost, but continues to vibrate even after the substance of the body is dissolved in dust. In this sense, thoughts are things, as sunbeams are substance and form. A thought never dies, as no motion ever absolutely expires. Somewhere its impetus is felt throughout the infinite, and some time will be discerned amid the vast forces of the world.

"Thoughts are not only things; they are also incarnate characters. They become organized into living beings which betimes control us. The novel-writer may create his characters, but, once created, they become his guide and inspiration. They speak from the pages to him and answer the problems that confront him. Like spiritual forms they make their entrances and exits to the solitary auditor who indites their deeds on the excited pages. They become to him as real, yea, more real, than the men and women he meets in the streets and shops."

The book is replete with personal experiences and citations from the lives of others that add materially to its interest for the general reader.

While the author leans to the materialistic concepts of Weissman, he is by no means a pessimist. Indeed, by temperament or natural bent he is an idealist, and we hold strongly to the opinion that the time will come when from the threshold of reason he will pass into the temple of intuitive reason; or, if we may borrow the old figure of the Jewish tabernacle and temple, he will pass from the Holy Place of reason to the Holiest of Holies, where the shekinah of spiritual light ever burns. And it is this idealism that continually illuminates the present work and gives to it special value.

In touching on the influence of the mind and of thought, Mr. Frank says:

"The body is the slave of the mind, if the mind so wills it. The cell-centers are still subject to the command of the will, if the will so determines. If physically we are not free agents, *logically we are*. For though apparently limited by the flesh, we are conscious of the capacity of the will to move and decide as we determine. If we are not in fact free agents, we nevertheless act as if we were. And practically that makes us the free agents that we feel ourselves to be.

"We do not originate thought, but thought awakens our thinking. The infinite is replete with multifarious ideas or mental impulses that have floated down the centuries since the primal fancies of primitive man were conjured by passing wind and boisterous elements. We are born into this sea of thoughts. As a fish thrives only in its native watery element, so the mind of man thrives only in a sea of mental phantasms. What we are and become is the result of what mental currents we meet in the vast ocean of being and the effect they have upon us.

"But because we are thus environed by an invisible ocean of mental forces, is not to conclude that these forces become the absolute moulders of our being and makers of our destiny. While we are surrounded and invaded, we must remember that within ourselves there is aggregated a vast number of individualized forces which constitute our personality. These are the opposing powers we may bring to play on sinister and obnoxious forces that would o'ermaster us.

"Thoughts are themselves creators of thought, as one sea-wave generates another in its path of agitation. But the primal mother of all thought is the emotion from whose

travail leaps some child of the throbbing brain."

Again he says:

"Our lives hang sometimes like a slender cord in the wind, easily moved whithersoever the first breath shall direct them. The heart is often like a flickering flame fed by some invisible substance. We cannot tell on what it feeds and grows, but from some mysterious source it gains its sustenance."

Very thoughtful are Mr. Frank's observations on "The Secret Springs of Desire," "The Dangers of Despondency," and "How the Moral Character is Made."

"Habit is the chisel that cuts the moral marble into the shapes its promptings pattern.

"When angry, hateful feelings are engendered in the young heart, its native love soon flees and evil thoughts obtrude to steal away its peace. Had Byron's mother been a sincere and noble-spirited woman he would have given to the world perhaps a character as delicately and exquisitely moulded as his symmetrical lines. But because his mother was selfish, narrow-minded, jealous and contemptuous, she expelled from his young heart the natural love that first awoke. Long indulged, the evil feeling grows till, like the Upas tree, it overshadows and blights with its poisonous breath all that it approaches. At first, by a single forceful energy of the mind, it can be banished; but once it is lodged in the seat of habit—the sub-conscious realm of activity—it waxes strong and defiant and can be overthrown only by the most strenuous effort.

"When once character is fixed, it persists along lines of least resistance. So long as no great crisis overtakes one, whose convulsions shatter the continuity of one's consciousness and split it in twain, the formation of character may be considered established when mature years are attained. But all the education of childhood and youth should be directed to the guidance and development of the nobler emotions that when they shall have become full grown they shall be the climax of a full and rounded life.

"By the law of accumulative energy, indeed, the cosmic forces build in the human consciousness the conserving forces of the social life. Society would still be chaotic and the individual remain a savage, were it not that by slow degrees, through the nameless centuries, the primitive impulses have been

sloughed off and substituted by those of refinement and physical prowess. Thus have sympathy, association, kinship and nationality been established. Thus has man risen from satyr to saint, from a Caliban to a Columbus. Thus has the primal impulse of revenge softened into the passion for forgiveness. Thus has savage tribalism merged into national patriotism; and thus is selfish patriotism slowly passing into world-unity and human brotherhood.

"In the meadows of the heart spring the flowers that promise the peace of humankind. 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.'"

Man is environed by influences that act and react on his brain and motor centers. He has within himself also warring impulses and desires. It is supremely important that he fixedly determine to draw to himself only those influences that make for the development of high character, for moral strength and self-mastery.

"If, at some period of life, circumstances drive to discord and disharmony, till all the chords of our being twang with distress, seek swiftly such occupation as shall invite harmony to the mind and rest to the nerves. Why dwell on thoughts that make one miserable, knowing how they precipitate disease in the body and disaster in life? By force of habit conjure such ideas as generate hopefulness and courage. Let occupation wait on appetite. Let what interests be the guide to what we do.

"Seek freedom. This comes by enabling the mind to expand its consciousness into the larger soul-influences that surround it. But in seeking freedom one must seek such freedom as shall make the life better and truer. . . . Whatever may have been one's mistakes in unfortunate mental association with evil powers it behooves us never to despair, but once more to arise and, buckling on the armor of the higher attributes, set forth, like another Sir Galahad, in search for the Holy Grail.

"What thou hast done, thou hast done; for the heavenly horses are swift;  
Think not their flight to o'ertake—they stand at the throne even now;  
Ere thou canst compass the thought, the immortals in just hands shall lift,  
Poise and weigh surely thy deed, and its weight shall be laid on thy brow;  
For what thou hast done, thou hast done."

In the chapter on nerves there is much that merits serious thought, and some positions are

taken that will doubtless challenge discussion; but space renders it impossible for us to do more than quote the following admirable words on the treatment of the insane:

"This fact shows how utterly nonsensical, yea, criminal, the former treatment of the insane was. Indeed the lesson must still be enforced, for there are many who think that the insane can only be controlled by physical restraint and force. Undoubtedly the reason they are not amenable to rational mental action is because their nerves are so heated or melted that any effort mentally to control them is physically impossible. This is also true of hysterical and all kind of excitable people. Let the nerves get cooled down. The fact that there is a certain sort of smell, very vague and subtle, that accompanies insane persons, which an expert, it is said, can detect, seems to indicate the fact that a peculiar sort of nerve-dissolution takes place in their bodies.

"Manifestly, then, the only scientific way to treat the insane is first to so affect them that their nerves will be calmed and cooled, and kept in such condition, till the power of the reason and the kindly affections can overmaster them."

The body is the subject of one of the most practical chapters.

"How much is the happiness, the peace, the misery, or the woe of life," says our author, "dependent on the crude instrument of the body! How little has man learned of its control! How still is it the master of his morals, his ambitions, and his prowess! How often has it dragged him to the gutter and besmeared him with the mire of infamy and vice, making of him who is 'a paragon of animals—in apprehension, a god'—the veriest libel on his Maker!

"Yet man is conscious in his self-responsibility, because he can by an effort of the mind separate his personality—his self-conscious integrity—from its immediate relationship with the form it inhabits. Man cannot physically remove himself from his house of clay; yet he can soar on mental wings so far above the miasmatic atmosphere in which too often it abides, that he can become conscious of the regnancy of his soul, and its absolute dominance of the body.

"To have a good, healthy, happy, well-endowed body, and well under the control of common sense and judicious restraint, is, then, one of the first requisites of a successful career.

"One need not, however, be discouraged if

not rightfully dowered with physical strength and proportion. There have been disfigured men and women whose very natural misfortune has been the inspiration of their effort and achievement. Not the dwarf-like and repulsive figure of Pope could prevent him from pouring forth the wisdom of verse and prose, till the splendor of his mind's achievement so far overshadowed the disfigurement of his frame that one forgot to observe it while marveling at his genius.

"Elizabeth Barrett Browning was not dowered with health, beauty or a fund of physical force. All her years she lay upon her invalid bed, and, almost deserted by her body, caused her brilliant mind to display such starry glories in the firmament of literature that she conquered in spite of her exhausted body. Sometimes the very force of the mind itself is so effective that it prolongs a life of which Nature had prophesied but a short duration, with death already written in the cradle. Such was the secret of Samuel Johnson's long life of seventy years and more, although physicians and friends had anticipated sudden death at any moment."

Age and decrepitude, Mr. Frank holds, are largely due to want of order and method in life. A calm mind promotes a harmonious and healthy body. With most modern metaphysical students, the author lays great stress on like attracting like.

"Money makes money, riches are contagious, and so are happiness, health, hope and good cheer. Therefore the grumbler is always unwelcome though rich as Croesus while the wit, with his volatile *bon mots*, is always sought for and favored. But all these qualities are only acquired by the institution of established habits of the body which generate them."

But it is the habits that make lasting impressions on the body and brain which the serious-minded must ever keep in mind.

"Health, Happiness and Success are largely matters of habit. If we accustom the body to awaken each morning with the conscious possession of these qualities, and not with the predisposition to complaint and misgiving, we will have forged far ahead toward the earthly paradise we pursue. If we accustom ourselves to think of the body as decrepit, full of aches and pains, and on our lips is ever a groan of despair and in our hearts a pang of self-reproach, we shall reap what we sow and end our days in sackcloth and ashes.

“Guard well the days that hurry by,  
Nor backward look with heavy sigh;  
All wasted are the tears that fall,  
No ill-spent hour can they recall.

March onward with a fearless mind,  
And leave the shadows far behind.”

The third section of the work, in which the *Parent*, the *Teacher* and the *Environment* of the individual receive the author's attention, contains much that it would be well if every parent, instructor and publicist in America could read. Though tempted to quote at length from each of these chapters, owing to the extensive extracts which we have already given we find it impossible to follow our inclination.

There are several unfortunate typographical slips and some examples of looseness in the employment of figures and terms that are regrettable. Thus, on page 45, Cassio is used for Iago. On page 163 we have the word “imaginary” for “imaginative.” On page 45 the use of the figure of the Upas tree in the manner employed by the author is unfortunate, inasmuch as locomotion is not one of the attributes of trees.

III.

This brings us to a consideration of the fundamental difference in view-point of the author and ourselves. Mr. Frank, we take it, inclines to the hypothesis of Haeckel, Weismann, and that school of materialistic evolutionary thinkers whose extreme philosophical views were voiced by Nietzsche and are reflected in no small degree by Ibsen and several of the great realistic dramatists and novelists of the nineteenth century; while the longer we have lived and the more deeply we have pondered on the great modern Sphinx—life and its meaning—the more profoundly have we become convinced that in the idealistic hypothesis lies the truth. Ever since the deeper things of life began to force themselves on our consciousness, we have striven to know the truth. Born into an orthodox home, we were early taught the doctrine of plenary inspiration—to regard the Bible as the exact verbal utterances of God, given to men—the pure gold of truth, without any human alloy. At that time the frightful dogma of eternal damnation for the doubters was a part of the generally accepted faith of those with whom we mingled.

Later, the palpable variations and inaccu-

racies in the statements of facts as given by the different biographers of Jesus in the New Testament, and various perplexing and contradictory utterances found in different parts of what we had been taught was the verbally-inspired Word of Divinity, awakened doubts in our mind. Still later, we came to study the other great world-religions and learned how in many instances the bibles of other peoples had slowly grown and acquired the odor of sanctity only after the flight of generations; while in other instances, as in the case of Confucius and Mohammed, the influence of environment and the limitations due to prejudice and the mental world in which they lived were clearly reflected in their writings.

Then came the revelations of modern physical science, showing the infinite character of the universe and the long period that man had inhabited our globe. A new Bible was brought to light, writ in the rocks and strata of earth and showing that the childhood legends, myths and dreams of earth's children were pitifully puerile compared with the broader and grander truths that were glimpsed through this new revelation.

Parallel with the opening up of these broader visions of creation and the development of life, came the inestimably valuable contribution to civilization made by the scholars known as Modernists or Higher Critics. The illuminating result of their work supplemented the loftier view which came with the broadening intellectual horizon of modern times.

These discoveries, so revolutionary in character, swept a large proportion of the scholarship of the present age, which dared fearlessly to follow the torch of reason, far away from the old moorings. Men who believed that reason was a God-given and precious gift, not to be wrapped in a napkin and buried in the sands of superstition and ignorance, were forced to modify their religious concepts and discard very much that earlier generations had unquestioningly accepted.

We were among this number to whom the old concepts no longer brought satisfaction, and the passing from the bondage of unreasoning faith brought with it an immense sense of freedom and light. The Sphinx still propounded her question, and materialism's answer no less than the reply of the children of a dogmatic faith based on the concepts of a childhood age, was unsatisfactory. Logically, materialism leads to the night of negation and pessimism. Physical science explained the method of life's

advance, but it did not explain any more satisfactorily than the myths of the ancients the origin of life; while the law, order and apparently clearly-defined purpose of creation found no rational hypothesis in a philosophy that did not recognize a Cosmic Mind, infinitely wise and all-comprehending—a great directing Intelligence whose work clearly spoke of a purposeful, irresistible forward push toward some great end. Reason lit the path and research did much to emancipate the mind from the bondage of fear and superstition. But they led only to the Holy Place, and he who rivets his eyes on materialistic phenomena and refuses to look behind or beyond, is doomed to disappointment in his quest for truth.

We remember, when a very little child, on first hearing that the world was round and that we were on the surface, we did not believe it, though we had not the courage at first to combat our teacher, whom we loved and revered. But what seemed palpably false to our immature mind, we soon learned was the simple fact.

Many years later we remember listening, when the head of the public high school in a Western town explained to an audience composed largely of farmers the then new invention of the telephone. He said: "With it you might be in A and your friend be in G, twelve miles distant, and yet you would hear his voice as clearly as if he were in the next room."

After the meeting was dismissed, an old farmer said to us: "Professor B— may be a smart teacher, but if he thinks I am fool enough to believe his absurd story about that new invention, he's very much mistaken. It ain't according to reason or common-sense."

And this has been the attitude of the world in all stages of advance, when any new truth has burst upon the intellectual horizon. Only those things visible to the physical senses or

which conform to our very limited knowledge impress us as being sensible; and we well remember how we long stood on this ground, after we had been forced to discard the old childhood beliefs about creation and life. Then from Plato's concept as luminously illustrated in the story of the men in the cave, and from other idealistic philosophers, the great basic truths of the spiritual being, the real and the phenomenal being the changing appearance began to dawn on our consciousness, becoming more and more clear. It was as though we passed from the Holy Place of Reason to the Holiest of Holies, where the inner consciousness or the Intuitive Reason shines with revealing light, making the dark places plain. We do not mean that all things are clear, but it has given us a groundwork on which to stand that satisfies as did nothing the old dogmatic view or the materialistic concept afforded, in meeting the demands of reason and the spiritual aspirations.

In this new view, "evolution," to use the admirable expression of Dr. G. C. Mars, "is the gradual unfolding of a rational plan in time, or the becoming explicit of an implicit idea. Whether that idea lies potentially in the individual or in the environment, or in both—as it must, since action and reaction are always equal—the outcome is the *infolded* plan, or idea, *unfolded*. In other words, the evolution of the cosmos presents itself as a vast inner, purposive idealism coming to outer realization."

We cannot at present further dwell on this thought, but enough has been written to show how we differ from Mr. Frank in a fundamental way when viewing the problem of the modern Sphinx—"the meaning of man."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

*As Others See Us.* By John Graham Brooks. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 365. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

EVERYTHING that comes from the pen of John Graham Brooks is richly worth the reading. He is one of the most fundamental and broad-visioned of the popular writers on social and economic problems of the day. His spirit is always fair and judicial, while his impulses are those of the humanitarian and the apostles of social righteousness, rather than those of the apologist for "things as they are" or as privilege wishes them to be.

In the present volume Mr. Brooks makes a study of the criticisms and conclusions by eminent Europeans who have visited the United States, from the early days to the present time, with a view to seeing how far such criticisms are justified by facts. In this way he is able not only to give us charming brief characterizations of the works of our leading critics—books which in many instances raised storms of indignation on this side of the Atlantic when they first appeared, but also to sift the false from the true and show us that in spite of the exaggerations and conclusions based on imperfect data, superficial observations and prejudice, there remains much that is true and suggestive in the criticisms even of our severest judges.

The author is always interesting, but in this work he has excelled in presenting his subject in a thoroughly fascinating or beguiling manner. The volume contains seventeen chapters, besides a comprehensive bibliography and a carefully-prepared index. Among the most interesting discussions are "Concerning Our Critics," "Who is the American?" "Our Talent for Bragging," "The Mother Country as Critic," "Change of Tone in Foreign Criticism," "Higher Criticism," "Our French Visitors," "Democracy and Manners," "Our Greatest Critic," "A Philosopher as Mediator," "A Socialist Critic," and "Signs of Progress."

Not the least interesting and valuable parts of the work for young students are the author's brief and thoroughly delightful characterizations of the critics and his descriptions of their mental attitude. Here is a typical example of

this feature in the following words on De Tocqueville:

"John Stuart Mill called De Tocqueville's *Democracy* 'the first philosophical book ever written on democracy as it manifests itself in modern society.' Until 1888 no book at all comparable to it had been written. It was said that every thinking man in Europe had to read it, in order to avoid the constant confession that he had *not* read it. Alexis de Tocqueville, though the son of a peer of France, took his stand as a youth of twenty-five for the French Revolution of 1830. At the close of his school studies, he made a long tour in Italy and Sicily, where he worked at politics and institutions with 'incredible pains,' to use his own words. On his return he was given, for a lad of twenty-one, an important position (*juge auditeur*). Political and social studies were from this time his pursuit. With no man can we less connect the word cranky or flighty. Only when he became convinced that Charles X. either could not or would not understand constitutional freedom, did he yield to the Revolution of 1830. His moral and intellectual struggles at this period determined his career. He had become convinced that the permanent defeat of democracy was impossible. How, then, could he better equip himself for service to his country than go at once to America? He had already discovered the most competent man in this country, the historian, Jared Sparks, to guide him in his first studies of the town-meeting. He reached New York in 1831, spending a year in travel and incessant study. He rose in France to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1849, receiving, for his moral courage, the honor of imprisonment at the hands of Louis Napoleon on the second of December, 1851.

"De Tocqueville did not merely think in principles, but he acted upon them in his political career. He possessed those high and rare distinctions in a politician, *convictions*, and human sympathy without cant. It is because these were thought out and lived out, that his *Democracy in America* has for us such priceless value. As we follow his pages, we see our troubles as through mists, but the mists are radiant and the light of a great hope shoots

through them. Critics have said that democracy, as a better form of government, was conceived of by de Tocqueville as a fatality; that it was bearing down upon us with forces so irresistible that argument and effort for or against it were alike futile. Few careful readers will draw this conclusion. Democracy is not to de Tocqueville necessarily a good. If it prove a good, it will be so only because citizens do their part in directing the forces that make for equality. Democracy will bear her fruit, sweet or sour, according to the soil of character in which it grows. In this conception, there is indeed 'destiny,' but it is the destiny of character. Democracy rises or falls as men put into it their best or their worst.

"As a qualification for really enlightening national criticism, I have laid great stress on a capacity for common human sympathy. At least imaginatively, de Tocqueville had this at a very early age, and it deepens in him as a result of his social studies. He conceived a kind of horror for the way in which the aristocratic classes had governed the masses. He came to believe that the gradual softening of manners was due largely to a growing social equality. He says, 'When the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, who all belonged to the aristocracy by birth or education, relate the tragical end of a noble, their grief flows apace; whereas they tell you at a breath, and without wincing, of massacres and torture inflicted on the common sort of people.'"

For Americans no chapter will present greater charm than that entitled "Our Greatest Critic." It is devoted to a consideration of the Hon. James Bryce and his *American Commonwealth*. But every chapter is replete with interest and bristling with suggestive and highly valuable facts. It is a volume that merits a place in every well-ordered library and should be found on the shelves of all public libraries.

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*The Tragedy of Man.* By Imre Madach.  
Translated by William N. Loew. Cloth.  
Price, \$1.00. New York: The Arcadia Press.

THIS most brilliant creation of Hungary's dramatic literature, *The Tragedy of Man*, by Imre Madach, who was born in 1821 at Also-Hregova, in Hungary, the scion of an ancient, noble Magyar family, has not before been presented to English-speaking people.

Not even of Aryan origin, its construction cannot be explained according to the principles of Aryan languages and its conciseness and strength cannot be transferred, so that to produce even approximately, the sense of an expression, it is frequently necessary to render one Hungarian word into five or six of any other European language.

The Magyar, the most perfect of all the Turanian languages, though the tongue of a small nation, has produced a great literature, an overwhelming amount of which is poetical writings. Its three God-born sons of Song, Petofi, Vorosmarty and Arany, are, comparatively speaking, unknown outside of Hungary.

*The Tragedy of Man* is a poem of the type of Goethe's "Faust" and Byron's "Cain"; and few books are better calculated to enlarge our continental narrowness and to teach us to respect the intellect and the genius of less progressive races. The poet has chosen as his theme the whole of mankind. His recurring hero is Adam, and his heroine Eve, the eternal types of humanity. We witness the whole process of man's development, up to the time when our earth may become frozen and uninhabitable and the human race be extinguished.

Lucifer, whose aim is to destroy the newly-created human race at the very outset, causes the pair to sink into a deep sleep, and evokes a succession of visions of the future of humanity, in which Adam beholds scene after scene of the future, himself taking an active part in each.

Then we come to the present age. Adam, who had wished for a state founded on liberty and order, finds himself in such a state; he has become a citizen of London. Yet disappointment awaits him. The world has indeed become wide, but of a dead level of mediocrity; love itself is bought and sold. The whole world is an immense market, in which the higher impulses find little use, and the soul of Adam is possessed with the idea that this stream of people, this crowd filling the streets of the great metropolis, is engaged in the one task of digging its own grave. Adam sees the vast grave, but while all the rest sink into its depths he sees Eve freed from all that is base, radiant in her purity, flying heavenward as the genius of Love.

The ninth scene which precedes the close is laid in the future, in a new socialistic world, where the whole world is one vast settlement; the individual has no power or initiative, for everything is determined by the common will.

The idea of Fatherland has long ceased to exist. Every man is a part of a huge machine, the Phalanstere. It is doubtful, however, if this attack on Socialism will be regarded as a serious blow: it may even serve as a new factor of agitation and education.

Critics have commented on this work from two different points-of-view. Some say that the dreams were recognized by the poet himself not to be in accordance with historical truth, and are represented as deliberately chosen by Lucifer with the diabolical aim of driving Adam to despair and suicide, and so destroying in him the whole human race. Others consider that the great events and epochs of history appeared to Madach himself in the gloomy light in which he depicts them.

Contrary to these views and to the interpretation of the able translator, William N. Loew, the book is anything but pessimistic. It points out the everlasting hand of Love as the main factor of history, the interest of the three concluding chapters being chapters of inspiration pointing out to the people only the dangers which are to be avoided by heeding the word of the Lord with which it concludes, "I have told thee, man, to strive and trust."

The book has a certain flavor of reincarnation which is interesting as coming from a new source; it depicts the world as now in an age of transition; but the "period of transition" began in the year One and will end in the year None.

BOLTON HALL.

*More: A Study of Financial Conditions Now Prevalent.* By George Otis Draper. Cloth. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

LITTLE fault can be found with this book by those who look at business from the standpoint of the author. Mr. Draper is a man of large experience in many lines of industry. He knows business conditions, the cost of distribution, the perplexities of the labor problem, the influence of the tariff, and all the other factors of our industrial system as well as any one, and he writes very clearly concerning all these things.

Mr. Draper is not a Socialist, and the book is not intended to advance Socialism, but this will be its effect. He presents so many wrongs and difficulties, uncertainties and perplexities in the business life of to-day that the reader is forced to ask, Why continue a system that is guilty of all these things?

It costs \$1.88 to make a pair of shoes. The profit of the manufacturer is only 2 cents. The maker's wage is so low that he is discontented. The retailer is not getting rich, and yet the purchaser is paying \$3.00 for that pair of shoes. There is something wrong somewhere, but just where it is impossible to find out from *More*.

The author is a man so well disposed, so genial, so kindly and progressive, that it is with sincere regret we find ourselves unable to rank him as a fundamental thinker and author.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Benjamin Fay Mills and His Great Work for The Uplift of Humanity." 林德維維

**A** FEATURE of special interest in this issue of *THE ARENA* is the illuminating sketch of the wonderful work being accomplished by the Rev. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS, his remarkable family, and the chosen band of workers who have gathered about this distinguished liberal leader. The article has been prepared for *THE ARENA* by GEORGE WEAR-TON JAMES, one of the most entertaining essayists among our popular present-day authors. Heretofore almost every effort to unite broad-minded and conscience-guided men and women who wish to enjoy a growth-favoring freedom has failed. Yet this work is certainly one of the most important labors for both the individual and society at a time

when the key-note of the epoch is union or coöperation; and the success of Mr. MILLS and his co-workers is therefore a signal victory for progress and human evolution, of far-reaching import.

"'The Third Degree': A Modern Play Illustrating The Educational Value of The Drama."

THIS month we contribute our series of special dramatic studies which opened in the December *ARENA* with Mr. RYAN WALKER's discriminating characterization of "The Devil," by a study of Mr. CHARLES KLEIN's new and successful play, "The Third Degree." Next month we will publish a criticism by RYAN WALKER of "The World and His Wife" and "Salvation Nell," the two most important plays on the boards in New York city during the closing weeks of the past year.



**Mr. Vrooman's Railway Paper.**

AMONG the various objections to public-ownership of railways made by the apologists for corporation interests and representatives of the feudalism of privileged wealth, is that public-ownership means confiscation. In this issue of *THE ARENA* Mr. VROOMAN, in the course of his series of masterly papers on the railways of Europe, which have been so strong a feature of the magazine during recent issues, considers this fallacious and sophistical cry in the light of the facts presented by governments which have taken over the railways. Mr. VROOMAN'S masterly paper is the work of an expert investigator who has acquired his facts through exhaustive personal research and at great expense. They are thoroughly trustworthy and of immense value to all friends of progressive democracy and the people's interests.

**"Prostitution as a Social Problem."**

*THE ARENA* aims to discuss from month to month various phases of the social and economic problems that vitally affect civilization. In the present issue we present an extremely thoughtful paper giving a secularist's view of prostitution. While many of our readers will not agree with the position taken by Mr. SCHROEDER, all broad-minded thinkers will be glad to see ably presented the opinions of a large and growing number of earnest men and women who are thinking seriously upon the fundamental evils of present-day society. On the divorce question Mr. SCHROEDER'S views deserve special consideration. They impress us as being thoroughly sound, and at a time when there are so many hysterical appeals to religious prejudice and so determined an effort on the part of certain workers to secure legislation which, in our judgment, would certainly result in increasing immorality and bringing into the world a vast number of children of hate who would be a curse to the community, such thoughts as those presented by Mr. SCHROEDER deserve special consideration.

**"Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?"**

IN THE November *ARENA* we published a remarkably brave and well-considered paper on "The Responsibility of the Churches," by Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York city. It was a prophet's call to the sleeping churches. This month another scholarly clergyman addresses our readers in an equally remarkable contribution. Rev. P. GAVAN DUFFY is a brilliant New England clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his notable paper entitled "Is Modern Organized Christianity a Fail-

ure?" will be found to be as profoundly thoughtful as it is deeply religious. In its present conditions are presented in a masterly, temperate and well-considered manner, and comparisons are instituted between present-day organized Christianity and the teachings, life and example of the FOUNDER of Christianity that cannot fail to arrest the attention and awaken the conscience of earnest and truly religious men and women. Dr. DUFFY clearly shows that organized Christianity has been largely recreant to her sacred trust. Happily there are at the present time many signs of a genuine religious awakening throughout the Christian world. A wonderful new spiritual unrest is becoming more and more evident. This is especially true throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, and it presages, we believe, one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest moral awakenings since the rise of Primitive Christianity. A great conflict is impending, and in this conflict we will find the old alignment. The reactionary, conventional religionists will unite as they did in Jesus' time, with the rich and the powerful against those who insist on carrying into life in a whole-souled and vital way the ethics of the Great Nazarene.

**"Italian Freedom and The Poets."**

SPECIAL attention is called to Professor LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH'S vivid picture of the age-long struggle for freedom in Italy and the influence which this heroic conflict has exerted on the sensitive minds of the poets. Less obvious but none the less real has been its influence on the heart of western civilization. Palestine, Greece and Italy have been the three great mothers of western progress, the founts from which the most virile and nourishing inspiration has been derived; and the conflict for freedom in Italy, from the days of the GRACCHI to the magnificent warfare waged by MAZZINI in his appeal to the intellect and the heart, and by GARIBALDI as the leader of the troops consecrated to freedom, has inspired the apostles of progress and humanity in every western land. Professor SMITH occupies the chair of English and literature in Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

**"Industrial Classes as Factors in Racial Development."**

WE DOUBT if any English-speaking magazine in recent years has published a more profoundly thoughtful, informing or helpful paper on the extremely important subject of the relation of the industrial classes to racial development than is given in this number of *THE ARENA* by Mr. GEORGE R. STETSON. It is a contribution that every thinker interested in economic progress should carefully peruse.

# “The Arena” For March

THE ARENA for March will contain a number of notable and attractive features, among which we mention the following :

I. DAVID WARFIELD: THE ACTOR AND THE MAN. By LAWRENCE HALL. (*Illustrated.*)

This is the fourth contribution in THE ARENA'S notable series of critical dramatic papers which has already gained such popular favor. The author of this remarkable and fascinating contribution treats the dramatic career of Mr. Warfield from the days when he was so popular as a fun-maker in his impersonations of East-Side Hebrew life. He shows how he succeeded, and splendidly succeeded, in “The Auctioneer,” “The Music Master” and “A Grand Army Man.” A brief and lucid criticism of his work in the last two plays is given, with an estimate of Mr. Warfield as an actor and the distinctive characteristics of his art. The paper is magnificently illustrated, and the tens of thousands of thinking men and women who have smiled and shed tears when witnessing this artist's incomparable interpretations of “The Music Master” and “A Grand Army Man,” will wish to possess this sympathetic but intelligently critical study of Mr. Warfield and his art.

II. HARMONIZING OUR DUAL GOVERNMENT. By J. W. BENNETT, author of *Roosevelt and the Republic.*

This is one of the most statesmanlike, wise and sound political contributions that has appeared in many years dealing with a vital question. The author briefly reviews the historic conditions attending the writing and ratification of the Constitution. This is followed by a luminous discussion of the subject in relation to present conditions from the standpoint of fundamental democracy; while the suggested changes will impress thoughtful patriots as being at once wise, sane and eminently practical. It is one of those timely and constructive papers which the present critical hour imperatively demands, and should have the widest possible reading.

## “The Arena” for March

### III. THE LIFE RELIGION. By RUFUS W. WEEKS.

THE ARENA has seldom published a more important or popular series of papers than that which opened in the November issue by the powerful paper on “The Responsibility of the Churches,” by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, and which was continued in the January number by Rev. Eliot White, A.M., in his paper on the Christian Socialist Fellowship, and in the present issue by the Rev. P. Gavan Duffy’s masterly contribution entitled “Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?” The March number of THE ARENA will contain a layman’s discussion of “The Life Religion.” The author is a prominent business man of New York and has long been an active worker in carrying forward the higher and nobler social ideals of Christianity—such ideals as were luminously presented by Frederic D. Maurice and Canon Charles Kingsley in the England of the last century. This paper forms a splendid companion article to “The Responsibility of the Churches” and “Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?”

### IV. BROWNING’S THEORY OF LOVE. By ELMER J. BAILEY, A.M., Ph.M.

This paper from the pen of a well-known member of the faculty of Cornell University, will be one of the most notable literary critical essays of the present year. It is a finely discriminating essay such as could come only from the pen of one who is a thorough master of his subject, who possesses a broad view of life and literature, and who is peculiarly gifted with critical discernment and the judicial spirit. In the first part of the paper the author discusses in a fascinating and informing manner the human love motive in Browning’s poems, citing a wealth of illustrative lines which make clear the master contention of the paper. Later he critically examines the poet’s philosophy in the light of sound ethics. Like Professor Henderson’s criticism of Bernard Shaw, which was a leading feature of our January number, this paper will broaden and deepen the culture of all readers. Mr. Bailey is the author of an important new work entitled *The Novels of George Meredith: A Study*.

### V. “WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?” A REPLY. By SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

The thought-stimulating paper in our December number by Rabbi Solomon Schindler called forth the interesting symposium which appears in this issue. In the March ARENA Rabbi Schindler replies to his critics and discusses the question. Like everything written by the learned Rabbi, this contribution is highly thought-suggesting, even though the reader may not be prepared to accept his conclusions.

**Some Recent Investigations by The Society for Psychical Research**

By the

RIGHT HON. GERALD W. BALFOUR

**New Facts on Our Survival of Death**

With authentic records of psychic communications from the late Frederic W. H. Meyers of London.

By Principal JOHN W. GRAHAM, University of Manchester, England.

**Psychotherapeutics and Religion**

With an examination of the Emmanuel Movement and Christian Science.

By Dr. HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL

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In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

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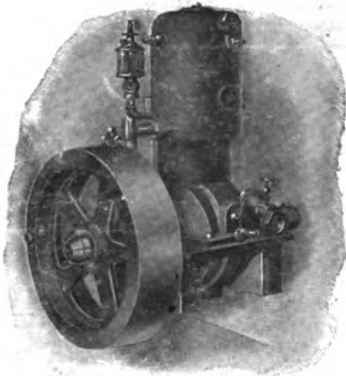
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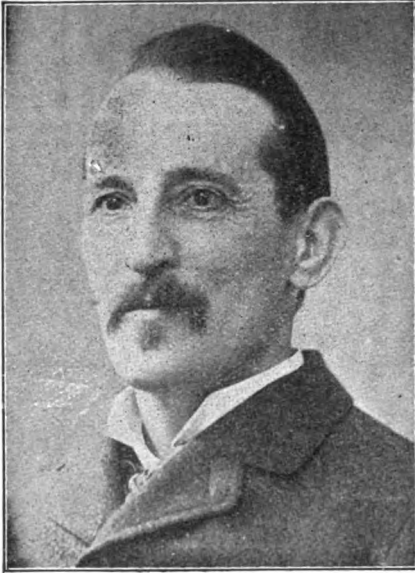
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STEPHEN C. COOK, Trustee in Bankruptcy for ALBERT BRANDT, Publisher  
BEATTY AND ADELINE STREETS, TRENTON, N. J. 5 PARK SQUARE, BOSTON, MASS.

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# ANNOUNCEMENT

Financial embarrassment of Mr. Brandt, the publisher of "THE ARENA," has compelled him to resort to the bankruptcy court to protect the interests of his creditors. The undersigned has been appointed Trustee in bankruptcy by the United States Court for the District of New Jersey, and has been authorized to continue, until further ordered, the issuing of the magazine. It is hoped that sufficient capital can speedily be interested to take over "THE ARENA" and push its publication aggressively. Meanwhile the present issue will cover the period from March to June and all un-expired subscriptions will be extended on the books, so that each subscriber may receive twelve numbers for the year's subscription.

The magazine with its good will and appurtenances will be sold by the undersigned as an officer of the court, and communications looking to its purchase are invited.

All subscribers sending to the trustee remittances for renewals will be fully protected. No one need hesitate to subscribe, for he will be assured of equitable treatment at the hands of the court.

STEPHEN C. COOK, TRUSTEE.

*Trenton, N. J.*

## An Explanatory Word

The readers of "THE ARENA" will learn by the announcement printed in this number that I have been forced by circumstances to file a voluntary petition in bankruptcy in order to conserve the interests of my creditors. It is needless to state that I deeply regret the necessity for this step, but I wish to say to those that have loyally stood by the magazine and myself in the fight to uphold and advance fundamental democracy that any apparent shortcomings should in fairness be laid to the unequal and—save for the generous support of a very few friends of the cause—unaided struggle to place on a firm financial footing a magazine whose policy is inimical to all special interests and seeks the welfare of the common people alone. In this struggle I have given my time and energy and sacrificed fortune as well. I congratulate myself, however, that I succeeded in bringing the magazine up from a low ebb to a point where a little more resources and hearty co-operation would have enabled me to land it on the solid ground of business success. It is my hope and trust that plans will soon be effected which will procure the necessary assistance to push forward the work of "THE ARENA" until the principles for which it stands shall become dominant in the nation, and I bespeak the continued support of its readers until the future program can be developed.

ALBERT BRANDT.

## Special Notice to 'Arena' Subscribers

Financial embarrassment on the part of the owner of THE ARENA has prevented the issuance of this magazine since February. Mr. Brandt's property is now in the hands of the receiver, Mr. Stephen C. Cook, who with the permission of the court is issuing this number under my editorial direction. The number is the March issue of THE ARENA, with two forms added.

Plans are now on foot for the organization of a company with sufficient funds to enable THE ARENA to be taken over and pushed in a vigorous and efficient manner under my editorial management; and in this event all unexpired subscriptions will be filled, all subscribers receiving the full twelve issues to which their subscriptions entitle them, and every effort will be made to render prompt, faithful and generous service to our friends.

In this connection I wish to say that few friends of fundamental democracy as yet realize the peril confronting the fundamental principles of free, just and pure government at the present time, owing to the union of the feudalism of privileged wealth acting in concert with party bosses and the money-controlled political machines. The rapid march of militarism, imperialism and monopoly and corporation domination in domestic relations has only been rendered possible by the vast wealth, the perfect organization and determined character of the foes of popular government. For over twenty years I have devoted my life to upholding the principles of free government and striving to further all work for the individual development of character and the spread of that moral idealism upon which civilization depends. THE ARENA has become a powerful and recognized influence with thought-moulders throughout the Anglo-Saxon world—a magazine, feared by all foes of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as it has been recognized that it was a magazine that could not be bought or frightened. We believe that there are thousands of American patriots who hold with us that it would be nothing short of a calamity for the one great, unmuzzled and aggressive organ of fundamental democracy and just government to be permitted to die.

If the plans on foot succeed and THE ARENA should continue under my editorial management, I have already assurances from master thinkers among the great apostles of democracy, social righteousness and individual upliftment which enables me to promise that the magazine shall appear abler and more vigorous than ever.

Cordially yours,

B. O. FLOWER

5 Park Square,  
Boston, Massachusetts





# "The Brandt Books"



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—Saturday Evening Post.

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# THE 'ARENA'

## FOR JULY

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### An Exceptionally Brilliant Issue

THE ARENA for July will be an exceptionally strong and brilliant issue, and will appeal to all earnest-minded and thoughtful American people. Among its many striking features we mention the following:—

#### **I. HOW DENVER SAVED HER JUVENILE COURT.**

**By William McLeod Raine. Splendidly Illustrated.**

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#### **II. THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION. By William Kittle, Ph.D.**

This is in our judgement one of the most vital papers to friends of fundamental democracy that has appeared in recent decades. It is the result of careful and exhaustive research and is a bold and timely presentation of facts, many of them sinister and ominous in character. In it the author considers the associated press, venal news bureaus, magazines, library, theater and platform. It is a paper every patriotic American should read and preserve.

# The 'Arena' for July

## III. AN APOSTLE OF LIGHT. By Carl S. Vrooman. With a fine Portrait of the distinguished Frenchman, Professor Charles Seignobos.

This is an exceptionally attractive and informing sketch of one of the great thought-moulders of new France, whom the author characterizes as "an apostle of light". The paper is not only an intimate personal sketch, but it is also a luminous interpretation of the mental and spiritual attitude of the present-day leaders of France. Papers of this character, treated in the intimate manner in which Mr. Vrooman handles his subject, enables the reader to come into the intellectual atmosphere of the progress-inspiring and thought-moulding elements of our great sister Republic in such a way as to immensely broaden his intellectual vision.

## IV. THE MASTER NOTE IN THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. By B. O. Flower.

In this paper Mr. Flower shows that though Christian Scientists regard the healing of the sick as a solemn divine injunction imposed by Christ upon His followers, it is but a means to a supreme end,—that of awakening man to a realization of his true nature, his unity with the All-Father. He shows that Jesus, the apostles and the early church, through the healing of disease, were able to arrest the attention of a sleeping society and awaken man to a realization of his higher self and his intimate relation to the All-Life; that in moral idealism or the awakening of the spiritual is to be found the secret of the wonderful growth of Christian Science. He draws a vivid pen-picture of the state of society at the time of the advent of the Founder of Christianity, in the Roman, Grecian and Judean worlds, and shows the striking similarity in church and society to-day and that the heart hunger of the old time is evidenced in the reaching out of the people for that which offers a living faith and which appeals to the moral idealism in the heart of man.

## V. A TWENTIETH-CENTURY REFORMATORY MOVEMENT IN THE TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL. By. Rev. Frank B. Sleeper.

A striking and illuminating paper on the probation system as practiced in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with a sketch of the distinguished Boston jurist, Judge Daniel W. Bond, one of the great pioneers in this important advance step in criminology.

# The 'Arena' for July

## **VI. WHY WORKING PEOPLE DO NOT GO TO CHURCH** By P. W. Hynes.

This is the fourth paper in THE ARENA'S series of practical discussions on the church and the people, which was inaugurated by the striking paper by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York City, and followed by papers by Rev. P. Gavan Duffy, the brilliant New England Episcopalian clergyman, and Mr. Rufus W. Weeks, the prominent New York business man. Mr. Hynes' paper is quite as thought-inspiring and vital as any that preceded it. The author gives a working-man's view of why the toilers do not go to church. He is a Roman Catholic and a Socialist. His is the layman's view, but it is from the pen of a layman who is well equipped for a masterly discussion of the theme through wide and discriminating reading and a long life of thoughtful and judicial observation.

## **VII. THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN OREGON.** By C. H. McColloch.

This is more than an interesting chapter in contemporaneous history, in that it is pregnant with vital suggestions for thoughtful men and women who are everywhere slowly awakening to the fact that privilege and reaction are busily at work forging anew the old chains of oppression. No state in America has made such rapid, wise and steady advance along the lines of popular government during the past fifteen years as has Oregon. She has held aloft the banner of popular rule and the ideals of democracy as embodied in the New England town-meeting form of government and splendidly emphasized in the Declaration of Independence. A magnificent summary of the remarkable political advance movements in this democratic experiment station of the New World is contributed to the July ARENA by a prominent Oregon lawyer.

## **VIII. A BRIEF SATIRE ON MR. ROOSEVELT'S ATTACK ON SOCIALISM.** By Charles Edward Russell.

Probably nothing has been so helpful to the Socialistic propaganda as President Roosevelt's amazing and intemperate attack upon this great politico-economic theory, which has been admirably and adequately answered by leading Socialists. It has remained, however, for Mr. Charles Edward Russell, the brilliant author and essayist, to expose with delightful humor, in a brief satire, the ignorant and baseless assumptions of the ex-President.





Photo, by Marceau, New York

**DAVID WARFIELD**

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

VOL. 41

MARCH, 1909

No. 231

## DAVID WARFIELD: THE ACTOR AND THE MAN.

BY LAWRENCE HALL.

**T**O SPEAK of a "school of acting" is rather unsatisfactory, for it means little. The French and the Germans have individual standards to which their players still cling. The English have a "style" which does not show much variation in individual cases, although modified slightly by individual mannerisms. One cosmopolite describes the English style of acting as "a composite picture of mannerisms." It is indeed a style formed mostly by collective personalities which vary little. And, it may be added, the picture is pleasing. That is as nearly as we can define the English "school."

The American "school"—if there be one—is less formed than that. With ideas borrowed from the French, the Germans and the English, adding some of our own mannerisms, we are, perhaps, farther away from a standard than any other nation. Yet American actors seem to please even if we have no national tape to measure their art.

Is the style of American acting to change? I think it is. And I believe that David Warfield is doing more to effect the change, to create the standard,

than any other actor has done up to this time.

This excellent American actor has a style—a method, if you will—that is positively distinctive. It is quite as appropriate and accurate to speak of Warfield's style as it is to discuss Addison's or Ruskin's or Ibsen's. Other American actors have mannerisms—Warfield is not without his own—but he has what the others lack—a positive style. It is, in my opinion, as the stylist of the stage that David Warfield's name will be given to posterity. He is the first American actor whose influence is to effect the moulding of the new American art of acting. There is no doubt that he is even now influencing other American actors, either directly or indirectly, either by direct appeal or through his own audiences. His contemporaries thus are influenced consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Many actors will admit that they are studying David Warfield's methods; others are acquiring his style as much as possible, some without admitting their intention, others openly acknowledging



the potency of the methods. But it is through the audiences that the most effective change is to be wrought; it is they who are demanding the change of style and methods, the establishing of the inevitable, new American standard.

David Warfield is a realist. What Ibsen has been, and will continue to be to the drama, Warfield is to the acting of the drama. Just as the Norwegian dramatist has influenced other dramatic authors, just as he has schooled them in the exposition of truth and life, David Warfield is now effecting the actor, by demonstrating to actor and layman the great artistic work of simplicity, and absolute fidelity to life and manners. It is a strange commentary that this expedient of simplicity which has so long been employed in other arts with the best effect, should have been so long delayed in the art of acting. That it has been delayed until Mr. Warfield recognized its efficiency is a fact obvious enough to the discerning observer of the stage to-day and of yesterday.

There are few actors—and there were even less—who can resist the temptation to be grandiloquent. Indeed, the stage for a long time has been looked to for the display of a certain grandiose beauty (?) making stilted speech necessary for the more or less turgent display. But while actors have changed their methods with the changing of taste, they seem to be unwilling or unable entirely to divest their manners and speech of this influence of stage tradition. David Warfield has absolutely ignored such tradition. He says he does not know "technique," and he disagrees with William Winter in that veteran critic's contention that "acting is an exact science." And the actor seems to be proving his "theory." He has demonstrated the telling methods of simplicity. He holds the emotions of his audience in his voice, in his hands, as it were, and as he strikes the heart-strings, in just the right place, they respond and vibrate as positively as the strings on the musician's violin. The actor has found the big chord that binds humanity; he knows

where it is, how to strike it, and there is no doubt about the music it sounds. The manner of getting the effect may be called technique, if you like. He does not call it that. It certainly is art.

Yet it is, after all, the method that abides; it is the method, as I have said before, that is to change our acting and perhaps our very drama.

Warfield seeks his inspiration in *minutiæ* from life of to-day. He, of all actors, veritably holds up "the mirror to nature." At the same time he proves that the mirrors other actors have handled, have reflected not nature, but—the stage. And the stage has held mostly fustian pictures. Warfield is showing American audiences the difference, and as these American audiences prefer the reproduction of nature to the retouched pictures of the stage, it seems that they will insist upon other artists leaving the stage gallery and passing into the garden, the city streets, the farm and the factories, to breathe their inspiration and to seek their models.

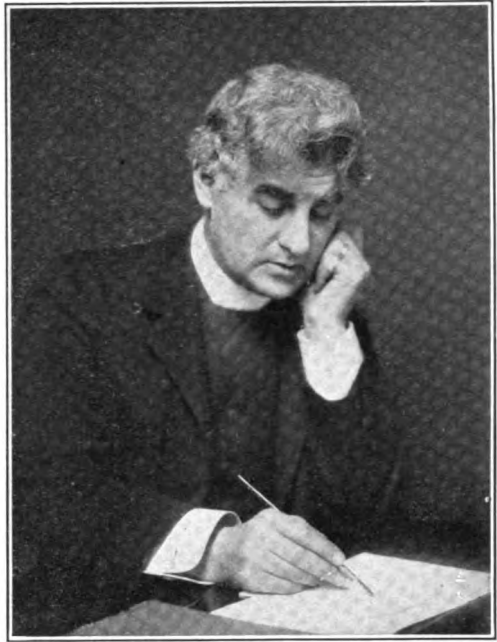
#### WARFIELD'S PLAYS.

The three plays which Mr. Warfield acted since he became a star, to say the least, have lacked the perfection that has marked his acting. He has been acting in "legitimate drama" for about eight years. Before his *début* as a star under David Belasco's direction he was a favorite in musical comedy, in which his specialty was a New York East-Side Jew, which, even in those days of burlesque, he took from life. The announcement at that time that David Warfield was to become a star in a drama calculated to draw tears, caused smiles and laughter and astonishment. It was quite as surprising as would be a statement made to-day announcing Joe Weber as Hamlet. There were a few careful observers who were not surprised. One of these was George Ade, who was perhaps the first writer to predict success for Warfield in serious acting. And Ade was not joking then. That was almost fifteen years ago

in Chicago, where Ade was reporting for a daily newspaper, and Warfield was playing in musical farce. But more of Warfield's earlier history at another time. A word or two now about the three plays that have made fortunes for the actor, the authors and his manager.

"The Auctioneer," which is pleasantly remembered as the comedy that served to introduce Warfield as a star, was flimsy in its material and crude enough as a play. It was cruder still when the original manuscript fell into the hands of that expert of dramatic values, that past-master of modern stagecraft, that artistic genius, and unique American manager, David Belasco—he who "discovered" and gave David Warfield his first opportunity. It was David Belasco who saw lurking in the Jew's supercilious grin a note of wistfulness; the uncouth, shuffling, funny walk left behind a shadow of pathos. No one but David Belasco seemed to see this. All that the light-hearted spectators of the Weber and Fields shows could see in Warfield was a wretched, sidewalk Jew who was funny, who made them laugh. They did not appreciate the contrasts, the lights and shades. They saw, and only wanted to see, the lights. That is why they were surprised when they learned that "Dave Warfield was going with Belasco—the d— fool!"

Belasco knew what was wanted for Warfield's first starring venture. He called in Charles Klein and Lee Arthur, who in a brief time turned in a play which was called "The Auctioneer." It was quite a bad play. But Belasco Belascoed it. He ripped it into shreds, threw many of the shreds away, manufactured some of his own, and sewed them together again. Naturally it was patchy, but it proved a very effective vehicle for Mr. Warfield, who, to the astonishment of even his sincerest friends, scored heavily. The miracle happened; he succeeded in making an American audience weep, and Belasco and Warfield wrote: *Quod erat demon-*



DAVID BELASCO.

*strandum.* Then they set about to prove another proposition.

Belasco commissioned Charles Klein to write another play for Warfield which was to be more serious and give to the star larger opportunities. Mr. Belasco and Mr. Klein "got together." Mr. Klein took a pretty story, a popular theme, and a few characters and shook them up thoroughly. Out came a play called "The Music Master." (I am inclined to believe that the title is Belasco's).

"The Music Master," as it is being acted to-day, is not the best example of play-writing. It has little or nothing to do with "life's criticisms." It is technically faulty. But it tells a tender story; it abounds in sweet sentiment, and is over-hubbling with fine human nature, and that, with David Warfield in it, seems to suffice for the public.

Now some truths, for the first time, regarding "The Music Master." When the play came to David Belasco, it was, like the first script of "The Auctioneer,"



ACT I.—"THE MUSIC MASTER."

sadly in need of reconstruction. Many persons have observed or thought they saw, Belasco's touches in "The Music Master." They saw rightly. Not only are his "touches" there, but the structure contains many of his bricks. Yet, beautiful as the little play is to-day—for it is beautiful, not forgetting all its faults—it would be impossible without David Warfield enacting the principal rôle. Again to the satisfaction of everybody, Belasco can write Q. E. D.

"A GRAND ARMY MAN."

Warfield's next step forward was made with "A Grand Army Man" with which the actor dedicated, a year ago last October, Belasco's new, artistic theater, the Stuyvesant, in New York.

The play, the joint work of David Belasco, Pauline Phelps and Marion

Short, pictures the rustic's world, this time located in a little Indiana village about twenty years after the Civil War. Its types are true, the story is human, the emotions are elemental, and the sunshine which the deft Belasco spreads over the little country town is warm and real. While the clouds gather and cast their shadows in due theatric course, the effect is poetic and charming.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the comparative merits of "A Grand Army Man" and "The Music Master." Some of the public prefer it to the Klein play, while others will not accept it at all. The majority of critical writers place it above the latter. Indeed, there is no doubt in the minds of the critics, that, technically at least, "A Grand Army Man" surpasses "The Music Master." Warfield himself made no mistake artis-

tically when he consented to enact "A Grand Army Man." It affords him opportunities he lacked in his other plays. He revealed in "West Bigelow" the post commander, emotions he had no chance to show in "von Barwig," the music master. "A Grand Army Man" is on the border-line of tragedy, and there is at least one moment when Warfield shows you its darkest depths. The character of Bigelow is more vigorous, less poetic, and truer than "von Barwig," the gentle, cultivated old musician who almost personifies the love of St. Paul.

One critic seeks to explain why "A Grand Army Man" is not so popular as "The Music Master." He says:

"There is nothing in the world so appallingly gripping on your sensibility as a view of the stark-naked truth. It is with such a portrait that David Warfield enthralled and really terrified us at the closing portion of the second act of "A Grand Army Man."

Other critics have declared "A Grand Army Man" commonplace. But is there not life, tragedy and poetry in the things we call the commonplace of our existence? The Greeks touched commonplace things for real beauty and for artistic contrasts; and Ibsen found strength and beauty in every-day persons and dramatic vitality



ACT III.—"THE MUSIC MASTER."

in their every-day speech. The critic quoted above continues:

"The scene was of but two persons. The ruined son stood before the idolizing father, a confessed thief. The father's heart was shredded with agony and frenzied with impotent rage. The lines uttered by each were commonplaces, such as what we call commonplace persons use every one of the commonplace days which form existence. The father makes the son shed his coat, and, taking a whip in his hands, he lashes the youth, one cutting, whistling, cruel bite of the cord. The lad gives no whimper, not a muscle

flinches. Then the two gaze into each other's eyes for a moment, and they find their way into each other's arms. 'I'll stand by you, my boy,' comes from the father's sobbing lips. That's all there is to it; but in those two moments, Mr. Warfield drops the plummet of his art into the darkest, grimmest depths of tragedy. It is the soul-breaking *Ædipus*, all the horrors of life's horrors of Hamlet, and yet triumphantly conquering the blackness which has conquered the very being of the two, there is the supreme saving beauty of love. That was where Mr. Warfield lifted the curtain which we jealously use to guard our eyes from verity. Flicking from before our vision all notes and false perspectives, he showed us, as I said, the most terrible, beautiful fact in our lives—Truth, naked, without a single garment of falsity. Probably few . . . will believe the assertion, but the play is a thousand miles ahead of 'The Music Master,' and as a consequence, the acting is more than that measure better."

WARFIELD'S SUCCESS MEASURED FINANCIALLY.

That American theater-goers welcome the new art as exemplified by David Warfield, to the acting of the older "school," and prefer a drama of sweetness and humanity to one of unpleasant problems and smart epigram, has been proven by Warfield's tremendous financial success in the three plays David Belasco selected for him. Warfield in "The Auctioneer," as I have said, made a fortune for himself and managers, for at that time the theatrical syndicate, although having no investment in the production, and nothing to do except book the tour, "declared themselves in" on the profits. That was one of the direct causes of David Belasco breaking away from the theatrical trust and conducting his affairs with absolute independence. This fight which he and the Fisks have waged so vigorously and courageously, has cost the independent managers a great deal of money, for at times they have been forced to play their

attractions in inferior theaters of small capacity, and compelled to make "long jumps," involving additional railroad expense. But they have not surrendered, and their positions to-day (artistically, at least) are high above their commercial opponents.

The success of Warfield in "The Music Master" has been really phenomenal. For the length of his New York run (covering three seasons and portions of a fourth and a fifth) and attendance *en tour*, as registered in the box-offices, he has broken all records in the history of the American stage. Two seasons ago, in the spacious Academy of Music in New York, during an engagement of four weeks his business averaged nearly \$25,000 a week. This is the record for that theater, and, in fact, for any dramatic engagement ever held in this country. The previous record was credited to Booth and Barrett, who played their farewell engagement, in repertoire, at the Academy in 1888, the box-office statements for the two weeks' engagement showing an average weekly business of about \$20,500. After a run of three seasons in New York, Warfield played engagements in a few of the largest cities and again made new records for attendance. In several cities there was almost rioting among the crowds that besieged the box-offices to buy tickets. In Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City and other cities, the line of humanity, in most instances extending over a full city block, waited in front of the theaters from eight to twenty-four hours to buy seats. This season Warfield played engagements in San Francisco (his native city) and Los Angeles, the only engagements there since his early starring days. In San Francisco "the line" formed twenty-four hours before the sale began, and in Los Angeles forty-six hours. In each of these cities the local newspapers gave amusing accounts of these enthusiastic patrons of the drama, waiting their turn at the box-office. But they were not all "patrons of the drama," for Warfield



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attracts persons who seldom, if ever, frequent the theater. The remarkable part of all this enthusiasm, manifested before the actor and play are seen, is that it does not grow less as the audience's anticipation has been realized. It would seem that when one's hopes have been raised so high as to submit to the discomfort of standing on the street for hours, disappointment would eventually be his share. But instead they are so deeply impressed with Warfield's art that their enthusiasm increases and they go again and urge their friends to go.

And thus it is proven that art, like truth, "pays."

AS TO THE FUTURE.

It is interesting to contemplate what results Mr. Warfield will obtain when he carries his art into the classic realm. For

it is announced by Belasco that Warfield soon will enact Shylock, and, if successful, will try King Lear. Mr. Warfield recently confided to the writer his conception of "The Merchant of Venice" and the methods he will employ in the enactment of this popular Shakespearian rôle. Of course he will be true to himself and depend only on his own conception and ideas.

From what I know of Mr. Warfield's methods of study and interpretation, I would say his proposed portrayal will be a creation. He says:

"When the time comes for active study, I shall approach the part as if it were absolutely new, and the play had never before been produced. I shall be neither guided nor influenced by tradition. If I succeed or fail, I alone shall accept the responsibility, for I shall not lean on any

other actor's conception or interpretation, no matter how firmly these ideas may have taken root in the public mind. It may transpire that my ideas will coincide with others that have gone before; it is possible they will substantially diverge. (Personally, I think they will diverge—very materially.)

"The Merchant of Venice" is catalogued as a comedy. I shall bear that fact in mind, and endeavor to act the part in the lighter vein. Shylock, I think, was a man with a fine sense of humor, which fact will afford splendid opportunity for much delicate, delightful comedy. Instead of acting the part with a constant sense of gloom and tragedy, I shall endeavor to unfold it with a less weighty, brighter-hued mantle. I can see the tragic moods as reliefs for the comedy; not the converse.

"In the physical aspects I shall, of course, suggest the Merchant's Semitic characteristics. While I appreciate these physical values, I also believe, as did Edwin Booth, that Shylock was an aristocrat. He retains his pride even when his spirit is crushed. This psychological development, which comes at the end of the trial, can be portrayed in various ways. I do not think that dejection, despair and grief are best expressed by a tottering form, which, to me, suggests decrepitude rather than the emotions mentioned."

But in this phase of Shakespeare's drama, as well as in every other phase, Mr. Warfield tells me he will consult life and human nature and employ some of the restraint which he deems a better form of art, as well as a most common expression of human life. In all the expediencies of the art of acting, Mr. Warfield will seek his inspiration from life. He will endeavor to cast the dialogue of Shylock in a natural voice and avoid stilted speech. He believes the elegance of Shakespeare's diction, the authority and beauty of his blank verse can all be retained if the key is transposed to a pitch common to every-day utterance.

"And why not?" asked Mr. Warfield.

"Shylock was a man of every-day life and business habits. He was not an orator or a poet, or a lawyer, and he had no ideas of acting or school-boy declamations. He was a business man, a philosopher and—a human being!"

And now these questions are asked:

Will any of Shakespeare's characters be reduced in poetic atmosphere by making them more genuine? Will they be any the less enjoyable if they are made more real by the introduction of—nature?

#### MR. WARFIELD'S VIEWS ON THE DRAMA.

Of all dramatic writings Mr. Warfield loves most the plays of Shakespeare, or dramatic poems, as he more correctly calls the Avon bard's dramatic works. He finds more enjoyment to-day in Shakespeare than in any other reading. Yet he thinks the best material for dramatist and actor is to be found in American life of to-day. He finds no place on the stage for certain poetic dramas. These sentiments Mr. Warfield recently expressed in a paper which he read before a literary society in Los Angeles:

"Theater-goers," he said, "seem to want a drama of humanity. By that I mean a play containing characters one meets in this life of to-day—characters that have the same kind of heart-throbs, the same kind of tears, the same kind of love, and the same genuine laughter that you and I have. Plays must be peopled with human beings. And you prefer, I have observed, the human beings that live next door, or around the corner. Some might live in palaces, some in cottages, or huts. Some might work with hands and hearts, some with mind only, and some might not work at all. The last kind is too uninteresting to discuss, and he is not wanted in drama any more than he is wanted in society. Some are worthy, whether rich or poor, some are unworthy.

"But each plays his part in the drama of life, each is endowed with flesh and blood, love and hate, goodness and badness. And this is the kind of person,



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alive and breathing, with every-day speech that must provide the psychology, the life and poetry, of the successful drama. The successful drama must have, fundamentally, psychology, life and poetry, and I believe these elements can be more forcefully used for drama, when taken from the life and the age that we all know.

"We need not go back to past ages for stage figures. We need not try to lift them from the sacred pages of the great poets. If we do, we leave the poem soiled and the poet's name scarred. As a rule, the poet's ideal cannot be realized on the stage. There is no ethereal actor. No one can soar with Pegasus as gracefully as the poet. We actors are of flesh and blood like you. We can suggest poetry by portraying life, but we cannot make a thing breathe that is only a fantasy or a phantom. No, dear friends,

let the beautiful, elusive creations of those great minds lie where they belong—within the peaceful leaves of the library shelf, where one may enjoy them at his pleasure.

"There are interesting persons to be found along the social paths we trod to-day. There is poetry in the life on the farm, in the little cottage, even among the sordid factories, if we look for it. And this poetry the playwright and the author can express, if he be an observer of life and a poet. The persons of to-day have temperaments, character and habits so deviating, that the drama they are placed in need not necessarily suffer from a paucity of psychology, physical monotony, or lack of variety, in social conduct.

"Sometimes there is less poetry in blank verse and rhymed verse than there is in prose, and the day of the drama of



stilted speech and artificial life and action, I think, has passed.

"And it has been proved that smart epigram and brilliant wit cannot make a successful drama if a wholesome, human element be lacking. You have seen play after play, of the vulgar or salacious kind, perish after a mere ephemeral flash of success. What drama ever endured that depended upon sensation or morbidity to attract? The healthy mind, my friends, is as dominant in the theater as much as goodness is dominant in the world.

"The first and most essential element for successful drama is humanity. We must have some smiles and a few tears, because life, you know, is not all smiles, and we have agreed that drama must portray life. Secondly, a drama, to enjoy prosperity and lasting popularity, must convey a sermon or teach a lesson. The drama is a fine, eloquent force for good and it must have a message. To me the most potent message in life to-day is the message of love.

"One goes to the theater, I know, to be amused, to forget the strife and struggle of our poor existence. But he goes also for thought and reflection. Let us, then, have both laughter and tears in our drama.

"Your evening in the theater has been well spent, indeed, if you have been amused and if you leave it feeling better toward humanity. The brotherhood of man makes a pretty fine creed. Laughter and tears—well, the laughter will tonic you and the tears will chasten. Then, the message has been delivered. The author and actor have served,

"To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,  
To raise the genius and to mend the heart,  
To make mankind in conscious virtue bold,  
Live o'er each scene, and be what they behold;  
For this the tragic muse first trod the stage,  
Commanding tears to stream through every age."

#### IN PRIVATE LIFE.

In private life David Warfield shows the temperament and taste of the artist, combined with the sanity and poise of the business man. His married life is very

happy because Mrs. Warfield, a cultivated lady (also a Californian), fortunately has the tastes and sympathies of her husband. He has a beautiful home, an apartment in Central Park West, New York, furnished in exquisite taste. He is acquiring gradually a splendid collection of pictures, which includes several worthy American pieces and a few old-world masters.

There is perhaps nothing material in life that gives David Warfield greater joy than his art treasures. He loves, with the passion of a poet, an altar cloth of the renaissance. He can sit almost for hours before his Gainsborough or a plaintive study by Francis Murphy, or a colorful fancy of a favorite Japanese artist, and be happy. The turmoil of the city, the strife of business, he detests.

His love of home, his sentimental nature, his wistful regard of "the old days" in San Francisco where he was a poor boy, are crystalized in an address he made at a dinner given recently in his honor by the famous Bohemian Club of San Francisco. These sentiments perhaps throw more light on the nature of the real David Warfield than any incident that I could relate:

"Home again!

"There's a big meaning in that little word—*Home!* We go out into the world, clasping, maybe for the last time, the hands of those we have played with, worked with, and loved; we bid good-bye to 'the old street,' and the country roads and the green fields, and the very trees that have grown into our lives; and away we go with our little parcel of hopes and doubts into a new life, a new land—a land of new faces, new scenes, of strife and struggle. We march onward, along the main road, or into the little by-ways, and our backs are turned on the old life. We mingle, we struggle; we stumble and rise—rise and fall, but onward we creep, and Home is so far away. But never do we lose sight of a little star in the far, far west. It is always there, and often have we paused and looked at it. In joy and

in sorrow we look into the west, long and wistfully. And whether we cease our struggles and pause for a breath, or whether we go on, that glow of the western star brings peace. We at last know that real happiness is not reached until we are on the final journey where the star beckons, and at last we turn back. We are going home again, and we are happy!

"Gentlemen, we have all climbed the mountains of life—great or small, we know that when we are on the top of one,

we see others rise far above us. Every summit we reach, we rest awhile—and think of home. While there are mountains and mountains always on my horizon, I do not want to climb any more. I want to come home. I want to live the autumn of my life here. I want to pass my final winter in San Francisco. I want to rest forever in her bosom."

LAWRENCE HALL.

*New York City.*

## HARMONIZING OUR DUAL GOVERNMENT.

By J. W. BENNETT.

AMERICA has reached a point in industrial and political evolution where its dual government must adapt itself to new conditions. The Federal government must cease to interfere with the state in its dealing with state problems. We must realize that the Federal government is an institution of the American people intended to deal with national problems only in the affairs of the American people. State governments, on the other hand, must continue to be regarded as other but no less important institutions of the American people designed to deal with other affairs of the American people no less important than their national affairs. There is no occasion for cross-purposes on the part of state and Federal governments, except the cunning manipulations of predatory interests, and the vaulting ambition of unwise and self-seeking politicians. Federal and state action must be harmonized so as to be mutually helpful in dealing with American problems, rather than clashingly antagonistic and mutually destructive. This problem of making the most effective use of our governmental instruments, is a very important, a most pressing problem.

Our forefathers of 1787 were confronted

with a new governmental condition. Thirteen colonies, each too weak to combat the arrogant, autocratic tyranny of England, had been held in more or less effective association through a great war. They had emerged thirteen independent states. Real dangers still threatened from without. Savages were strong on the western, northern and southern borders. England, beaten for the time, had not finally given up hope of bringing her former colonies again into subjection.

United, the thirteen colonies might meet those dangers from without. That fact had been demonstrated in the great war just closed. But each of the thirteen states was historically, physically, politically, and to some extent, socially and industrially, a unit, in full control of its own affairs. To retain control over its own affairs, each state had fought that great war. Local self-government was a thing none of these states would think of relinquishing, even for the prize of security for external dangers. Wisely did the people of these little independent states conclude that giving up local self-government would be giving up self-government, ultimately.

With the men of 1787, the problem in

the constitutional convention was to preserve state integrity and at the same time to build up such a union of the states as to make all and each secure against external dangers. External dangers were of two kinds, (a) menace from enemies without the borders of the states; (b) friction among the states themselves.

It was a new problem in the world's history, but the men of 1787 were constructive statesmen. They had the enterprise, intelligence and courage to leave the beaten track of political experiment and to invent and install something essentially new in government.

Obviously, the conditions of the problem called for a dual government. States must be left in full control of their domestic or local affairs. To the democrats of the convention, such as Franklin and Mason, such control promised the very best practical results in domestic or local administration. It brought government close to the citizen and fully under his control, and tended to build up a strong, self-reliant citizenship, the only sure foundation for living, lasting democracy.

Men of aristocratic governmental theory, like Hamilton and Morris—men who distrusted the rank and file and regarded the best government, the government farthest removed from and least influenced by the governed, found fault with the arrangement. Finally, they were obliged to admit, that, right or wrong, wise or unwise, no national government could then be established which did not leave the internal or local affairs of the states in the full control of the states.

While undoubtedly a majority of the convention sympathized with the Hamiltonian theory, this majority had no illusions as to the temper of the people of the states on this point. Therefore they built their national structure on the foundation of state integrity. A dual government was therefore established on the theory of leaving local or internal affairs to the states while giving the new Union jurisdiction over the external relations of the states to one another and the relation

of the new nation as a whole to the outside world. In order to leave no open question as to the authority of the states in local affairs the national government was made one of express powers, specifically enumerated, while to the states was reserved the residue of authority, not expressly delegated. Above all, and superior to both, were the passive sovereignties, the undelegated executive and ministerial attributes of the people. Such limitation of the scope of general governmental authority, the men of 1787 knew also to be necessary in order to secure a ratification of the new constitution by the people of the states.

This work was done with mental reservation. No more able, patriotic or disinterested political body ever assembled than these men of 1787. Still they were human. Sincere aristocratic theorists, in the main, their political beliefs almost unconsciously colored their work. They could not get away entirely from the mistakes of the past. Into the new constitution were placed a number of provisions out of harmony with its general purpose. Checks and balances were introduced largely to place a curb upon democracy. At the time these checks did not seem dangerous. Later they were productive of much woe.

Placing the interpretation of the national constitution in the hands of an appointive, irresponsible Federal judiciary proved the most dangerous of these provisions. It was the thin edge of the wedge which has ever since been separating the people from the control of their own governmental affairs.

Interpretation of constitutions and laws meant to the reactionary and autocratic Marshall, nullification of laws of which the judiciary did not approve. It mattered not that the constitutional convention had specifically and repeatedly denied this power to the Federal courts. Seizing minor and obscure provisions of the national constitution, such as the clause against impairment of the obligation of contracts, Marshall and his associates of

the United States Supreme Court took upon themselves the nullifying of state laws relating to state affairs exclusively. Minor courts, as time advanced, arrogated to themselves the power usurped by the Supreme Court. Men holding appointments to minor judicial station, have now become irresponsible potentates who assume to annul by autocratic will the solemn legislative acts of great states, relating exclusively to state or local affairs. A little Federal judge of the 449th judicial district, fresh from his triumphs at the bar in the service of predatory corporations, can do a thing denied by the men of 1787 to the President, the cabinet and the Supreme Court. For it was decided by the constitutional convention that none of these nor all of these together should have a final veto upon legislative acts. Not even Congress and the President were permitted to nullify the legislative acts of the states. And these autocratic judicial powers are exercised largely in favor of artificial persons and in derogation of the rights of individuals and the public at large.

As a result states are prevented from protecting themselves or their people from predatory interests. The national government has neither the power nor the inclination to protect them. In every Federal judicial district in the United States a judge is keeping a robbers' sanctuary where predatory interests, state threatened, find safe retreat. Caught battenning upon the substance of cities and states and brought to the bar of justice, these predatory interests have but to fly the protecting ægis of the Federal courts. Its injunction, like a mantle of mercy, is ready to cover their offenses.

Cautiously for a time under the cloak of the Interstate Commerce clause in the constitution, this Federal power was interposed between the states and the public-service corporations which they were trying to control. Franchises founded upon bribery and corruption were held sacred under the clause against impairment of contract obligations, a clause never in-

tended for such unholy service. Recently the power of courts in this regard has developed mightily. American citizens, mistaking partisanship for patriotism, and clamorous audacity for statesmanship, have forced the national legislature to become an echo of the executive will. Federal courts, largely under executive influence, have bound and gagged the states in the interest of the pick-pockets of privilege. Federal executives with feverish haste have been developing a bureaucracy which is to take supreme control of local as well as national affairs.

Federal bureaus will control transportation, banking, mines, forests, streams, telegraphs, manufactures, miscellaneous corporations. By Federal executive will we would have the corporation sheep separated from the corporation goats. Good trusts will be carefully nurtured and developed by a beneficent bureau, bad trusts condemned and driven into outer darkness.

These things and many others are already in sight. In the light of precedent, a Federal question can be raised in almost every judicial contest, and if a halt be not called, we shall have Federal bureaus controlling our street railways, our gas, our electric-lights, our water-powers, our municipal water supplies. Multiplying public problems growing out of our ever greater complexity of life, must be met and solved by some one. If Federal courts prevent local and state government from dealing with them, the public will fatuously permit Federal bureaus to take control.

Thus are our affairs, one by one, turned over to an elective autocrat, to be handled by a Federal bureau acting under executive will. All governmental authority is being concentrated in Washington out of reach of the people and out of their control. And this is just the danger point of the whole situation. If the people could keep effective control of the government at Washington, and if the government could be organized so as to deal permanently and adequately with local

matters in a manner to keep up the full virility of citizenship, we need have no misgivings. But he who runs may see that national affairs have gone almost wholly out of the hands of the people. Their public servants have become their masters. Local affairs are fast following the same road. Irresponsible Federal executive bureaus are reaching out, eagerly undertaking to do the things which the people themselves alone can do.

In other words the scope of authority of the respective arms in our dual government is undergoing a revolutionary change. Instead of harmonizing the dual government, and developing the latent strength in both its arms, so that it shall have two strong deft hands to work with, the whole effort of parties, politicians, and even officers, is to weaken and hamper the strong right arm of state efficiency and power and give over details of local government to one clumsy left hand benumbed by Federal bureaucracy. No longer are state affairs left to the states. No longer do we distinguish between problems properly within the scope of Federal authority and problems, Federal interference with which means mischievous failure.

For a time even a bureaucracy may be reasonably efficient in dealing with matters strictly national, especially with international relations. But if every member of a Federal bureau acting from Washington had Solomon wisdom and saint-like unselfishness and devotion, the bureau, in our democracy, would still make a dismal failure of state affairs. Only intimate local relations by people immediately concerned can meet the complexity of these local problems. Officers must know them, even feel them, in order to cope with them.

Our Interstate Commerce Commission has demonstrated this fact. Twenty years of its misguided activities have left the railways, everything considered, getting more from the people than ever before and giving less in return. In the meantime the thing attempted by this

bureau has been an excuse for the Federal courts preventing states from dealing adequately with their own railway problems.

Even if Federal bureaus could cope with these complex problems for a time, the result would be a destruction of citizenship which in a generation would leave no foundation for enlightened democratic government; for citizens, like their own good right arms, are kept strong and efficient only by exercise and use. If we are to have a living Republic we must restore the component parts of our dual government, each to the activities of its own proper sphere. Local affairs must be left absolutely in the hands of the states and their constituent municipalities; national affairs in the hands of the nation. Each must be so organized as to help, not hinder, the activities of the other in its own proper sphere, but to prevent mutual encroachments.

Democracy's salvation is local strength. Predatory interests can control a central government far from the source of power, much more easily than a multitude of local governmental organizations close to their citizenship and fully controlled by the people. What Tom L. Johnson and his followers have accomplished in Cleveland, or Senator LaFollette and his supporters have accomplished in Wisconsin, each for his own constituency, could never be accomplished for the whole nation by the national government. Oregon has done more for democratic development in the past few years than the Federal government has done since the Civil War. States and municipalities are governmental laboratories through which strong and advanced citizenship can react upon the whole nation. There is plenty for the Federal government to do without interfering in local affairs.

In order to hold the Federal and the local governments respectively to their proper spheres of activity, we must do what was done by the men of 1787—apply devices adapted to the work in hand. Forms of a hundred years ago in gov-

ernment are as likely to be out of date as the mechanical devices in the industry of a hundred years ago. Thinking men are coming more and more to realize that we are not dealing with public *problems* so much as we are dealing with a public *problem* in our government. So intimately are our political, social and industrial evils connected each with the other that they are recognized by our greatest thinkers as similar local manifestations of the same great problem. At the bottom this is the problem of democracy, the problem of equality of civic rights and opportunities between men.

Every state in the Union and every city in every state has a railway problem. The national railway problem is made up of these nation-wide local problems. One phase is vital to each community, one manifestation, and each community must be in position to deal adequately with this phase. Everybody of every state has a most vital interest in seeing that the railways are used as highways of transportation and managed with that end in view, rather than that they are exploited as instruments of gain for predatory individuals, or cliques of individuals.

Warring state and national commissions each jealously set upon trying to gather to itself all power, can never solve the railway problem. These dual agencies must be harmonized so as to be mutually helpful before they can control offending corporation interests. For transportation interests make it a business of playing one against the other, and thus defeating both. It needs no argument to show that local authorities conversant with all the details of the local situation can deal more effectively with the local phases of the railway problem than can a distant Federal bureau. The Federal government has plenty to do in harmonizing and strengthening the action of the states in dealing with the great problem. This is not theory alone. Germany has demonstrated the method.

If the railway commission is the correct instrument for the control of transporta-

tion by the government, then we must create an efficient railway commission. It must be able to deal with each local phase of the problem as well as the national situation. The indicated method is plain enough:

Each state must elect a railway commission or a railway commissioner. These commissioners must organize into a national commission under the chairmanship of a cabinet officer. This commission must have in its hands supervision over the enforcement of all transportation laws, state and national. Each member will remain subject to the control of the governor of his state and also to the President of the United States.

Such organization will leave no "twilight zone," no "no man's land," for railway corporation dodgers. Its effect would be to harmonize state and national interests rather than set them warring with one another.

This is the indicated application of our dual governmental system to our transportation problem. And it would apply as well to a system of government ownership as it would to a system of government control. Such a national commission would find interest and duty combined in harmonizing state and national authority, and making both effective, each in its proper sphere. It would apply to banks or insurance companies as well as to railways. But always it must be kept in mind that such bodies would remain executive, not in any sense legislative or judicial bodies.

One thing further must be done to harmonize the dual government in dealing with such problems. That, too, is clearly indicated. In our dual government the minor Federal courts have been the disturbing element. We must modify their organization so that they shall cease to disturb. Minor Federal courts must be abolished and their jurisdiction given over to the courts of record of the states. It would be foolish and cumbersome to have a dual elective judiciary. But it is intolerable in a republic to have an appointive

Federal judiciary bent upon destroying the principle of local self-government as these minor Federal courts are bent upon destroying it.

State courts are just as learned, just as competent, just as securely bound by national laws and the national constitution. But they are not in position to ignore state laws and local interests. They will deal more understandingly and sympathetically with the legal problems before them, upholding, where possible, both state and national acts, instead of using one as an excuse for nullifying the other.

The third step is to prevent all judges from nullifying legislative acts. This must be done by a constitutional amendment making possible the final passing upon all laws by the people themselves, and giving laws approved by the people constitutional sanction equal in authority to the sanction of the original constitution. That is difficult, but it must be done. The business of the courts is to interpret the law and apply it to specific cases, not to nullify and defeat it. Courts have nothing to do with the wisdom or unwisdom of the laws themselves.

These are suggestions merely for harmonizing the application of our dual gov-

ernmental agencies to the modern problems of government. We would throw back upon the people the responsibility for meeting and solving the great problem in its local as well as its national manifestations.

When the men of 1787 made the Federal constitution, a central government might have looked after all the affairs of the American people with reasonable efficiency. At that time the problem of governing the thirteen states was less complicated than the present problem of governing the state of New York.

As the nation grew, and its life became more and more complex, government by central authority became more and more difficult. Now it is utterly impossible under the Republic. There never was such crying need for state integrity as there is to-day, never less need for "strong" central government. External dangers have almost disappeared. Our great problems are internal problems which can be met only by a strong and efficient citizenship. In the Republic a strong and efficient citizenship can be developed only by carrying to its utmost the principle of local self-government.

J. W. BENNETT.

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## BROWNING'S THEORY OF LOVE AS DEVELOPED IN HIS LYRICAL POEMS.

BY ELMER JAMES BAILEY, PH.M., A.M.

TO THOSE interested in the literature of the nineteenth century, probably no remark is more trite than the statement that in Robert Browning's work the personal opinion of that author cannot be discovered. Indeed, Browning himself more than once insisted that his poems were to be regarded, not as expressions of his own thought, but as "so many utterances of so many imag-

inary persons." Now it must be admitted that this manifesto has to be accepted, before one can come to any true appreciation of the writer who is generally considered the most obscure of English poets; but it should not be construed to mean, as some maintain, that every one of his poems exists in a state of isolation with respect to every other. The great esoteric teachings of Brown-

ing, on the contrary,—those teachings which give the higher uplift, the broader outlook,—are found not so frequently precipitated in individual poems as diffused through many. It is not the lover of here and there a poem, who has an adequate conception of Browning's thought; rather, it is the man who looks upon that author's work as from a Pisgah height, and comes to regard it as a land flowing with milk and honey.

Nevertheless, lovers of Browning, led sometimes by Browning himself, have often united in an outcry against those who have attempted to show that a theory of any kind whatsoever is developed in his poetry. But Browning is by no means the first of whom it may be said, "He builded better than he knew." No man, not even a Browning, can speak finally upon the content of his own work, or define absolutely its limits. Unknown to himself he may be adding to his conscious enunciations a message of which he alone is God-chosen to be the bearer. Let him, if he will, consider the work of his commentators as food for laughter; it still remains true that the plodding, careful intellect will often interpret the utterances of a genius to that genius himself.

Admirers of Browning agree in claiming that he was remarkably successful in analyzing the heart of man. Almost without number are the problems of life and mind which he examined from the point-of-view of some real or fictitious character. The question of immortality, the meaning of life, the teachings of Christianity, the use of suffering,—in fact, almost every thought or feeling of which man is capable, was at some time and in some way the object of his scrutiny. One expects to find, therefore, and does find, indeed, that Browning was especially minute in his examination of the passion of love—that emotion which more than any other sways the world. A large number of the important poems deal either directly or indirectly with the subject; but while the longer works, such as "The Ring and the Book," "The Blot in

the 'Scutcheon," and "Sordello," use some form of love as a motif; it is in the shorter poems that one finds the fullest treatment of the various phases of that passion. In attempting, therefore, to determine what theory of love is developed in Robert Browning's work, one's attention may without injustice be confined to a study of his lyrical poems.

Before entering directly upon the main subject, however, one is forced to dwell for at least a moment, upon Browning's theory of life; since the importance of love, the reason of its existence, and the way in which it should be regarded, become evident only when one sees the relation which love bears to life. Browning, then, in company with many other poets, ancient and modern, frequently states that our present life is but one link in a chain of existences:

"Ages past the soul existed,  
Here an age 't is resting merely,  
And hence fleets again for ages."

The future life, moreover, is not to be one of complete rest; it is to be one of action. Whatever may be the heights gained in this life, there are

"Other heights in other lives, God willing."

Nor are these several existences without connection. Each is an outgrowth of the one preceding it—

"When this life is ended, begins  
New work for the soul in another state,  
Where it strives and gets weary, loses and wins:  
Where the strong and the weak, this world's con-  
geries,  
Repeat in large what they practiced in small,  
Through life after life in unlimited series;  
Only the scale 's to be changed, that 's all."

If it be objected that Browning sometimes presents this theory tentatively, rather than absolutely; and that, therefore, it is not to be accepted as his own, it may be replied that he holds it as firmly as most people do their articles of faith, and that his occasional questioning of its truth is no more than is to be expected of the human reason.

With this explanation of life in mind, one passes readily in the investigation of



our author's theory of love to the questions: In Browning's opinion what importance should be attached to love? What relation does it bear to life? What is its nature? and, What effect does it have upon those whom it moves? In attempting to answer these inquiries the whole body of Browning's lyrical poems might be made subject to levy, but no greater number of quotations is really necessary than will establish the point under discussion; since it is true beyond a doubt that a superabundance of proof is a weariness to the flesh.

#### I. THE IMPORTANCE OF LOVE.

Browning everywhere insists that love is the greatest thing in the world. In "Love Among the Ruins," the lover gives in retrospect a picture of a grand old city, the inhabitants of which

"Breathed joy and woe  
Long ago;  
Lust of glory pricked their hearts up, dread of shame  
Struck them tame;  
And that glory and that shame alike, the gold  
Bought and sold."

Then he says that among the ruins of that ancient grandeur waits for him a girl with eager eyes and yellow hair.

"When I do come, she will speak not, she will stand,  
Either hand  
On my shoulder, give her eyes the first embrace  
Of my face,  
Ere we rush, ere we extinguish sight and speech  
Each on each.  
In one year they sent a million fighters forth  
South and North,  
And they built their gods a brazen pillar high  
As the sky,  
Yet reserved a thousand chariots in full force,  
Gold, of course.  
Oh, heart! Oh, blood that freezes! blood that burns!  
Earth's returns  
For whole centuries of folly, noise and sin.  
Shut them in,  
With their triumphs and their glories and the rest.  
Love is best."

In the poem entitled "In a Year," the speaker, a woman this time, exclaims:

"I had wealth and ease,  
Beauty, youth:  
Since my lover gave me love,  
I gave these.

"That was all I meant—  
To be just,  
And the passion I had raised,  
To content.

"Since he chose to change  
Gold for dust,  
If I gave him what he praised,  
Was it strange?"

In "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli," are presented the words of a troubadour of the twelfth century, who, in his thought of his lady, is like the sunflower that, in its lost endeavor to live the life of the sun,

"Has parted, one by one,  
With all a flower's true graces, for the grace  
Of being but a foolish mimic sun,  
With ray-like florets round a disk-like face."

Then, as the poet pictures to himself her whom he loves, the fact that he has gained fame by his work becomes as nothing, and he says:

"I, French Rudel, choose for my device  
A Sunflower outspread like a sacrifice  
Before its idol . . . Say, men feed  
On songs I sing, and therefore bask the bees  
On my flower's breast as on a platform broad:  
But, as the flower's concern is not for these  
But solely for the sun, so men applaud  
In vain this Rudel, he not looking here,  
But to the East—the East! Go say this, Pilgrim  
dear."

From the quotations given, it may be gathered that love is greater than glory, wealth, or fame. In "Dis Aliter Visum," the self-answering question is asked,

"What's the earth  
With all its art, verse, music worth  
Compared with love found, gained, and kept?"

So extracts might be multiplied in which love is weighed against the other things of this life, and is ever found to overbalance them. Love, therefore, according to Browning, is the chief gain in this world. It is the pearl of price for the purchase of which a man might well sell all that he hath; nay, more—it is of such value, that if a man would give all his house for love it would be utterly contemned.

#### II. THE RELATION OF LOVE AND LIFE.

The conclusion that love is to be looked upon as the most important of earthly

gains, naturally suggests the topic of the relation existing between love and life. If love in itself is of such surpassing value, it must needs have a vital connection with the soul's existence on this sphere. And this is exactly Browning's thought. Whatever has been learned by the soul in past existences, whatever may be learned in future ones,

"The true end, sole and single,  
It stops here for is, this love way,  
With some other soul to mingle.

"Else it loses what it lived for,  
And eternally must lose it;  
Better ends may be in prospect,  
Deeper blisses (if you choose it),  
But this life's end and this love bliss  
Have been lost."

Now since love is the one end and aim of this life, a rejection of love for reasons of worldly wisdom, or even for that which is blindly called duty, hinders the growth of the soul—becomes, in fact, a sin. This idea Browning presents over and over again. It is the prime teaching of "Bifurcation" and of "The Statue and the Bust"; but is perhaps best expressed in "Dis Aliter Visum." A woman is talking to a man who failed to grasp her love when he could. After recalling the life of their youth, and his failure to take what was his for the asking, she concludes:

"Now I may speak, you fool for all  
Your lore! Who made things plain in vain?  
What was the sea for? What, the gray  
Sad church, that solitary day,  
Crosses and graves and swallows' call?

"Was there naught better than to enjoy?  
No feat which, done, would make time break,  
And let us pent-up creatures through  
Into eternity, our due?  
No forcing earth teach heaven's employ?"

"No wise beginning, here and now,  
What cannot grow complete (earth's feat)  
And heaven must finish, there and then?  
No tasting earth's true food for men,  
Its sweet in sad, its sad in sweet?"

"No grasping at love, gaining a share  
O! the sole spark from God's life at strife  
With death, so, sure of range above  
The limits here? For us and love,  
Failures: but, when God fails, despair.

"This you call wisdom? . . .

The devil laughed at you in his sleeve!  
You know not? That I well believe,  
Or you had saved two souls: nay, four."

Browning furthermore instructs us that without love, life has no real meaning; or, in other words, that life begins only when one loves. In "The Statue and the Bust," a Duke asks the name of a lady—

"And lo, a blade for a knight's emprise  
Filled the empty sheath of a man.  
The Duke grew, straightway, brave and wise.

"He looked at her as a lover can,  
She looked at him, as one who awakes.  
The past was a sleep, and her life began."

One aspect of love must not be overlooked in this connection. Although love is the chief end of man and his whole duty and that which gives meaning to this life, it must not be supposed that reciprocation is necessary to make love of worth. While Browning would readily admit that a love without return is one that misses much happiness, he everywhere teaches that the great gain of love is in the loving. Such is the thought of the last stanza of "Cristina." The woman because of worldly wisdom has rejected love, but the man, reveling in his delight at what he has captured, exclaims:

"She has lost me, I have gained her;  
Her soul's mine: and thus, grown perfect,  
I shall pass my life's remainder.  
Life will just hold out the proving  
Both our powers, alone and blended:  
And then, come the next life quickly!  
This world's use will have been ended."

The same teaching is found also in "Evelyn Hope," but with this additional thought, that if love which, under other conditions, might burst into full bloom, cannot reach its full growth here, because of circumstances over which the lover and the loved one have no control, there will come a time for its full realization. In the poem just mentioned a man is sitting beside the dead body of a young girl, and asks himself if the love which he bears her is to be considered as of no account because of the difference in their ages. In his sorrow, he cries out:

"No, indeed! for God above  
Is great to grant, as mighty to make,  
And creates the love to reward the love:  
I claim you still, for own love's sake!

"Delayed it may be for more lives yet,  
Through worlds I shall traverse, not a few:  
Much is to learn, much to forget  
Ere the time be come for taking you.

"But the time will come—at last it will.

So, hush—I will give you this leaf to keep:  
See, I shut it inside the sweet, cold hand!  
There, that is our secret: go to sleep!  
You will wake, and remember, and understand."

The teaching of the last poem quoted is one on which Browning does not often dwell, possibly because he may have felt that such a combination of circumstances could seldom occur. But it is certain that Browning is constantly bringing before us the thought that the lovers of earth will be consciously reunited hereafter. Such is the only construction which can be put upon the concluding words of "Prospice." After the sharp pang of death, the speaker says:

"And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,  
Shall dwindle, shall blend,  
Shall change, shall become first, a peace out of pain,  
Then a light, then thy breast,  
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,  
And with God be the rest!"

At times, as in the poem entitled "Speculative," Browning seems to think that this reunion of lovers will be the supreme bliss of heaven, but in stronger moments, because they are moments of broader and intenser love, he implies that our future lives will be states in which the lover may still bring all his gains to lay them at his beloved's feet. In one of the poems recognizably personal, Browning says:

"I stand on my attainment.  
This of verse alone, one life allows me;  
Verse and nothing else have I to give you.  
Other heights in other lives, God willing:  
All the gifts from all the heights, your own, Love!"

In summing up Browning's ideas with respect to the relations existing between love and life, it may be said that he looks upon love as the chief end, the main duty, and the only solution of life. Morally considered, the rejection of love becomes

a sin, because such an act hinders the growth of the soul, and is the wanton waste of something which cannot again be had. In rare instances, it is possible that the chance for a realization of love missed here may be granted; but if love is fulfilled on earth, then in the future existences of the soul, however great their number, there will be a conscious continuance of the love begun in our present life.

### III. THE NATURE OF LOVE.

Thus far an attempt has been made to present the ideas which the poems of Browning embody with respect to the importance of love and to its relation to life. In addition, to gain an anywhere nearly adequate conception of the attitude of Browning towards love, one must dwell for a time upon its nature as defined in his work. In the first place, the ideal state is one of almost complete identification of oneself with the beloved person. Says the speaker in "Two in the Campagna":

"I would I could adopt your will,  
See with your eyes, and set my heart  
Beating by yours, and drink my fill  
At your soul's springs—your part my part  
In life, for good and ill."

The husband in "By the Fireside" gives utterance to the same thought when he exclaims:

"One near one is too far!"

But as ideals are never realized in this life, Browning, though he now and then seems to give us a picture of perfect fulfilment of love, would be recreant to his own teachings if he did not hold that in love as in other matters, "a man's reach should exceed his grasp or what 's a heaven for!" In both "Love in a Life" and "Life in a Love," Browning shows that love is especially the source of happiness when its full realization is just beyond one. The former of the two poems will perhaps be sufficient to establish the point in question:

"Room after room,  
I hunt the house through  
We inhabit together  
Heart, fear nothing, for heart, thou shalt find her—

Next time, herself! not the trouble behind her  
 Left in the curtain, the couch's perfume!  
 As she brushed it, the cornice-wreath blossomed  
 anew:  
 Yon looking-glass gleamed at the wave of her  
 feather.

"Yet the day wears,  
 And door succeeds door;  
 I try the fresh fortune,  
 Range the wide house from the wing to the center.  
 Still the same chance! she goes out as I enter.  
 Spend my whole day in the quest—who cares?  
 But 't is twilight, you see—with such suites to explore,  
 Such closets to search, such alcoves to importune!"

Love, then, is absorption, but the absorption is not for the time being, it is for all time; it is not a passion directed towards many different souls at as many different times; it is for one, and one only. This is the thought underlying the poem called "Which." Three women, with an abbé as referee, began a trial of who judged most wisely in esteeming the love of a man. One thought him best who held her first after his God and his king. The second felt that to this loyalty must be added heroism and fine deeds. But the last said:

"My choice be a wretch,  
 Mere losel in body and soul,  
 Thrice accurst! What care I, so he stretch  
 Arms to me his sole saviour, love's ultimate goal,  
 Out of earth and men's noise—names of infidel,  
 traitor!  
 Cast up at him? Crown me, crown's adjudicator.

"And the Abbé uncrossed his legs,  
 Took snuff, a reflective pinch,  
 Broke silence: 'The question begs  
 Much pondering ere I pronounce. Shall I flinch?  
 The love which to one and one only has reference  
 Seems terribly like what perhaps gains God's preference.'"

But this love, we may ask, how does it begin, how does it show itself? In the first place Browning, in company with the majority of poets, says that a very little thing may arouse it, a very little thing may bring it to an end. "Was it?" says a woman, thinking of the death of love—

"Was it something said,  
 Something done,  
 Vexed him? Was it touch of hand,  
 Turn of head?  
 Strange! that very way  
 Love begun:  
 I as little understand  
 Love's decay."

But Browning as usual advances beyond those with whom he has some teaching in common. To love, he applies the words of Shakespeare,

"There is a tide in the affairs of men  
 Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune:  
 Omitted, all the voyage of their lives  
 Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

That the great high tide in the affairs of men is that which bears love on its crest, is one of the fundamental ideas of "The Statue and the Bust," of "Dis Aliter Visum," of "Cristina," and of "By the Fireside." Its best popular presentation is found, perhaps, in "Youth and Art." Two have met, a prominent artist and a well-known lady. She recalls to him that in their youth both had been poor and had lived in the same street; yet though both of them thought of love, they deferred its realization, "And so," she says:

"Each life's unfulfilled, you see;  
 It hangs still, patchy and scrappy:  
 We have not sighed deep, laughed free,  
 Starved, feasted, despaired, been happy,  
 And nobody calls you a dunce,  
 And people suppose me clever:  
 This could but have happened once,  
 And we missed it, lost it forever."

When viewing love in its relation to life, we saw that Browning advises one to love on in spite of opposition and disappointment. But it is under the head of the nature of love that it seems best to present the idea that love is its own exceeding great reward. There is ever the hope that love may sometime be returned, as in the song from "Pippa Passes," "You'll love me yet"; there is the happiness which comes in the moment when it seems that love is about to be gained, as in "Misconceptions" and in "One Way of Love"; there is the delight that arises even though love is not returned because of worldly wisdom, as in "Cristina" and in "Bifurcation"; and there is the joyousness that results just because love lives on, as in the first of "Bad Dreams" and in "White Witchcraft."

Closely connected with the poems thus far noted are those which warn us not to dabble in love. Here again might a few

lines of the often-mentioned poem, "Cristina," be quoted; but a reference to one called "A Light Woman" will adequately serve the purpose. A man, in order to save his younger friend from the toils of a woman, sets himself to making love, and succeeds in rescuing his friend at the expense of that friend's regard. He ends by saying:

"T is an awkward thing to play with souls,  
And matter enough to save one's own:  
Yet think of my friend, and the burning coals  
He played with for bits of stone!

"One likes to show the truth for the truth;  
That the woman was light is very true:  
But suppose she says—Never mind that youth!  
What wrong have I done to you?"

The same teaching is found in "Any Wife to Any Husband"; but Browning's elsewhere goes a step farther and shows that such a wanton waste of holy things will probably result in disaster. Indeed, when love is looked upon as something with which one may play, it is not unlikely that love will become a consuming fire. No particular passage, perhaps, expresses this thought; but it is found implicitly stated in "Cristina and Monaldeschi."

This, then, is the position which Browning holds with respect to the nature of love: ideally, it is the complete loss of identity in the one loved; actually, this state cannot be reached, or if ever reached, it cannot be held permanently. Indeed, the fact that the realization of the ideal is ever eluding one, is the reason why love is truly longed for. This love, too, is for one and one only, though the beloved is the worst of mankind. It is also Browning's opinion that love may be aroused almost by a breath, while the moment of awakening is a moment that flashes upon one with the overwhelming conviction that the great golden minute of life has come. But whether love is returned or not, love is its own reward; and one should feel in spite of disappointment that much has been gained. With such a conception of the nature of love, it is not surprising that almost as a moral, Browning points out that he who dabbles

in love invites judgment and, perhaps, destruction.

#### IV. THE EFFECT OF LOVE.

It is an old adage that love is blind, but close observers of human nature maintain that the eyes of love instead of being veiled become preternaturally acute, since a lover can see far more in the one who is loved than can any one else. Among those who look upon love as offering assistance, rather than as giving hindrance to vision, Browning most certainly has a place. He clearly shows that this is his belief in the lyric beginning,

"Nay but you, who do not love her  
Is she not pure gold, my mistress?"

But perhaps the best utterances of the idea is found in the often-quoted poem called "My Star":

"All that I know  
Of a certain star  
Is, it can throw  
(Like the angled spar)  
Now a dart of red,  
Now a dart of blue;  
Till my friends have said  
They would fain see, too,  
My star that dartles the red and the blue!  
Then it stops like a bird; like a flower hangs  
furled:  
They must solace themselves with the Saturn  
above it.  
What matters to me if their star is a world?  
Mine has opened its soul to me; therefore I love it."

The same idea observed from a somewhat different point-of-view, is found near the end of "One Word More":

"My moon of poets!  
Oh, but that 's the world's side, there 's the wonder,  
Thus they see you, praise you, think they know you!  
There in turn I stand with them and praise you  
Out of my own self, I dare to phrase it.  
But the best is when I glide from out them,  
Cross a step or two of dubious twilight,  
Come out on the other side, the novel,  
Silent, silver lights and darks undreamed of,  
Where I hush and bless myself with silence."

But this new sight with respect to the one loved does not cease there; it extends to the whole world. When one is in love, nature has never been so beautiful before—"Is there?" says the lover—

"Is there no method to tell her in Spanish,  
June 's thrice June since she breathed it with me?"

Never before have the birds sung so sweetly, the skies been so blue, the breezes seemed so soft, the sunsets showed such opaline minglings of gold and crimson and purple. The lover truly says:

"All I can sing is—I feel it!  
This life was as blank as that room;  
I let you pass in here. Precaution, indeed?  
Walls, ceiling and floor, not a chance for a weed!  
Wide opens the entrance: where 's cold now,  
where 's gloom?  
No May to sow seed here, no June to reveal it,  
Behold you enshrined in these blooms of your  
bringing,  
These fruits of your bearing—nay, birds of your  
winging!  
A fairy tale! Only—I feel it!"

In natural contrast with the effect spoken of above is that produced when love is done, or when the loved one is away for a time. Says the lover:

"Where I find her not, beauties vanish.

Come, bud, show me the least of her traces,  
Treasure my lady's lightest footfall!  
Ah, you may flout and turn up your faces  
Roses, you are not so fair, after all!"

Says another lover:

"Oh, what a dawn of day!  
How the March sun feels like May!  
All is blue again  
After last night's rain,  
And the South dries the hawthorn-spray.  
Only, my Love 's away!  
I'd as lief that the blue were gray.

"Runnels, which rilletts swell,  
Must be dancing down the dell,  
With a foaming head  
On the beryl bed  
Paven smooth as a hermit's cell;  
Each with a tale to tell,  
Could my love but attend as well."

Now, when one has thus been awakened by love, and when therefore the loved one and the world are viewed in the most entrancing lights, it is a logical result that the person loved should become a guiding star and that love should lead one on to vaster issues. "Love," says a speaker in "A Lover's Quarrel":

"Love, if you knew the light  
That your soul casts in my sight,  
How I look to you  
For the pure and true,  
And the beauteous and the right!"

In "One Word More," Browning, surely speaking in his own person, recalls the stories that Rafael once left his brushes to write a century of sonnets, and that Dante laid aside his pen to paint an angel, each hoping thereby to gain, for the sake of the loved one, a height unknown before. In "Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli," also, it is well pointed out that love fills one with courageous strength, and wings one for untried flights:

"Mine are the nerves to quake at a mouse:  
If a spider drops I shrink with fear:  
I should die outright in a haunted house;  
While for you—did the danger dared bring help,  
From a lion's den I could steal his whelp,  
With a serpent round me, stand stock still,  
Go sleep in a churchyard, so would will  
Give me the power to dare and do  
Valiantly—just for you!"

"Much amiss in the head, Dear,  
I toil at a language, tax my brain  
Attempting to draw—the scratches here!  
I play, play, practise, and all in vain:  
But for you, if my triumph brought you pride  
I would grapple with Greek plays till I died,  
Paint a portrait of you, who can tell?  
Work my fingers off for your 'pretty well.'  
Language and painting and music, too,  
Easily done—for you!"

In general, then, it may be said that Browning agrees with those who think that love causes the world, the one loved, life, everything, in fact, to glow with a new and beautiful light. Of course the loss of love must necessarily have a strongly opposite effect. What was beautiful, though admitted to be beautiful still, loses for him who is suffering from disappointment all of its attractive power, all of its charm. And since love has such potency to change the aspect of all things, it is easy to conclude that it must urge those who are affected by it to the doing of mighty deeds, to the scaling of heights undreamed of.

#### V. ON BROWNING'S THEORY OF LOVE.

When a theory of any kind is found in a poet's work, the reader is often led to question to how great an extent the formulæ of that theory have been influenced by events in the life of the maker; and also to inquire what is their working

value. Now it must be conceded that Browning never stated that he intended to formulate any theory of love; nor should one insist that the poet really had the purpose of presenting any hypothesis as to the nature and effect of the strongest passion that rules mankind. The preceding examination of certain poems of Browning has only the end in view of showing that a theory of love may be found within them; and now it is by no means aside from the general subject of this study to give some attention to the value of the theory, viewed in its relation to the actual conditions of the world in which we live.

As to Browning himself, it may be said that by many he is considered the foremost poet of the nineteenth century; that he was all his life far removed from privations of any kind, and for many years was a man of wealth; and that his married life with the greatest woman poet in England if not of all time, was, in the minds of his most intimate friends, almost an absolute realization of ideals. Now the facts that Browning was a poet, a man of wealth, and the husband of a very nearly perfect woman, all render him unfit to be a practical teacher in matters of love. Shakespeare long ago remarked that the poet dealt with "things unknown" and "airy nothings"; and even though it be regarded as true that the poet is the only one who sees the explanation of things, yet it is nevertheless certain that the most carefully elaborated and most attractive formulæ of poets have ever been found unfitted for practical use. There never has been even a modified form of the republic advocated by Plato; and the return to Eden suggested by Coleridge and Southey came to an untimely end. But whether or not the point is well taken that a poet is at best but a poor guide in practical matters; that Browning was a man of considerable means, and that he was a partner in an ideal marriage, both cause one to question his fitness to promulgate the doctrines that without a thought of worldly wisdom,

one should love, sigh deep, laugh free, starve, feast, despair, be happy; that one could love a wretch, a mere losel in body and soul, and that one may take a moment's enthusiasm as indicative of a whole life of unflinching regard.

It may not be without value to glance at some of Browning's chief teachings with regard to love, and to attempt to determine their value in their relation to the present conditions of life. Browning says that love for one, and one only, seems terribly like what perhaps gains God's preference. This is really only a new rendition of the old idea that souls are created in pairs and that in spite of circumstances those that are made for each other will be brought together. All this is very beautiful, very poetical, but as a matter of fact, is it true? Certainly, if it is, some very queer combinations exist; and we are tempted to wish that sometimes circumstances would miscarry. Love, viewed from a common-sense point-of-view, is a mere result of environment. Two persons are thrown into contact, they meet again and again; and the very nature of their make-up being such as tends to a union, why, other things being equal, a union must occur. But suppose that for some reason the environment is changed before such a result is brought about. For a time, probably, an endeavor is made on both sides to preserve the old feelings, but very frequently, though not always it may be admitted, a tendency towards a new combination begins, as the days pass; and, sooner or later, the old relation is forgotten. In both cases there is a period when those involved feel that the one soul for which the other has waited and longed has been found. And should there be a third or a fourth or a fifth change of environment, probably the same drama will be enacted again and again.

Browning teaches also that one should love in spite of worldly wisdom and duty. From some points-of-view this is mere folly; from others, veritable wickedness. When one loves, one has no right to take no glance into the future. As a matter of

fact and in spite of Browning to the contrary, starvation and happiness are at best poor companions. That a true lover could subject the one loved to a life of grinding poverty is open to dispute; and it is certain that a love which denies itself even for the most unpoetic reasons is very often more noble than that, which without one thought as to the future, rushes on to a selfish realization of its desires. We are the product of our surroundings; and the claim that love will make up for the absence of all other things is as absurd as it is chimerical. And there is still another aspect to the case. The future may bring with it heavy responsibilities in that a new life may be brought into the world. What right, then, we may well ask, what right have men and women, thoughtlessly and carelessly to place an innocent soul in an environment which must almost necessarily make for its downfall rather than for its uprise? Not always, either, has love superior claims to duty. One of the fundamental doctrines of modern life is the heroism of renunciation. We are taught that he who loses his happiness in self-denial, really gains it. When, therefore, one hears Browning apply the name sinner to a person who has sacrificed love and happiness to duty and hardship, one indignantly recalls the pathetic story of Charles Lamb. Was his sacrifice of love at the altar of duty but a sin? When we think of his patiently taking his sister, time after time, to the mad-house, and then, after the attack of insanity had passed, leading her to their home again; when we think of his cheerfulness during those long evenings which he spent in playing cribbage with a petulant, sick old man, we are inclined to feel that there is something wrong in Browning's theory. Truly, he must have forgotten that magnificent conception of duty held by Wordsworth:

“Stern Daughter of the Voice of God!  
O Duty, if that name thou love,  
Who art a Light to guide, a Rod  
To check the erring and reprove;  
Thou who art victory and law.

When empty terrors overawe,  
From vain temptations dost set free  
And calm'st the weary strife of frail humanity!”

In the poem “Which” is found the idea that the highest type of love is that which gives love to God, and love to country places subordinate to that toward a single human being. This position is far from being well taken. It is the consensus of the opinions of Christian teachers that love to God stands first; it is the consensus of the opinions of all ages that patriotism is greater than love for family. Browning's idea may be good possibly, but it has been well said that that which has been held as truth by the centuries must be regarded with considerable deference. It takes more than one man, even though that man may be the greatest poet of his age, to show that that is wrong which by many generations has been held as right. Antiquity and tradition are often strong arguments not easily controverted. Still another thought suggested by this same poem of “Which” clamors for expression. The Comtesse says that the one test proving a man worthy of love, is his readiness to love a woman blindly, passionately, absolutely. If he has that characteristic, it matters not how low he has fallen, he is not the less deserving of the highest regard. Now it is all very well to accept the doctrine that love rises by stooping; but when that teaching is construed to mean a groveling in the dust, a casting of pearls before swine, the inevitable conclusion is that love is of the earth, earthy.

And this brings us to the attitude which must be held towards Browning's whole theory of love as developed in the lyrical poems. In the first place, many will agree after a moment's thought, that the theory is marked throughout by selfishness. The object of the attempt to realize love, the reason why one should love in spite of common-sense, of wisdom, of duty, is, according to Browning, the self-aggrandizement of the soul. Though love may cause one to do great deeds, to sacrifice oneself indeed; in the last analy-



sis, these are merely incidental effects, the one great good to be gained being that personal advancement which giving oneself to love is supposed to bring about. But in spite of this objection, much that Browning says is pure gold. It is a sad truth that love in the present day is too often sold for social position, for wealth, and for renown. In so far as Browning's theory is an outcry against this condition of affairs, it is praiseworthy; but it must be conceded, on the other hand, that Browning's conception of love, as a whole, is often marked by a sensuousness which sometimes approaches dangerously near to the barriers of sensuality, and not seldom by an absence of that noble sweetness which makes for high spirituality. That Browning himself may have had a coarse fiber in his mental constitution is not beyond thought, for how else could he have written, much less how allowed to stand, many a passage that mars his work? Realism may be a desirable quality in literature, but the deliberate choice of a disgusting subject, a revolting allusion, a vile epithet, is, to say the least, unpoetic. An artist in words, since he cannot write of all things, must make a choice of matter for

treatment; and in so far as a truly poetic soul is darkened by earthy tendencies, in just so far will his choice and presentation of his subjects be earthy also. Especially is this true of a writer when he deals with love; and Browning is no exception to the rule. As one carefully examines his love poems, one finds now and again a taint of grossness, a note of vulgarity. True it is, that there are those who claim to find spiritual teachings in these lyrics, nor has one the right to maintain that such teachings are wholly lacking; but often the spirituality said to exist in some of Browning's poems is not innate; rather, if it is found at all, it has been brought by the reader himself. Of course the grand, the beautiful, the sublime conception of love, such as is portrayed in "Pompilia" and in "Caponaschi," may rise up to refute this criticism; but it is none the less true that love as treated in the lyrical poems of Browning is too often largely wanting in that spirituality which must mark the love that is most like what gains God's preference.

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## THE LIFE-RELIGION.

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS.

### I. A BIOLOGIC CONCEPTION.

THE WAYS of looking at religion are many and various, even as are the ways of regarding the universe; and the task I have undertaken is to present a certain special way of looking at religion. I must begin by setting forth briefly a certain special way of looking at the universe. It is well known that a scientific man in looking abroad upon the world sees it from the point-of-view of his own science, whichever of the sciences that

may be. For example, if he is a mathematician, the whole complicated scheme of things presents itself to him as an affair of numbers, dimensions, quantities; if he is a minister, steeped in the lore of sin and holiness, all the facts of the universe group themselves around notions of right and wrong; if he is a physicist, all resolves itself into atoms and the groupings and movements of atoms. None of these views appears to me at all comprehensive; and those scholars appear to me to be nearer right who say that the point-

of-view of *biology* is really central; that *life* lies at the middle point of things. For the biologist, after learning all he can learn about living animals, can feel his way back into the sciences of physics, learning of the atoms and of how their groupings and their laws made the necessary preparation for life; and, on the other hand, his science of biology leads him up to man, the highest of living creatures, and so to all the phenomena of mind and soul, and to all the thoughts of justice and of goodness and of their opposites. And so I propose that, for the moment at least, we take Life as the central fact of the universe.

To explain the universe—to make it a conceivable whole in thought—such is the constant effort of men's minds: to find out what is the *stem reality*, so to speak, about which cluster all the strangely diverse facts of past and present and likely future, and then to trace how the diverse kinds of phenomena grow out of that central reality. The latest word in this ceaseless effort to explain is the word, Life. The best name we can give the single force which we are driven to think of as behind all the endless flux of event, of change in matter and mind; as the cause of the atoms, of the worlds, of the visible developments of the myriad vegetable and animal forms, rising to man, of the ceaseless shifting play of human thought; the best name, it seems, that we can give to such conceived single force is Life.

If we contemplate this earth, as it was millions of years ago, before vegetable and animal had appeared; as it was before all the geologic epochs: a mass of seething chemicals, so to speak; after that a glowing ball of rock; we can conceive, then, of no prophecy or hint of the bloom of life which that insensate mass was later to produce out of itself. But the moment did come, after the mass had cooled to a certain temperature, after water and air had separated themselves from the vast caldron and found their places and ways of motion, the moment

arrived when the germs of life came into existence. Something utterly different from what had gone before then began; a new kind of development started on its bewildering and glorious course; and we may, if we like, say that that was the beginning of Life. We may thus think of two unblended forces as causing the universe; an earlier force, akin to chemical force, and a later force, Life; and we then think of Life as accomplishing nothing all those uncountable millenniums, nothing until the earlier force, in its senseless changes, had by chance brought about the right set of conditions for Life to begin to act. But to the most modern mind it is more satisfactory to think of the entire past, embracing both the stages, the seeming lifeless and the seeming living, as one process—to think of all events as manifestations of one force—and to think of that one force as best characterized by its latest and only glorious achievement—and thus to call that one force Life.

Such a thought, such a name, are the first elements of a Biology of the Unseen; the germs of a science to which the widest and most piercing generalizations of all the sciences call us irresistibly; they so call us, that is, if we have open minds and the feeling for value in the universe.

Of this sweeping force which we have called Life, what may we then assert? We may call it a tendency: and, further, we may speak of it as a tendency towards those great characteristic things which have emerged during the process which Life has driven forward. Life, then, is a tendency towards organism, towards feeling, towards desire, towards reaching forth, towards purpose, towards intelligence, towards will, towards pleasure, towards joy, towards good-will. All these experiences have arisen, one by one, and in the general order of higher and higher, in the myriads of units which Life has brought forth. I do not ignore the negatives of all these, negatives which have also existed and do exist in the course of the process; no, nor the active opposites

of some of them; pain as well as pleasure, misery as well as joy, evil-will as well as good-will. But these negatives are attached to the permanent phenomena which were the whole of the earlier stages of the process; and even the active bad experiences are of the nature of survivals. Animals, including man, suffer because their organisms are built out of atoms which have to act according to the nature they got in the non-organic stage; as to selfishness in man, it is a survival of the bestial struggle for existence; as to active evil-will, I believe this is a rare phenomenon; few are the human beings who have an intrinsic pleasure in the anguish of others, and they are the monstrosities of Life, like a cancer in the human body; furthermore, even that rare and diabolic quality of malevolence has its roots, I believe, in the will to live, and hence is a misaction of Life's impulse, not an opposite action.

Life, then, is a tendency towards organism, towards feeling, towards intelligence, towards will, towards joy, towards goodness. When we contemplate this vast and mighty sweep of tendency, pouring like an Amazon of Being between unseen shores from a limitless past to a boundless future, and on the surface of which we are but the tiny sparkles of a moment, what awe we feel, what wondering admiration! Inevitably springs the question to our minds: Does Life, this immeasurable all-embracing Unit—does Life itself share the qualities which it brings forth? Can Life feel what it is doing? Does Life know what it is doing? Does Life care what it is doing?

Such questions we are able to ask, and that in itself is a wonderful achievement, but we are, of course, not able to answer them—that is, not to the point of demonstration. How could it be possible that we human beings, little buds on the tree of Life, minute drops in the stream of Life, infinitesimal cells in the body of Life, could prove to each other—yes, or no—whether that vast Being that bears us feels, and wills, and knows, and plans

the good? And yet, and yet, there is an instinct in us, not quite dormant except in some maimed specimens of the human race, some who have suffered too much, some who have indulged beyond the normal the negatively critical intellect; an instinct in the whole-minded, whole-hearted, whole-souled man which impels him to answer the question and to answer it, Yes! Though with stammering lips, though the qualities we with such astounding boldness attribute to Life the All-Being and call by the names of man's qualities, wisdom, will, justice, be, in Life—as may well be—transcendent, nameless, incomprehensible qualities; still we are moved to look up and say: "Thou seest! Thou determinest! Thou lovest!" And while Life has no voice audible to our ears, any more than we have a voice to speak to the drops of blood in our own veins, it is healthy and normal for us to trust the affirmative within us, to take the thrill of solidarity we feel with Life as the thrill of great Life itself. Having accepted this vivifying conception, and let its tide of joyous faith flow through our hearts and minds, we again look back to the beginning of things, and the story thus tells or sings itself to us.

Life's æonian toil began with the beginning of the mineral world, the breaking of the atoms into being, then the systemizing of elements into orderly vibration and movement; but in all this vast machine Life found no satisfaction; here was nothing to respond, nothing to feel. Then began the upward course of Life, with that mysterious moment when molecule passed into cell—the hidden transition not yet revealed to man, still less to be provoked by him; thus appeared the organic, the lowest vegetable existence. A triumph of Life was this, but still no cessation of the immense yearning which was Life, for still there was no feeling in the world, no response of delight to the desire of Life to see delight. The climb of Life next passed over from lowest organic to clear animal existence; and here at last was undoubted sensation, a

true response. Up, stair after stair, Life climbed the scale of animal being, till man emerged—man, at once Life's triumph and Life's woe. For man is both happier and unhappier than the beast; unhappier because he alone can know himself as an unhappy and injured being; also man can so behave as to further the eternal longing of Life, whose other name is Love; or he can so behave as to hold back the accomplishment of that eternal longing. So Life's æonian craving continued and continues: Life's task now is to mount upward through man individual to man social; from man discordant and therefore anguished, to man harmonious and therefore happy.

This impulse now stirs mightily within the human race; its effort is to humanize the economic basis of the life of man; to make the alimentary phase of the economic life a racial, social function; to prompt the race to slough off that refined indirect cannibalism which we now practise; to abolish the struggle for existence within the human race; to apply the racial will and the racial reason to the steady promotion of efficiency, thus no longer leaving efficiency to be alternately promoted and set back by the blind working of the struggle for existence in the crude and cruel fashion of the present; and to learn the art of securing the means of life by coöperative brotherhood in all the economic activities; that the race may thus emerge upon a plane never yet attained, may at last become truly human.

At this point let me forestall a doubt, and say that it was by no figure of speech that I called our civilization a refined indirect cannibalism; I was but stating that which is mathematically a fact. For, those people who, without useful work, live and luxuriate upon rent, interest and speculation, consume the food and the other necessities of life which rightly by the law of Life should be consumed by the workers who produce them, and by their wives and children and aged. Lacking this food and these other necessities, these workers and their wives

and children and aged are ill-nourished, stunted, oftentimes famished. And so the superabundant flesh of the one class is the equivalent of the emaciation of the other class; the full-bloodedness of the one class is the equivalent of the feeble flow in the veins of the other class; and this equivalence is mathematically the same in effect as if the one class fed on the flesh and blood of the other class. Now, it is the normal rule of our present civilization that we are all struggling; that is, all of us who have any hope of succeeding are struggling to get where we can live on interest, rent, or speculation, which means that we are struggling to live on the flesh of our fellow-men; and such a civilization is cannibalistic.

The types of human beings characteristic of such a civilization are to be seen every day on our streets. There is, first, the active type, shown in the fierce faces up-borne by the hunters for profit as they hurry to and fro in the struggle for places at the perpetual banquet. Then there are the two types of settled condition opposite to each other: there are the men and women whose high color and ample bearing set them forth as feasters; and, on the other hand, there are those whose spent, juiceless, broken bodies testify them as victims. If any one asks for a single typical picture, let him look upon some smiling fur-clad family mounting into their motor-car, and let him understand that the motor-car was bought with textile dividends: then upon what meat do these feed but upon the flesh of tender children and of sweet maidens? He who has eyes to see what is now pointed out to him can never again be proud of such a civilization; from this day on, in the sacred name of outraged Life, he must strive without ceasing for the coming of a really human civilization.

## II. THE LIFE RELIGION IN CHRISTIAN FORM.

Having in the first half of this paper entertained a conception which identifies the universe, the All-Being, with Life, let

us now speak of the effect which such a conception must have on the feelings and thoughts of the man who accepts it. He must desire to bring his own will and actions into unison with the will of Life; and, as most of his actions have their impact upon human beings, he must desire so to mould his course of action as to further the purpose of Life in the human race. That purpose may be summed up as vigor, health, harmony, joy; and its fulfilment calls for the clearing away of all the hindrances which the past of cruel struggle and competition still imposes upon us. And the effort on the part of men to partake in this the great task of Life, and thus consciously and by will to merge their little lives into Life—the All-Life—is a religion, in the fullest sense of the word. Let us call it the Life-Religion. This religion must necessarily take monotheistic form, since it apprehends a single vast object of worship. It is probable that all the four great monotheisms—Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism—are available for its expression; but, in some ways at least, Christianity is especially so available. There is a cry to-day prevalent in Christendom, "Back to Christ!"; and when, obeying that summons, we peer, most earnestly and with eyes seeking truth alone, into the historic obscurity where Jesus stands, we may dimly discern that the original substance of his religion was identical with the substance of that which I have called the Life-Religion.

The New Testament is an unsystematic mass of material out of which historic Christianity has, with the addition of some material from other sources, built up its structures, ethical, theological and ecclesiastical. But the material of the New Testament is not homogeneous; the greater part of the mass is not from Jesus, at least not in its present form, but is secondary; and the task of sorting the entire mass, and assigning those portions to the primary source in Jesus which belong there, is, at present at least, an impossible undertaking. Still, we are not quite in

the dark; for there are, imbedded in the mass of secondary or possibly secondary material, certain documents self-evidently primitive, documents which suggest a simple original Jesus-religion; even as boulders, buried in a gravel bank, might tell the substance of that rocky range afar which was their matrix. The most striking of these fragments is the document called the Lord's Prayer.

Consider the supreme significance of this document, as a clue to the religion of Jesus—to the original and true Christianity. Here we have the sole form of words dictated by Jesus, a form of words for the most solemn and distinctively religious of purposes—the address of the believer to his God. Surely in this document we shall have the main corner-stone of Christianity. What, then, is the burden of this document—and what, therefore, the burden of genuine Christianity? We know what the burden of the religion of Christendom has been these nineteen centuries: it has been that men's chief business is their individual salvation, one by one to escape hell and attain heaven; and this to be achieved by individual faith in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Naturally, therefore, the corner-stone document of the faith, bearing the sign-manual of its founder, as it were, should clearly show this, the supposed substance of religion, of man's relation to God, should it not? Look now upon the few brief sentences of the most precious heritage of all the ages:

*"Our heavenly Father, may thy name be held holy; Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth as in heaven.*

*Give us to-day our bread for the day before us; And forgive us our debts, as we, too, have forgiven our debtors;*

*And take us not into temptation, but rescue us from evil."*

Look attentively at this document; study it, if possible, as if you had never seen it before, and inquire what is the burden of the religion it implies. Certainly it is not that the main affair of religion is its bearing on another life, an unseen life, which is to succeed this visible

life; no, the document is silent on the topic of another life, as silent as the old Hebrew prophets. It is silent, furthermore, on the issue later and ever since thought supremely urgent—the salvation of the individual; its concern is *this* life, *this* world, the collective salvation of the race here and now, social salvation. In the guise of petition, it is in reality aspiration—aspiration for the good of mankind; for the transformation of this world of living men, its transformation into a commonwealth where the will of the Father of men shall be fully done; and, in the meantime, for such a lot in life and such a state of feeling as will best enable those who offer up the aspiration to help in bringing about the transformation. This is a social cry—its import is racial, biologic; and so the life-religionist of to-day, seeing in it the mind of Jesus, may unhesitatingly claim the Lord's Prayer to be the church's true "charter of salvation."

The life-religionist, if now he feels that he has caught the quality of thought of the primal Jesus, is fain to roam through the synoptic gospels, glancing to right and left, searching for other fragments of like substance, other masses broken from the same rock of ages. He will surely light on that marvelous and affecting document—the parable of the last judgment; before his eager mind will pass all the phantasmagoric imagery of a colossal court scene, set in cloudland, in which a judge sits enthroned and royally attended, and in which a palace on his right and a prison on his left await the two files of the procession as they part at the foot of the throne, according to his verdict. An inner significance will dawn on the newly-instructed mind of the life-religionist observer; he will see in that dim form on the throne "like unto the Son of Man," the image of Man Collective, historic and perpetual; and in the procession coming to trial he will see all the types of mankind; each receiving the verdict that it is worthy, or that it is unworthy, of persistence in the life of the race. The types

that are individualist, sheerly self-regarding, he will see are doomed to disappearance in the fire of Time which burns up all things worthless; the types that are altruistic, brotherly, he will see are to be caught up and carried on by life into the higher and higher glory of a race moving on to perfection. An import social, biologic, is thus reasonably found in the parable; this song sings well, set to the tune of the king-song, the Lord's Prayer.

Standing thus upon the Lord's Prayer as the church's "charter of salvation," and upon those many sayings of Jesus which have like sense as the true picture of his mind, the life-religionist may fairly feel that he is rightful heritor and owner of those institutions which claim to derive from Jesus—Christianity and the church. With this right well settled in his mind, he may appropriate the antique ceremonies and forms of speech used by the church, and in them will find satisfying expression of the life-religion. Indeed, he may well believe that, in all ages, that multitude of humble and kindly untheological souls, who have so knelt, so prayed, so sung, so communed, have by these religious acts expressed the same state of feeling toward the race of men and toward the unseen Source of life which he now expresses by the same acts and words; and that the succession of such humble and kindly souls has been the true church of Jesus within the church of Christendom all down the centuries. Thus to feel and so to be enabled to join heartily in the time-honored forms of the church is a great spiritual advantage; for these forms are so wrapped about with association and emotion that the life-religionist of Christian antecedents is easily borne away by them into a lofty world of feeling, where he is refreshed and nourished for the social struggle of the outer life. That it is legitimate to use the forms of public worship in this free manner follows from the purpose of such forms. The object of prayers, hymns and recitations is not intellectual exercise, but spiritual exercise; and there is nothing therefore more

singularly out of place in the use of such forms than to admit any mental debate. The worshiper kneels in prayer, or stands to sing or to recite, not in order to learn facts, not in order to sharpen his intellect or to enjoy the play of internal argument, but for emotional benefit. He desires to express feeling through these forms—religious feeling; and he desires through such expression to fix and deepen in himself the religious feeling and so to strengthen himself for putting such emotion into action thereafter.

If the forms of words answer these purposes for him, he need not and should not concern himself about archaisms of theory or of belief in supposed facts no longer acceptable. It is the present spiritual help that he seeks; and it is his right and duty to use the words before him in such manner as is most fruitful to him spiritually. The question, what was meant by those who originally worded the prayer or hymn, is of no concern; for the act of worship deals with nothing past—the man kneels or stands before the Unseen anew that moment, and speaks the familiar words for the sake of their then content of emotion for him, and for the sake of nothing else.

Taking this privilege, the life-religionist of Christian antecedents can join heartily in that ancient hymn of praise to the Trinity, the *Gloria*, and in it can find welcome expression; for to him it hints of three vast personifications, which are never far from his mind, three phases felt as realities, and felt as having an identity. These objects of feeling and thought are: first, Life Creative, the benign fountain and origin and constant driving force of all the universe; second, Man the anguished, figured as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," Man in all his woe past and present, Man the Martyr, summed up and expressed in Jesus on the Cross; and also Man the Hero, toiling and to triumph, typified likewise in Christ the Captain of the World's Salvation; and, third, the Spirit

of Love, which wondrously animates man with the self-sacrificing will necessary to carry the race on to its goal of welfare. The life-religionist, then, thinks of Life, of Man and of Love; and of these three as, in the last depth of thought, one, Life. These are thoughts which lie on the border-line between analysis and imagination and which fittingly clothe themselves in poetic form; and to which therefore the words of the antique chant are congenial.

Again, to the life-religionist at church, the reciting of the Creed is an act of joy—an abandonment to a kind of ecstasy. To him and for the present use the creed is no formula of precision, mathematical and historic; it is a poem, expressing what lies deepest in his heart. The feelings that it suggests, as the antique sentences flow solemnly on, might be rendered thus:

*"I love to think of Love Creative, Life Eternal, from which flows the vast living stream of the Universe, seen and unseen.*

*"I love to think of that man of men, the flower and symbol of the race, and so the highest and nearest offspring of Life Eternal, Jesus, our teacher and leader, who suffered as humanity has suffered and who died on the cross of man's inhumanity; who lives forever in the Life Eternal and in the hearts of men his reverent learners; and whose judgment of men and their deeds is final; being the judgment of Life itself.*

*"I love to think of the Spirit of Love in the hearts of men; of the true inclusive church, the union of all those who faithfully toil for the pure love of man; of the doing away of evil and wrong, and of the mystic life in Life, undying and glorious."*

Modernists who settle their attitude towards the forms of the church in this temper, at once radical and conservative, do their part towards preserving the continuity of the thought-life of the race; and such continuity, persisting through change, is wholesome for the life of the race as for the physical and mental life of the individual.

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## SOME MODERN EDUCATIONAL READJUSTMENTS.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WARD STIMSON.  
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OUR COUNTRY has of late years been learning some pretty hard lessons, alike in politics, sociology, ethics, industry, finance and education. We have found ourselves slowly becoming poisoned by an unseen virus in politics and ethics, corrupted in financial and business matters, divided and embittered socially, confused in education, and outstripped in many most important lines and departments of competitive industry. We have had our serene national complacency shocked and shattered by serious revelations of our weaknesses; our Saxon arrogance, as regards freedom and self-government, panic-stricken by the discovery of subtle and pervasive despotism; our pride at superior enterprise outstripped, in true progress and prosperity, by nations we had despised; and even our religious conceit and sanctimony horrified to find that pagan nations like Japan excelled us in a hundred practical virtues, probities and efficiencies in all the arts of rapid self-development; self-defense, and self-expression through industries of usefulness, beauty and skill.

After the fashion of all young and provincial organisms, our vanity had supposed ourselves in some peculiarly divine way a "unique" people, as did the Jews, "set apart" from the ordinary temptations and frailties of our race, and having little to learn from outside.

This has been rudely shaken, but much to our broader national profit—and we are beginning to arouse ourselves anew with a nobler national conscience and set our house in better order. We are only panic-stricken, not paralyzed; punished, but not destroyed.

Time is teaching all nations gradually the unity of the race of man on this planet; their common heritage of experience and evolutionary tendency; the necessity for all to learn the great common lesson of

life, power, progress, permanency of expression and influence, through the one solely successful path, the path of *Vital Principles put into Daily Practice*.

As all life is discovered to be essentially "immaterial"—rather than "material"—and the atoms, ions, electrons of so-called "matter" are themselves found centers and vortices of vitality, charged perennially with spiritual energy and spiritual properties, acting according to rational (*i. e.*, "spiritual") principles, laws, methods; so we turn with greater zeal and practical necessity to discover these Principles, and to apply them with more care in education, life and industry.

To this correlation of positive facts and forces by which man is surrounded, he has applied the term "Nature"; to its increasingly accurate analysis and understanding, he has applied the term "Science"; its explanation and inculcation he has called "Education"; and its personal and social experience by wise adjustment and application he calls "Life"—*versus* the haphazard "existence" of the animal (in ignorance or sloth).

Since his human organism is found to be the most highly complex and perfected product of existence known to him on this planet, and in a certain sense a condensed epitome of nature's methods, it has been his egotistic tendency to over-estimate himself in the social whole, and sacrifice all other organisms and individuals to himself; and even to anthropomorphize nature, its primal plans, principles and energies; its supreme and over-ruling providences; into some replica of himself with all his human susceptibilities, frailties, passions, etc.; and to go through stages of brutal fetish, terror, force, greed, selfish appetite in material attainment; or intellectual craft, cunning, calculation, over-reaching plot, for pride of brain; or still more volcanic and harassing throes



of emotional passion in love, hate, zeal, self-immolation, self-adulation, etc., all the way from a Moqui snake-dance or the self-stultification of St. Stylites, to the arrogance of a Borgia, or egotism of a Nietzsche; in order to appease his moral and emotional life. All the limitations, passions, struggles, vanities, ambitions, or spasms of transition through which his evolution in nature is being advanced by experience and inductive reason, he has thrust upon his perfect concept of God, fashioned to represent his own personal terrors or joys, his pains or his enthusiasms. And this again is inevitable and natural; and ethics and religion, like morality, culture and industrial arts, are found to be as much in progressive unfoldment, and by general cosmic processes, as are the celestial nebulae or "the stars in their courses"!

Like a spiral roadway up a mountain, the unfolding march of Time compels man to take ever-higher and broader views of the stupendous mass of facts about him and within him; above him in the macrocosms of astronomy, beneath him in the microcosms of chemistry, within him in the mysteries of self-hood and of society; of mind, reason, conscience, heart, imagination and creative will; led ever by the sacred beacon lights of hope and faith, the angels of eternal progress and principle.

As he lays his body down in the dust, or sees his beloved ones fade from his grasp into the Unknown, together with all his vanishing ambitions or possessions, there ever remains behind his fading flesh, that enduring "Skeleton-of-Structure," revealing its ordered relations of Unity, Harmony, delicately balanced Symmetries, and metrical Cadences of adjustment in Number, Proportion, Disposition, and Fitness to time, space and purpose; pressing home upon his children the eternal presence of abiding Plan in Wisdom, Beauty and Rational Law, to which all destiny must ultimately conform. These are now becoming the object of supreme interest and practical research, for on them we find everything in our life depends! Says Professor Dol-

bear: "Every physical phenomenon runs back at last into an Etheric Principle." And this is seen to be an attribute of "Spirit" or Intellectual Ratiocination. And another philosopher aptly adds: "The supreme result of all scientific progress is the revelation of the simplicity rather than complexity of all Law. Man is advancing to an intelligent grasp and reverent recognition of the series of Natural Laws that govern the Universe, whose *marvelous scope and adaptability exceed in power and beauty anything imagination could conceive!*"

What Holy Writ primordially and poetically suggested in those majestic lines of its poet, King David:

"The heavens declare the glory of God;  
The firmament sheweth his Handiwork.  
Day unto day uttereth speech,  
Night unto night sheweth Wisdom.  
There is no speech nor language where their voice  
is not heard."

Or through its later Apostle:

"Doth not even Nature itself teach you?  
The invisible things of God are clearly seen in the  
things *He has made;*"

are now reëchoed in our own mightiest voices of science, philosophy, prophecy and poetry; as where Whitman sings so gloriously to us all:

"Air, soil, water, fire—these are *Words!*  
I myself am *A Word* with them!  
My qualities interpenetrate with theirs,  
The great masters know the Earth's Words  
And are themselves more than audible words.  
The truths of the earth continually wait,  
They are *not to be concealed*, either!  
They are imbued *through all things*,  
Conveying themselves willingly.  
To Her children the words of the eloquent dumb  
Mother never fail!  
The true words do not fail  
—for motion does not fail  
—and reflection does not fail!  
Also day and night do not fail!  
And the voyage we pursue does not fail!  
Wherever you are, Motion and Reflection are especially *for you*  
The Divine Ship sails the Divine Sea *for you*.  
For none more than *you* is Immortality.  
The song is to the singer, and comes back most to *him!*  
The teaching is to the teacher and comes back most to *him!*"

Thus to-day our most human and educational conscience is coming back more and more wholesomely, directly, sympa-

thetically, practically, to Nature Herself—better understood, better loved, better interpreted, and better *applied to life*. And we are casting away the outworn, crushing, corrupting and stiffening methods born of artificial and conventional systems, amid congested cities and scheming sects.

It is amazing how widespread and general throughout foremost modern nations is this cosmic and international appeal—this reorientation of thought and practical method. It is showing its resistless appeal and regenerative power along multiplex lines, not merely scientific, ethical and educational, but political, social, economic and commercial; for travel and commerce join obvious hands with intellectual research, moral sympathy, collective experiences, necessities and conditions, to weld together the processes and interests of modern life; and every thrill of change or stress of invention is felt intuitively and instantly throughout the more and more sensitized whole.

Hence not only are peace congresses, international exhibitions, arbitration boards, and clearing-houses of thought and industry multiplying and unifying opinion, but clearly revealing New Principles of social coöperation, political coördination, and industrial interchange; as well as better educational methods in closer harmony with these irresistible influences.

Subjective and objective modes of enlightenment; deductive and inductive methods of investigation; cultural and constructive processes of inculcation; theoretic and practical forms of expression, broadly uniting *all* sides of truth and experience, and closely associating these, from childhood up, directly with vital and personal relation in daily life between teacher and student, added to the closest acquaintance with outdoor nature, productive process, industrial exigency—these are become the newer, saner, wholesomer, happier, "more natural" methods of our best educational effort.

It strives to prepare most broadly and appropriately the growing generations for

these enlarging necessities and efficiencies of our *broader* modern outlook. Woe to the pettier pedantries and sterile provincialisms of threadbare systems grown obsolete with time! Thus we find new institutions starting up, in many countries at once, along very parallel lines, striving to meet and answer the fuller and richer concept and conditions of the twentieth century.

In England at Abbotsholme, under Doctor Reddie; in Germany, the Landerziehungsheim of Doctor Lietz; at Ilseburg, in the Hartz; Haubinda in Thuringia, and Schloss Bieberstein near Frankfort; Glarisegg in Switzerland, on the shore of Lake Constance, under Frei and Zuberbuhler as founders; and at La Porte, Indiana, under Dr. Edward Rumely and his coadjutors, while the last is just beginning and tentative, the success of the others has been so pronounced that they are being multiplied also in France, Sweden, Poland and elsewhere.

Heroic forerunners like Milton, Montaigne, Rousseau, Felenberg, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Ruskin, William Morris, Dorn Bosco, Dewey, and others, have been guiding public thought forward in many countries during the preceding century till the present time is ripe for virile and organic advances in the new direction named. They universally contain as chief elements of purpose, the supreme effort to unite, in some logical consistent way, *the life of the student with the entire movement of life around him; especially in the closest contact with nature's own life and life processes*. They strive to give the school a family character, in which all members organically unite in a common life of mutual and practical helpfulness and investigation—in class-room, laboratory, library, studio, field, forest, camp, or traveling excursions, so that intimacy may directly develop a deeper interest alike in persons and professional principles, practically seen in constant application and carried out under the direct examples of specialists.

The buildings are located sufficiently in the open country to associate, in one

harmonious whole, the sports, studies, and various experiences, necessary to a well-rounded, growing youth. The various departments of science, literature, art, mechanics, chemistry, agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and so forth, in close juxtaposition to practical applications. Many sources of illustration and inspiration abound and are seen on all their associated sides and mutual relations in the scheme of practical nature and social utility. And not only are students given every facility to test these facts, principles, and problems themselves directly—in and upon nature or her industries—but taken to visit and study their varied applications in adjacent or accessible localities, factories, farms, museums, and so forth.

As Professor John Dewey has well pointed out: "Verbal memory can be trained in committing tasks, and a certain discipline of reasoning power acquired through lessons in science and mathematics, but this is remote and shadowy compared with the training of the attention and judgment in having to DO things with a *Real* motive behind and a *Real Outcome Ahead*."

Time was, in our own country as in others, when a scattered rural community admitted of one side of that splendid personal discipline which comes from directly handling the raw materials necessary to home life, and participating personally in their production and manufacture. The lack of the other side, in general and social culture such as the growth of cities introduces, has so severely severed the first fundamental processes from the second finished stages of production in vast factories and agglomerated tenements, that social evil and physical diseases have been vastly and alarmingly increased. It is the object of the New Movement to unite these two extremes in a wholesomer and more organic conjunction, and in surroundings more sane and morally stimulating for the mind and character of formative youth. As it was my own purpose in my book *The Gate Beautiful*, and when directing for a quarter of a cen-

tury the Artist-Artisan Movement in Education at several institutions in the East and West, to combine the subjective and objective sides of Beauty throughout her many phases of expression, and bring to vital union the splendid associate possibilities in varied sides of this balanced equation of forces; so it is the plan of these schools to go even further than this in the variety of departments and associated branches, even more directly associated with nature and general culture than was my own. It is a still stronger movement to the front and should be widely welcomed and imitated.

Hence when we see at the head of such movements the condensed summary of their aspiration represented in such terms as these: To create such a center of varied activity, observation, reflection, executive ability, as shall introduce the Natural Way—from living experience, through living thought, to living achievement—in close contact with nature and life; teachers and pupils living together as a family; associating in unison the head, heart and hand, and developing all-sidedly the fullest interest in Life (subjective and objective) by individual effort and social spirit; by beneficent efficiency, force of character, will and judgment; by the emotional imaginative, appreciative and creative faculties in unison; and giving every healthy opportunity to realize sound moral and mental nature within a sane physical nature; and by joyous task or sport, adding the buoyancy and inspiration of Beauty, Utility, and Self-Reliance; we have, I believe, the dawning of a New Day for youth; the coming of a purer constituency for "society"; the establishment of a loftier ideal of Industry, a nobler, more manly and womanly probity as regards usefulness; and that sympathetic, intelligent, practical acquaintance with Real Life which will guarantee to earth that United Brotherhood of Man which has been the Divine Ideal, the Dream and Aspiration of Ages!

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

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# ROBERT INGERSOLL AFTER NINE YEARS: A STUDY.

BY REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, A.M.

**N**INE years have now passed since the death of Robert Ingersoll. Is it not possible after this length of time to look upon his work and influence without passion, and to form something like a just estimate as to their character and value?

Whether we approve or deprecate the views upon the Bible and religion held by this great iconoclast, there is no escaping the fact that by his lectures of unsurpassed eloquence, carried by the newspaper press everywhere and circulated widely in pamphlet form, he influenced in no small degree the popular religious thinking of his time. Has his influence been for good? or has it been for evil? And to what extent is it likely to be permanent?

As for myself, I watched Mr. Ingersoll's career throughout its later years with constant attention. I heard him lecture many times. I have read nearly every thing that he gave to the public in printed form—and the amount of his published matter is large, probably much larger than is generally supposed. For fifteen years I knew him personally, and I conversed with him much, and often very frankly and seriously on religious subjects. As a result, although my own views have always been far from his, I have never been able to believe otherwise than that he was entirely honest in his utterances. Whether on sufficient grounds or not, he was at least convinced of the truth of the things he spoke. He sincerely and earnestly believed that many of the conceptions commonly entertained regarding the Bible, God, salvation, the future world, and religion generally, were untrue, and immoral. He believed that in pointing this out, and in leveling against these conceptions all his shafts of logic, wit and invective, he was helping the progress of the world, and doing a service to humanity.

Of course, even with sincere and honest motives a man may do much harm. Calvin was probably honest when he put Servetus to death. Many of the Roman Catholic inquisitors doubtless had what seemed to them good motives when they broke heretics on the wheel. The Puritans of New England were sincere in hanging Quakers and persons accused of witchcraft. For a man to do what will result in good to the world instead of harm, he must have truth as well as honesty.

The conclusions to which I find myself driven, concerning Mr. Ingersoll, are three. First, that he had certain limitations—serious limitations for one who would deal with religious subjects; second, that in some respects his teachings were distinctly evil in their influence; third, that some of his teachings were true and important, and have already produced and will continue to produce effects of value to men and to religion.

## I.

Of the limitations of Mr. Ingersoll which impaired his fitness for dealing satisfactorily with the serious religious subjects, two seem to me noticeable.

First, he had an intense mind, but he had not an all-round mind. He was a born advocate, not a judge. No man could present one side of a case more brilliantly than he; but he always left you feeling that there was another side, and wishing for somebody to present that as brilliantly, so that you might have the whole case. This was notably true in all his lectures on the Bible and religion; and this was why the thousands who heard him and were carried fairly off their feet by his eloquence, were by no means so sure the next day, after they had had time to do a little cool thinking, that they wholly agreed with him, as they thought

they were at the close of his lecture the preceding night. Because of this want of judicial quality in his mind, and of all-round fairness in dealing with subjects, he was always more fascinating as a lecturer than really convincing.

His second limitation was in the direction of his religious nature. He seemed to have no sense of reverence, no faculty of worship, no feeling of the Divine reality or presence, or of his own need of God. Most minds, I think all complete and normal minds, postulate, as a necessity to their own thinking, an Intelligence in the universe higher than their own, from whom both the order of the world and their own intelligence have somehow come. But Mr. Ingersoll did not seem to require any such thought of a Superior Mind. His recognition of his dependence on his fellow-men was clear and distinct, but he had no recognition of dependence on God. It was as if a planet should confess its relation to its fellow-planets, but not to the sun from which it and they all derived their existence. The thought of God, instead of drawing, seemed to repel him. Such great lines of religious insight as Isaac Watts'

"Oh, God, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Our shelter from the stormy blast,  
And our eternal home,"

seemed to awaken no response in his soul, and really to have no meaning to him.

I think we must say that his lack on the upward, the divine, the godward side of his nature, was a limitation, and a limitation that affects all his writings on religion, giving them a superficiality which is very apparent and often painful. The great realities of religion can only be written about intelligently by one who *feels* their reality; just as music can be written about intelligently only by one who has music in his soul, or art by one who feels the reality of beauty.

These two lacks in Mr. Ingersoll's mind seem to go far toward accounting for his being an agnostic. He was not an atheist, as some have accused him of

being. He had too keen a mind to commit the absurdity of affirming that God is not. He simply said, "I have no clear or sufficient evidence that God is."

I think the same lacks account also for the feebleness of his hold upon the thought of immortality. He did not deny immortality. On the contrary, he often spoke of it as a beautiful hope, and one that might with some reason be entertained. In his well-known address delivered at the funeral of his brother, he declared, "In the night of death, hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustling of a wing. He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his last breath, 'I am better now.' Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead." His perhaps still better known address delivered at the grave of a friend's child, he closed with these words, "We, too, have our religion, and it is this: Help for the living—hope for the dead."

It is something, it is much, to have such a hope. But the Christian world believes that there is something better still for men. It is a hope that does not tremble and flicker, but that burns with a clear and steady flame. It is a hope rising into faith—a faith that sees the future reality as if it were present, and finds in it a constant comfort and inspiration for daily life.

## II.

Let me notice now some ways in which I cannot but think Mr. Ingersoll did harm.

First, he treated the Bible unfairly. Many of his utterances concerning the Bible were true, and needed to be spoken. Many of the errors, "mistakes of Moses" and of other biblical writers, self-contradictions, unscientific statements, immoral teachings and practices, and low representations of God which he was accustomed to point out in the Old Testament, are simply undeniable. We may wish they were not there, but they are. We

may try to explain them away or cover them up, but it is of no use. Every respectable biblical scholar of our day admits that they are there. Nor does a man need to be a biblical scholar to see them. He only needs to be an honest man, reading with ordinary intelligence.

What we have a right to complain of is that Mr. Ingersoll gave to these imperfections a prominence that does not belong to them, and because of them unjustly condemned the whole book.

What would be thought of a man who, professing to give us a correct picture of a state should paint for us only its sands and marshes and barren mountain-sides, leaving out its fertile hills and valleys, its grain fields and orchards, its country homes and lovely villages and thriving cities? Yet, this is essentially what Mr. Ingersoll did systematically and persistently in his lectures and writings on the Bible. The truth is, the Bible is a great and valuable book entirely aside from and in spite of its mistakes and its crudities of science (which, coming as they did from an age before science was born, it could not but contain), and in spite of traces of certain social, moral and religious barbarisms which were a part of that early time.

Mr. Ingersoll protested against full-grown men in the nineteenth century believing such stories as those of a talking serpent, a speaking ass, a spring bursting out of a jawbone, a stream of water following the Israelites up hill and down through the desert, a woman made out of a human rib, Noah and his ark, Jonah and the whale. And he was right in his protest. To try in our day to believe that such pious legends and myths are historic facts is to debase one's intellect and trample upon reason.

He protested against the idea that an infinitely wise and good Being could do such things as command Joshua to drive out the Canaanites from their houses and murder them, men, women and innocent babes; or inspire David to curse his enemies and to pray that their little ones

might be dashed against a stone; or give orders to Moses sanctioning human slavery; or command witches to be put to death; or curse the world, dooming untold millions of human beings to sin and misery in this life, and in the next to everlasting torments, because of the eating of an apple by Adam and Eve in a Paradise garden. This protest was just and needed—needed in the interest of morality, needed in the interest of religion. I do not complain of it. But I complain that he laid an emphasis upon these things such as made them seem the chief part of the Bible, when they are not. I complain that he persistently ignored, as if it had had no existence, that other far larger and more conspicuous part of the Bible which is all aglow with things pure, true, tender, sweet, noble, heroic. I complain that he ignored the Twenty-third Psalm, and many others equally lofty, and the magnificent closing chapters of Isaiah, and the noble poem of Job, and the garnered wisdom of the Proverbs, and the ringing condemnations of wrong and impassioned pleas for righteousness with which the Prophets abound, and the matchless Sermon on the Mount, and the Parables of Jesus, and Paul's golden chapter on "Charity," and all those noble parts of the Bible which can no more be left out in any fair treatment of the book than the sun, moon and stars of first magnitude can be left out in any proper study of astronomy. What the world needs is not to throw the Bible away, but to treasure its good, and lay aside that in it which is outgrown.

Another way in which it seems clear that Mr. Ingersoll did harm, was, in treating *religion* unfairly. Indeed, he treated religion as unfairly as he did the Bible. While now and then, in some very slight way, he drew the line between good religion and bad, intelligent and unintelligent, reasonable and unreasonable, ethical and unethical, too generally he jumbled all together and condemned or made light of all, with little or no discrimination.

True, in nearly every age of the past, and in nearly every land of the world, religion has been allied with much that is dark and cruel. In the name of religion, dungeons have been built, martyr fires have been kindled, persecutions have been waged, blighting superstitions have been laid upon men's minds. In the name of religion, too often, the bigoted and the bad have held the reins of power, and the noble, the intelligent and the good have been overridden and trodden in the dust. But this does not make it true that religion has been only a curse to the world, or a greater curse than a blessing. These facts argue for reform, not for annihilation of religion. Shall we wish to annihilate our rivers because some of them sometimes overflow their banks, and destroy property or create malaria? Shall we say, better that there be no fire in the world, because fire sometimes burns us, destroys our homes, sweeps out of existence great cities? Shall we say that the sun is a curse because by its shining it smites down the traveler in the desert? On the contrary, fire and river and sun are all good. So, no less, is religion. Religion is a fire that has warmed the world as no other fire has. Religion is a river the stream whereof makes glad the weary hearts of men as no other stream has ever made them glad. Religion is a sun which has shone upon the world with a light than which none holier or more life-giving has ever fallen on humanity. The time has not yet come when burdened, sorrowing, struggling, sinning men can give up the hope, the consolation, the strength, the incentive to duty, the moral girding that come from religion.

It will always remain a ground for just criticism of Mr. Ingersoll that in the treatment of sacred things he was irreverent and flippant. To be sure, he insisted that people regard things as sacred which they ought not to regard thus, and that the quickest way to open their eyes is to laugh at them; just as the Psalmist of old laughed at the idols which men in his day worshiped, which had eyes, yet saw

not, ears, yet heard not, and hands, yet handled not; and just as Elijah laughed at the prophets of Baal when they could not kindle the altar wood with fire from heaven. Doubtless there is something of truth in this view. We may very well appreciate not a little of Mr. Ingersoll's wit and humor and good-natured raillery, and even sarcasm. And yet, surely there are some things in this world that are too holy to be trodden over by the thoughtless feet of laughter and jokes. Surely there are some places where if men go it should be with soft tread, reverent tone, and uncovered head. Mr. Ingersoll seemed to forget this. Thus he pained the hearts not only of the ignorant and the narrow, but of many of the most intelligent and broad-minded men and women. And at the same time he set a sort of fashion among those who heard him and were fascinated with his fine powers, of irreverent and flippant dealing with the most sacred things of religion and life, the evil influence of which has not yet passed away.

### III.

I come now to the questions, Did Mr. Ingersoll do any good? and if so, what? Here I find myself compelled to speak quite as emphatically as on the other points considered. Notwithstanding his limitations and his evil influence in some ways, in certain important directions I believe he did much good.

First, to look at his character outside of what is generally considered religion, he was a very humane man.

He opposed capital punishment, because he believed that it does not serve the ends of justice, and because he would not legalize the taking of human life.

He opposed vivisection (at least, vivisection as too often practiced) on the ground of its unjustifiable cruelty.

At the time of the anti-slavery struggle, he was on the side of the slave, believing that a man with a black skin had as much right to his freedom as a man with a white skin.

He pleaded the cause of our much-abused and much-wronged Indians.

Women, children and the home never had a warmer friend than he. Always his heart was warm and his tongue eloquent for the suffering, the wronged, the dependent.

He had a great dislike for war. He served for a time in the war for the Union, and with no lack of bravery; but he said he could never fire at the enemy without thinking of those who were being made widows and orphans. This was a great credit to him. How well would it be if some of our so-called "Christian" fighters who slaughter men seemingly without a twinge of conscience, would learn a lesson in humanity and Christianity from this so-called "infidel"!

His quick sympathy and strong sense of justice felt deeply the wrong of the war of "criminal aggression" carried on in the Philippines, and he lifted up his voice to declare: "Our arms are not adding glory to the flag, but staining that starry emblem of freedom with the blood and the tears of a people fighting for the right of self-government."

But we need not confine ourselves to humanitarian matters. Mr. Ingersoll rendered important service to religion.

For one thing, with the terribly keen lance of his wit and satire, he pricked the bubbles of many ecclesiastical and theological shams, hypocrisies, pretenses, make-believes. For this he was not generally thanked, but it was a real service to the world, and to religion, all the same.

A second thing he did. He gave the world what ought to have been recognized as a lesson in faith. The world called Mr. Ingersoll a skeptic, and calls him so still. In some respects doubtless he was. But in certain directions, and those very fundamental, he was a man of splendid and unwavering faith. He had faith in reason. He believed in inquiry, and in search for truth. He believed that all truth is safe. There is no higher or more important form of faith than this. Contrast this with the so-called faith of those

religious teachers who warn men against trusting reason, who fear free inquiry, and who denounce the higher criticism of the Bible as skepticism and infidelity! If our churches had half as much faith in truth as Mr. Ingersoll had, we should hear less talk about heresy, and see less opposition to progress in religious thought.

In some other directions Mr. Ingersoll had faith. He had faith in right, in justice, in the Golden Rule, in the brotherhood of man, in love, in peace, in the moral order of the universe. It was because he had faith in right that he denounced wrong, even when he found it in the Bible. It was because he had faith in justice and love that he refused to believe in any God who could hate a part of the human race or create an eternal hell. It was because he had faith in the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man, that he defended the black, the red and the brown man's rights, as just as sacred as the white man's. It was because he had faith in peace that he took his stand by the side of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, in saying to Christendom—that Christendom which has always been so ready to draw the sword at every excuse—"Put up your sword into its sheath." When the Christian church gets more of such Christ-like faith as Mr. Ingersoll showed in these matters, the kingdom of heaven will come more speedily upon earth.

Perhaps the most important religious service of all that Mr. Ingersoll rendered to his generation was, that he startled it into thinking.

Persons who are in the habit of thinking for themselves, naturally take it for granted that everybody else does the same. No mistake could be greater. Independent thinking is rare everywhere, but it is far more rare in connection with religion than anywhere else—because for centuries on centuries the religious world has been educated into the belief that it must not think, except in conformity with certain prescribed standards.

Mr. Ingersoll more than perhaps any



other man of his time compelled men to *think*, whether they would or not. Looking about him he saw men everywhere holding views of the Bible which he believed had no basis in fact, and which made the volume a fetter upon the human mind; beliefs about God, which, under the pretense of honoring God, he believed blackened God's character, and made him a tyrant and a monster; beliefs about man's origin and nature and history on the earth, which he believed to be unscientific, opposed to fact, and in the highest degree depressing; beliefs about the future which fill that future with horror. In an enlightened age like ours why do men continue to hold such beliefs? he inquired. His answer was: Because they do not think, because they do not exercise reason, because they separate religion from the rest of life; while they think and inquire regarding everything else, in religious matters they shut their eyes and suppose it wicked to inquire. Mr. Ingersoll said: "I will do what I can to change this. No work can be more important. I will make men see; I will make men think." And he did. By his eloquence, by his wit, by his ridicule, by his humor, by his retorts, by his scathing denunciations, by his fiery invectives, by his jokes, by the many-sidedness and brilliancy and very extravagance of his speech, he set tens of thousands to thinking for themselves on religious subjects, who had never thought for themselves on these matters before.

True, when men have not been accustomed to think, but have always followed automatically the old traditions, until suddenly, under the stimulus of an iconoclast like Ingersoll, they are awakened, and dare to burst their bonds and assert their intellectual independence, they are in some danger for a time of making wild work; just as water, when it bursts its dam, is likely at first to make wild work.

But the remedy is not ceasing to think, as some would have us believe. The remedy is time and more thinking.

What will be the final result of all this

new awakening of thought and inquiry which is making its appearance and which has been caused partly by men like Mr. Ingersoll—this testing of theological foundations; this re-reading of the Bible in the light of reason and science and free inquiry; this trying of every doctrine of Christianity as it was never tried before? Every decade seems to make the answer more clear and certain. The result will be, ideas of the Bible more intelligent, more reasonable, more true, and in the end more helpful to men: conceptions of God elevated and purified; conceptions of humanity ennobled, and a religion more rational, more progressive, more practical, more ethical, more acceptable to thoughtful men, more beneficent in its influence upon the world.

Men like Mr. Ingersoll are the product of the theology which has been long dominant in Christendom. Given a theology so speculative, so unreasonable, so full of cruelty and injustice, so burdened with low ideas of God and human nature, so hostile to freedom of thought and to religious progress as much of the theology of Christendom has been, and then, given, many Christian churches, preachers and religious teachers, bent on holding on to that theology in spite of reason and the growing intelligence of our modern age, and it was inevitable that Ingersolls should arise, to protest, to expostulate, to scoff, to strike out in wild ways for freedom from the bondage, and to smite fiercely the good sometimes with the evil.

There is no way to prevent the rise of Ingersolls, except to give the world a religion satisfying to the heart and conscience and reason of men. Give us a Christianity that is really light and love, and men like Mr. Ingersoll, if they take a stand regarding it at all, will be on its side.

Concerning Jesus, Ingersoll said, "To that great and serene peasant of Galilee I gladly pay the tribute of my admiration and my tears. I see in him a great and genuine man. If he should come to the earth again he would find me his friend." Would Jesus refuse Mr. Ingersoll's friend-

ship? I cannot believe it. I like to believe that Jesus is the friend of many who have never been known by his name. I like to think of Jesus and Buddha as friends. I like to think of Jesus and Socrates, and Jesus and Epictetus, as friends. If there is a world of light to which noble souls go, how can they fail to find one another? If Jesus is now what he was on earth, surely we must believe that he has love and welcome for one who preached so earnestly as Mr. Ingersoll did for half a lifetime one-half of his Gospel—that of Human Brotherhood—even if those agnostic eyes were too dim to see the other glorious half—that of the Divine Paternity.

Whatever there may have been in Mr. Ingersoll or his teaching that deserves to be condemned, at least for one thing all right-minded men should give him honor: He dared to think for himself, and to stand by his convictions at any cost.

And the cost was not light. In the later years of his life he received large pay for his utterances. It was not so always. For many years his "infidelity" was an expensive thing, something which stood right across his path to professional success, to popularity, to wealth, to political preferment. Men would not employ him as a lawyer because he was an

"infidel." Caucuses would not nominate him, the people would not vote for him, because he was an "infidel." Aside from his "infidelity" he early became the most popular man in the West. When asked what it cost him to publish his book containing the oration on "The Gods," he replied, "It cost me the governorship of Illinois." Everybody understood that there was hardly a position within the gift of the people that might not have been his, if he had been a member of an evangelical church. Many urged him to "keep still" regarding his unpopular views on religion. He answered, "It is much more important for me to do what I can to give men light, and to break down religious superstition and bigotry, than it is to be Senator from Illinois or United States minister to a foreign power."

In an age like ours, when brave and honest thinking is so much at a discount, and when such multitudes of men before they speak inquire, What is politic? What is the popular thing to say? we may well be grateful for the example of a man, whether he was on our side or not, and whether he uttered our words or not,—who had the courage to think for himself, and who dared to speak what he believed true.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

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## "WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?" A REPLY.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

IN THE December (1908) number of THE ARENA I propounded the above question, and in the February (1909) number of the same magazine there appeared three answers from the pens of eminent sociologists. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes and Mrs. Helen Campbell, all well-known in the literary world, did me the honor to offer an answer to my query in articles which amply paid for their perusal be-

cause they supplied the readers of THE ARENA with excellent food for thought.

None could have read their opinions on that subject with keener interest, greater pleasure and more grateful appreciation than did I; therefore do I crave sincerely their pardon when I maintain that none of these writers have hit the bull's-eye of the target, that in fact they have not even touched the "why" of my question.

Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that

they should have stumbled into a pitfall. In their eagerness to find and propose a remedy, a panacea for the evil which they could not help but admit, they changed the sights of their guns and their shots went astray.

It is not my purpose to critically review their otherwise admirable articles. To be sure, the readers of *THE ARENA* are intelligent and able judges who need no interpreter to tell them what an article contains. Still I will remind them that all three of these writers agreed with me and conceded that race-suicide with advancing civilization is a fact and not merely the nightmare of a bilious pessimist. The cause of the evil they ascribed to either a growing sense of responsibility by which the "civilized" parent is oppressed, or to the unsound social conditions of the present age which permit the rich to exploit the poor, the employer to take advantage of the needs of the laborer. In either case they say a new order of things would remove the evil tendencies. They claimed that a regulated or restricted propagation of the species has the advantage of offering quality in place of quantity; they also held that mere poverty prevents parents from raising a numerous progeny. These claims would hold good if race-suicide were found only among the submerged and unintelligent classes, but quite to the contrary. The upper middle classes and the rich are as much and more affected by the evil than are the poor. After all my question was not: What can be done or what should be done to check race-suicide, but merely what are its causes, or, rather, why does it appear simultaneously with advanced civilization? Molded in another form the question would be: Why do we not find it among the people of the East who do absolutely nothing in a communal way for the welfare of the child, while it has risen to be a danger in Western countries where nation, state and communality vie with one another to secure for the child the best opportunities for a useful and happy life? Should not the very efforts of advanced civilization naturally reduce to a minimum the fear of the

parent, lessen the personal responsibility and defy poverty?

The causes for the tendency to race-suicide which goes with advancing civilization must, therefore, be sought elsewhere, even at the risk that when found no cure could be discovered. Will the interested reader follow me now in *my* research?

Every living organism from the smallest to the largest is composed of independent yet inter-dependent cells. The very fibers of our nervous system are merely colonies of neurons that hold together as if by mutual consent. These cells are charged with vital forces that are yet unknown to us. They live, multiply and die to be replaced by the offspring. In the life of any organism there will be found a time of expansion or growth until a certain point of perfection is reached. During that period the cells will vigorously propagate their diminutive species. Then will come a time of decline. The organism having reached the height of its destination will cease to expand and will begin to deteriorate until finally it will pass away in death. In that state the cells, too, will lose their vital expanding forces and cease to multiply as vigorously as they did heretofore.

This observation can be verified every day and particularly on the human being. We go through infancy, childhood, boyhood and manhood to a certain climax when the decline begins that no power in the world can retard or check. Old age comes and we totter to the grave. The same colonies of cells which in our youth have made us bloom in beauty and strength are acting as deteriorating and destructive forces when the downward course of life sets in. The first symptom of their decadence is that they fail to multiply in the same degree as they did before, that they lose their virility.

A people, a nation and a race, a species, is an organic body precisely like the human organism or the organism of an animal, plant, yea, a mineral. We men and women are merely independent yet inter-dependent cells of the larger com-

munity. Generations come and go, making up the life of the larger organism, which is subject to the same laws as are the cells that help to compose it. It has its own life. A people is born, passes to childhood, boyhood, manhood, to a certain apparently foreordained perfection or ripeness which we may call *civilization*, and then it begins to go down, down to death.

The history of mankind is unfortunately a lost book to us. We have in our possession only the few last torn pages of the perished volumes. If we knew what the previous pages contained we might receive indisputable evidence that many civilizations have preceded ours. Empires, nations and races have come and gone after they had run their course. Whatever little we know of the past shows us that whenever a nation had reached the climax of its life, its ripeness, it became senile and its decay was always accompanied by a tendency to race-suicide among the cells, the human beings composing it. Race-suicide was almost invariably the first symptom of the decline of a civilization. The apple, when ripe, began to rot. Always after the climax of life was attained, always after a certain height of civilization was reached, did race-suicide appear, which is not a mere mania, a mere whim, but a natural law. The tendency to race-suicide can be likened to the disappearance of the joys of sex when senility approaches.

I hope that I have now shown the "why" of my previous questions. However, if the reader should ask me what remedy I could offer for what is known as and called an evil, I would fail to answer. We might as well ask for an elixir of life to retard or stop the approach of death. The wheel of civilization can be turned backwards with as little success as we could return by some process from manhood to childhood. As we men are forced to grow to maturity, so a nation is forced onward to the maturity of its civilization. Even the advice to return to the simple life may be well meant, but will remain forever a pious resolution. The

man who has learned to amuse himself with playing at billiards will never return to the once cherished game of marbles.

Every life carries within itself the germ of death. The microscopic cell as well as man or a race or a nation *must* ultimately die. We are the successors of past civilization. A new civilization will succeed ours. We must not measure time by the yard-stick of the human life. It is as absurd as would be the attempt to measure a human life by the life of a nerve cell. In our declining years even with the full knowledge dictated by experience that eventually we must die, we are loath to believe that the hour of final dissolution is near; so will it ever be difficult to convince people that as a social body they will pass away some day into oblivion; that their boasted civilization is nothing but the state of ripeness which precedes the downfall. They will as little understand or wish to understand a symptom such as is race-suicide as does an octogenarian understand or wish to understand the symptoms of his failing health.

It will not surprise me at all when these, my deductions, will be shoved aside by many readers with the exclamation: "Black pessimism! Gross materialism!" True, our innate craving for existence shudders at the idea of death. His mental outfit will not permit man to think of himself as non-existent. That is a limitation of our brain power. I do, therefore, not care what labels will be affixed to me. No matter what opiate might be contained in the term "spirituality," who can deny that we are "matter" and as such subject to the laws of matter. If the daily experience that death feeds on life, and life feeds on death is to be called pessimism, would another name change the fact? The closing of one's eyes to facts will never alter them; the proverbial ostrich might hide his head in order not to see the hunter, but that action of the bird will never remove his danger of being shot. The worst and most ridiculous of delusions is self-delusion.

SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

*Mattapan, Massachusetts.*

## JESUS, WOMAN AND DIVORCE.

BY REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

**T**HERE are two great forces that in the past fifty years have been mightily operating toward the emancipation of woman: First, the changing industrial life which is giving her an economic independence; she is becoming no longer economically dependent on man, but can go out and earn her own living. Second, the teachings of Socialism. However one regard the economic program of Socialism, the preaching of its doctrines are having a great effect on the thought of the day. Religion and art, as well as politics and economics, are being transformed by it, and in this transformation woman is coming to the front as the equal of man. Nowhere is this seen more forcibly than in the changing view-point toward the marriage institution. The harsh view of the past, which thrust down upon the head of woman the thorny crown of perpetual union with a man, however horrible such a union might be, which thrust her into a condition of slavery to drudgery, to bear and bury children—all this is slowly being removed.

Nowhere is this changing attitude so clearly set forth as in Bebel's *Woman Under Socialism*. This book is a library of information and analysis, but in one particular we are persuaded that Bebel falls into error. He says: "Jesus of Nazareth had the same contempt for womankind that is found always in the Oriental mind."

Bebel's error arises from the fact that he assumes that the historic positions of the church correctly set forth Jesus' attitude. Now I propose to show that such is not so, and that the positions of the Catholic church, which says no divorce, and of the Protestant church, which says divorce for intolerable conditions but no remarriage, have no warrant whatsoever in Jesus' teachings. Let us then examine

the teachings and attitude of Jesus of Nazareth toward woman and divorce.

So acute a thinker as Professor Peabody of Harvard University says that "in the matter of marriage and divorce we have the only aspect of social life concerning which Jesus descends from the announcing of general principles to prescribe specific legislation." So says Professor Seely and most of the commentators; in fact, this is the generally accepted position in the church.

But on the other hand, so profound a man as Professor Bowne of Boston University says: "The utterances of Jesus in the New Testament are not to be looked upon as final legislation in this matter. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that Christ seems to have contented himself with announcing general principles elsewhere, and also by the fact that Paul seems to have had quite another view of the matter."

And there are quite a number of scholars of repute to agree with Professor Bowne. Now when doctors thus disagree we must do a little investigating for ourselves, however great the risk, and we ask what did Jesus really teach? To understand His attitude we must understand the condition of his time. "Womanhood and workingmen have had one thing in common—oppression." It seems strange that the mothers who have borne and reared the race, and the workers who have labored and sustained it should have been so cruelly treated by it, but such is the fact.

Plato thanked the gods for eight favors, and the second was that he was not a woman. The devout Jew of Jesus' day in his morning prayer thanked Jehovah that he was not a woman; and well he might, for nowhere has man been more bloodthirsty and brutal than in his treat-

ment of his female mate. Jesus Christ was a reformer, his mission was to uplift humanity, and he began to uplift where it was most downtrodden—the women and the workers. History shows no record of any leader who had a following of women like Jesus of Nazareth. As he went through the cities and villages the women ministered to him of their substance; nowhere in the New Testament is it recorded that he received any salary or support save that which came from women. The names of Magdalene, Susanna, Salome, the Marys, are all handed down to us, while the names of male followers are lost. Women rejoiced that in him they found the first one to give them justice, respect their worth and lift his voice in their behalf for the betterment of their condition. Even when the farce of a trial that ended in his death was being enacted, it was a heathen woman, Pilate's wife, who, appreciating Jesus' work for her sex, lifted her voice in his behalf. And when the mob hurried him to the place of crucifixion, "a great company of women followed with tears, lamenting and bewailing him." Remembering that this was Jesus' attitude toward women, and remembering her condition was degraded and enslaved, let us ask what was his teaching to her on the marriage relation.

It is recorded in two places in the Gospels: first, in the Sermon on the Mount, and later elaborated and repeated in answer to the questions of the ecclesiastics on the matter. In the first instance, Jesus said: "Ye have heard it said, Thou shalt not commit adultery, but I say unto you, whoever looks on a woman and lusts after her commits adultery. It was said also, Whosoever puts away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorcement, but I say every one who puts away his wife, save for unfaithfulness, makes her an adulteress: and whosoever shall marry her commits adultery."

Now this is directed entirely to men and is for men; it is an enjoinder upon them of honorable treatment of women in the

matter of chastity, and a command as to their treatment of women as their wives, and saying to them that their putting their wives away as they did was wrong unless the wife had been untrue. There is here no legislation, no discussion even of marriage and divorce, no reference to the customs of monogamy and polygamy, both of which were practiced all about him, but a *defense of the rights of woman*.

Let us look to the fuller teaching of Jesus recorded in the Gospel, brought out when the ecclesiastics inquired about this teaching of his. They asked: "Is it lawful for a *man* to put away his wife for every cause?" Notice this question—Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? It was the question of the Pharisaic schools of Shammai and Hillel, one school contending that unchastity was the only cause for divorce, the other saying that divorce could be for almost any cause—poor cooking, and the like. The right of a woman to divorce a husband had no place in Hebrew thought; hence the appeal to Jesus was merely to settle a point of the Jewish law, and it cannot be stretched into a matter of legislation for an entirely different condition of affairs two thousand years later. It may contain a principle we can follow, a spirit to apply, but nothing more. In the question asked there was no thought of the abstract question of divorce, no idea of a woman's right to be divorced, but merely, could a man set his wife adrift whenever he wanted? And Jesus' answer to this question was: "He (God) that made them from the beginning, made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder. And I say to you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, commits adultery: and he that marrieth her when she is put away commits adultery."

This answer analyzed is:

First: God made the sexes, male and female; they are of equal dignity and worth.

Second: Marriage is right between the sexes; the two make one flesh as the Hebrew puts it—"the entire man." Or, as Kant says, "Man and woman jointly constitute the complete being; one sex supplements the other. And so modern science agrees, that the sex-relation is neither moral nor immoral, but necessary."

Third: A reiteration of his former declaration as to the rights of woman.

That is all there is in the teachings of Jesus on divorce. The contention of the ritualistic churches vanishes upon investigation, and their position is unwarranted in any of the sayings of Jesus that have been preserved to us. All that Jesus taught was: (1) the lawfulness of marriage; (2) the ideal that the monogamic union was best; (3) that, as Robert Dale Owen pointed out in his debate with Horace Greeley, "the teachings of Jesus,

fairly construed, designate that where there is that infidelity of heart which defeats the purpose of marriage there is cause for divorce."

So, then, instead of Jesus having a contempt for woman, we find him her first great friend in history; and instead of his teachings being to suppress divorce, we find them the fountain-head of greater freedom in the marriage contract. As Governor Altgeld once said, "The number of divorces is in proportion to the progress made in the emancipation of woman." This is an emancipation that Jesus himself started, for which he must receive the credit or bear the blame. In those countries where the teachings of Jesus are not found, and where women are still beasts of burden, there are found no divorces, and the marriage contract is still the same one-sided, unjust, harsh affair as was that of the day and country of Jesus, and against which his great heart so justly rebelled.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

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## THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE ORIENT.

BY RAIMOHAN DUTT.

**A** WELL-KNOWN editor in offering opposition to the granting of constitutional government to peoples supposed to be incapable of conducting their affairs, has observed:

"No people can enjoy the reality of constitutional government until it acquires political habits and discipline."

Now, while it is true that a people unschooled in self-government will be liable to make mistakes and fall far short of those who have long been accustomed to govern themselves, it is equally true that the only way for a people to learn to rule themselves is by practice, which will give them the proficiency that comes only

through the discipline of experience. Tyrants have always urged that the people could not govern themselves, while the people have very frequently thought otherwise, even where the ruling class has been of the same blood and tongue. The child learns to walk after repeated trials, but the fact that he falls now and again is no valid reason for keeping him forever in a cradle. The swimmer makes many unsuccessful attempts before he becomes proficient; yet if he always remained on land he would never learn to swim. So it is in regard to infant nations and peoples who yearn for self-government. They might and doubtless would make many

mistakes, fail now and again, but every such failure would help them to master the great problem nearest their heart. The ardent and long-cherished dream of a nation for representative government promises capacity after trial and actual experiment have given them the needed experience. Parliamentary government, if it be anything like satisfactory, may require time. It may be, as one writer claims, that parliamentary institutions are not created in a day; but when their dream has been long cherished in the breast of a people, the miracle may burst on an astonished world with little warning. Witness the sudden bloodless revolution in Turkey. This consummation, though it appeared the work of an hour, has in fact been ripening since long before 1876, and since that fateful year the movement which to the superficial observer seemed dead, has been steadily gaining power—steadily growing, until the hour arrived when it leaped into sudden life and became so irresistible that we find the old reactionary forces which gathered around the Sultan scattered and destroyed.

Even to-day many people believe that the present constitution will fail in time like the one granted some years ago. They base their belief on the conviction that the most Eastern of Eastern Monarchs would find it impossible to be tied down. It is because some people have regarded it in that light that they place no more faith in it than in the constitution announced more than thirty years ago and revoked. To discerning minds, however, it is clear that the change is more than superficial; that it is the indication of a deep and widespread influence, intellectual and moral, stirring Ottoman society towards a higher stage of civilization and civic rights. Immense numbers have been affected by that influence; and his Majesty, the Sultan himself, has been moved by the self-same forces. That influence cannot be arrested hereafter nor the movement which has resulted from it and culminated in a constitution. It is an assertion of the will of the people,

of the ablest and most active among them.

The attitude of Western nations in the presence of this revolution has been as significant as it is inspiring. The fact that the traditional enemies of Turkey—Austria and Russia—have resolved to watch the progress of the revolution in Turkey with a benevolent eye; that his Majesty King Edward was prompted to telegraph a message of congratulation to the Sultan for the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution, and even Germany wishes to be taken for a god-father to the new constitution; while President Roosevelt, of this most enlightened republic, congratulated the Young Turks on their grand achievement for constitutional government, is just sufficient to prove that constitutional government is in the opinion of the nations suitable for Turkey, and that Young 'Turks have wholly or in part, capacity and sobriety essential for their exceedingly difficult task.

The Ottoman nation is not composed of Mohammedans alone; it includes Christians and Jews. It is the sentiment of nationality, and not of religion, that sways them all. Mussulmans and Christians and Jews all feel as one nation and act together for the achievement of common national ends; and this infusion of Christians and Jews excludes the possibility of a separate Moslem nationality animated exclusively by a religious sentiment. A constitution in Turkey is impossible with Christians and Jews left out.

The result of the Turkish revolution affords a suggestive lesson to the government in my country, India, as it shows that men who have been brought up under theocratic and autocratic influences and surrounded by the corruption supposed to be inseparable from Oriental life may develop an aptitude for democratic associations and fitness for profiting by whatever is good in modern civilization.

A writer in the *Westminster Gazette*, referring to the proclamation of the constitution from David's Tower in the city of Jerusalem, exclaims:

“As we look round the world we see



everywhere among the ancient races this process going forward. How long can it last? we ask ourselves. How can they, who came so suddenly into 'modernism,' do in three weeks or three months what it has taken us three centuries of unceasing efforts and sanguinary conflict to bring about?"

It is a wonderful revolution, as the writer in the *Gazette* calls it, in every sense, and English writers are the foremost in declaring that everything is going on "miraculously well" in the changed Turkey, without the surface of society being disturbed even by a ripple. The whole system is changed as if in the twinkling of an eye. Yet Englishmen will insist that Orientals are incapable of self-government.

The story of Japan in recent years affords additional evidence in refuting this position. These Yankees of the Orient have demonstrated their fitness to govern themselves and have fairly staggered the imagination of Western civilization by the rapid progress and wonderful changes that have been brought about through them in the "unchanging East" within less than a decade. Though in Persia just at present things are in a bad way, owing to the rashness of a young sovereign, there can be little doubt but what the onward movement toward a representative government will soon be in full progress again, for the people have had a taste of the order for which they have long yearned.

Is it reasonable to think, to borrow the words of Mr. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews* of London, that an earthquake which has shaken a continent from Tokio to Monastir will leave India untouched? With what grace can Lord Morley refuse to grant some kind of constitution to India, when the Caliph at Constantinople finds the restoration of a constitution an alternative to his own disappearance? It makes one wonder how Honest John Morley and other Englishmen—apostles of freedom—can resist the "rightly rising ambitions" of the Hindoos.

It is not at all clear on what principles

those who regard the ambition of Young Turkey as honorable and worthy of all praise, can be opposed to the identical ambition of the people of Hindostan. In the one case as in the other, what the people have been demanding is a constitution defining the power of the executive and making the executive responsible to the nation. In the case of Turkey, a constitution has already been granted and the head of the British Empire has already done what he ought to have done. In India a constitution is yet to be conceded, even in its most rudimentary form; and yet surprise is often affected at the prevailing unrest in India by the very men who in the same breath would applaud the Young Turk party for the part they have played in bringing about the present transformation. Are things really so different in India from what they are in Turkey? And if they are, is the advantage on the side of Turkey? Will the reactionary press have the fairness to say wherein the difference between India and Turkey lies, if not in the determination of the Indian bureaucracy, aided and abetted by this press, not to make any concession to the people, which is so unlike the appreciation of the situation shown by the Sultan? To say that the ambition of Young Turkey "to sweep and garnish her own mansion" is honorable, but that the same ambition in India is only another name for treason, is the climax of absurdity and insincerity.

Let me conclude this plea for the right of India to enjoy representative government, by making the following brief quotation from an able editorial in the *New York Nation* of July 30, 1908:

"It brings another refutation of that gospel of inferior and superior races which has been made the basis of the brutal ethics of imperial conquest and exploitation. Islam may rule itself. Liberty and democracy are not the special gifts of the divinely endowed white European races."

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# JAMES RUSSELL AS A POET OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

**I**T IS a wonderful gift, a God-like power, to be able to awaken the sleeping soul in man. Epictetus on one occasion said: "You carry a god about with you, and know nothing about it. Do not suppose that I mean a god of gold and silver; it is within yourself that you carry him."

This truth cannot be too impressively emphasized. The divine image is resident in every child of earth, awaiting the magic word that shall free it from the thralldom of sense dominion and cast aside the mask which hides the true self. And yet how many journey from cradle to tomb without being startled into real life or awakened on the Godward side.

Among the thinkers whose high function it is to arouse the spiritual self, no class exerts so potent an influence, especially upon the plastic brain of youth, as the poets. It has been said that, broadly speaking, all children are poets, because they possess in so marked a degree that supreme gift of the imaginative genius, the power of visualization; but unhappily this power of visualizing, so strongly evidenced in the child mind, fades as fades the light of day after the sun sinks below the horizon, as the materialistic influences of life settle around youth and sense domination becomes more and more pronounced. But the poet, if he be true to the high trust imposed upon him, reawakens the sleeping ego to a realization of its higher self, lifts the mental vision from the clod to the star, riveting it upon that ideal which, as Hugo says, is "the stable type of ever-moving progress."

To the poet, however, as to others, is given the power of free-will. He may

respond to the divine promptings, be true to the vision and become one of the torch-bearers of civilization, leading humanity up the spiritual Alps; or, he may elect to tread the rose-strewn path of sensuous delight, in which event his songs, while moving men and awakening life on the sensuous plane, fail in that which should be the supreme achievement of the poet—the awakening of the prodigal from the dream of sensuous dominion to his true estate as the son of God, as a brother to all mankind—awakening him so that life becomes august—a mission, as Mazzini so happily puts it.

To the poet who sees the truth in its splendor, duty becomes divine, and he, being faithful to his trust, becomes an enlightener, giving to men glimpses of the secret of secrets, the key to victory, joy and peace; for he knows, feels and is enabled to transmit to others the meaning of all-comprehending love, the true significance of Paul's words when he exclaimed:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

"And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing.

"And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

He who is thus awakened intuitively understands the full meaning of Lowell's lines when he says:

"Not what we give, but what we share—  
For the gift without the giver is bare."

## II.

And speaking of Lowell suggests the fact that he was one of the true torch-bearers or awakens who always appear in moral or spiritual crises, reflecting the aspirations of the higher social consciousness and in turn becoming fountains of inspiration for the millions. He justly holds a foremost place among the American poets of freedom and progress by virtue of the great work he wrought in awakening the sleeping conscience of our people to a keener appreciation of the high duty devolving on a republic that essayed to be the moral leader of the world, the special exponent of freedom, fraternity and human rights. This most priceless service was wrought chiefly during a series of years when the poet's splendid imagination was under the willing guidance of one of the noblest of New England's daughters.

It is not, we think, too much to say that no other American poet, unless it be Whittier, has exerted anything like as profound an influence on the conscience side of Anglo-Saxon life as did Lowell in the flush and glory of young manhood. Yet his great service as a poet of progress, an apostle of democracy and freedom, was, for the most part, confined to less than a score of years. Early and late in life he was a conservative, largely under the sway of conventionalism. His life and writings in this respect present an interesting study to psychologists, for we are all largely the children of our ancestors, inheriting some or many of their strong and dominating characteristics; and when those ancestors come from different races marked by strong and often conflicting traits, it is not unfrequently the case that the offspring is richly dowered and many-sided. Sometimes, however, the warring tendencies make the delicate, sensitive plate of the mind respond to contradictory influences which for the moment appeal in a masterful manner, especially when they come by way of the heart.

In Lowell's ancestors we find much

that is illuminating when we seek an explanation for his wavering between conventionalism and humanitarian progress, conservatism and radicalism. On his father's side his ancestors were sturdy, matter-of-fact New Englanders. Some of them were clergymen of the Unitarian and Congregational faiths, and here we find the spirit of freedom and liberalism, especially in regard to church and state, blended with the austerity and literalism of the New England mind.

On the other hand, his mother was a daughter of the rugged northern islands that skirt the coast of Scotland, her father and her maternal grandfather both being born in the Orkney Islands. This mother possessed a highly imaginative, mystic and poetic temperament; yet in religion and politics she and her people were rigid Episcopalians and ultra-Tories.

Now the mind of James Russell Lowell reflected at times the strong and conflicting tendencies so marked in the lives of his progenitors. It was as though his brain was a delicate sensitive plate ready to respond to conservative or progressive impulses, to conventionalism or humanitarianism. Of all our poets, his muse was the most palpably influenced by dominating currents that at times environed him.

As has been intimated, almost all sensitive natures exhibit the presence of warring influences in the mental world. Not unfrequently these exert a most unfortunate influence in life, unsettling the will and confusing the judgment at critical moments. In literature, Hamlet is the supreme type of this order of mind, and among American men of letters, Lowell offers a striking example of this interesting phenomenon.

Thus we find his earliest poem, written at the time of his graduation from Harvard, revealing a positive and aggressive spirit of conservatism and conformity to conventional thought. It was written at a time when New England was aflame with moral idealism. Emerson was promulgating those lofty ethical and philo-

sophical ideals and concepts that are now becoming such a mighty wellspring of spiritual life. Dr. Channing was liberalizing the religious thought of the time. Garrison and Whittier were awakening the nation to a realization of the fundamental injustice of human slavery and so calling a sleeping people out of the moral lethargy into which the materialism of the market had lulled it. There was a great temperance wave stirring the people. New and high social and political ideals were being discussed, and, in short, New England was the vital center of a spiritual, humanitarian and patriotic renaissance such as the Republic had not known since the days of the great Revolution. Yet at this moment we find young Lowell in his commencement satirical poem exhibiting an "aristocratic and conservative bias." The principal objects of his satire were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, transcendentalism, the abolitionists, temperance workers, woman suffragists, and vegetarians. "In every case except the latter," says one of his most discriminating biographers, "the satire suffers from Lowell's inability to grasp, even intellectually, the case for the defense."

After leaving Harvard, however, Lowell came into intimate relation with some of the young moral enthusiasts who made the New England of the second quarter of the nineteenth century a veritable summer-time for ethical awakening and conscience activity. His sensitive mind began at once to receive and reflect a new group of impressions. His sense of duty became awakened. It was shortly after this stirring of the nobler depths of the young poet's nature that he went one evening to spend the week-end with a college classmate, a young Mr. White, who lived at Watertown. Here he met the young man's sister Maria. She was a beautiful girl, a poet by nature, and a young woman possessing fine literary taste and critical judgment. But she was also a moral enthusiast in hearty sympathy with the great reformatory movements that were so deeply stirring New England

life, which Lowell had so shortly before satirized in his class poem. She was instantly drawn to the handsome though rather shy young poet, and her feelings were reciprocated. Ere long the two were engaged. The influence which Maria White exerted on Lowell was immediately perceivable, and the strong compelling power of her lofty spiritual enthusiasm became henceforth the guiding or shaping influence under which his imagination wrought and wrought so effectively for human emancipation and that moral quickening that is the vital breath of true civilization. Before this, Lowell was, as the Russians would say, "of two minds." He was swayed between the conventional and progressive influences that were in active operation. He was as a ship in the sea, being impelled northward by a powerful current while swept by a gale that bore to the southward, and without a strong guiding hand at the wheel. Miss White became that hand which guided, and henceforth, during her all too brief life, and indeed until after the great Civil War, Lowell was probably the most powerful poetic force for freedom, justice and moral progress in the New World.

After the death of his wife a change is quite discernible in his poems. There is less of the strong, progressive and ethical spirit that had been dominant in his verse. True, her influence upon his life and thought-world was such as to make a life-long impress; yet the prophet's flame-like thought which marks the torch-bearers and way-showers of civilization, began to wane after she went away. Thereafter it was only at moments the old light flared forth, as, for example, in his magnificent "Commemoration Ode" written in 1865, and in a less marked degree in his fine ode read at the one-hundredth anniversary of the fight at Concord. In an ever-increasing degree after the influence of Maria Lowell faded and another came to take her place, we find the conservative impulses coming to the front and the tone of his writings, his habits of thought and life becoming more and more conservative

and conventional. The critic and literateur, the political diplomat and the popular after-dinner speaker to a large degree take the place of the great prophet-poet whose words rang forth as marching orders for God-aspiring humanity and as great eternal vitalizing truths which awaken the sleeping Divine in the hearts of youth and maiden, leading them to consecrate life's noblest gifts to the service of humanity.

Thus we find Lowell's youth was marked by battling between convention and reform, between reaction and progress. Here was indecision, and at times profound melancholy. This gave place to the sun-burst of real life, of moral virility, of power and true leadership, which lasted until after his first wife passed away, to be followed by the gradual ascendancy of the more conventional and conservative spirit, in which the prophet-poet gave way to the critic, the essayist, the editor and the popular diplomat.

The last half of his life will ever constitute a fascinating chapter in the chronicle of our men of letters. Yet it is with Lowell as the apostle of freedom, justice and progress, as the prophet-poet of a nobler social order, that we are specially concerned; because the thought which flowed from his brain while his soul was filled with moral enthusiasm must ever be most helpful to earnest men and women who would be true to the august duty which civilization imposes on all who would ennoble themselves by serving humanity and aid in the peaceful inauguration of juster and truer conditions, in which freedom, justice and fraternity shall be woven into the web and woof of civilization.

### III.

The distinguished British journalist and founder of the *English Review of Reviews*, Mr. William Stead, states that it was the conscience-awakening poems of James Russell Lowell that, falling into his hands when a boy, so aroused the

moral or spiritual nature in him as to give bent or direction to his thought for the rest of life. The effect upon his mind of the clarion call to the sleeping soul was much the same as that of the verses of J. G. Whittier on Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and which was later described by Colonel Higginson in a poem addressed to the Quaker poet in which he says:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me  
That said to startled conscience, 'Sleep no more!'

"If any good to me or from me came,  
Through life, and if no influence less divine  
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;  
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,  
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of  
shame;  
Bless thee, old friend! for that high call was  
thine!"

The wonderful soul-arousing influence of Lowell's verse has been experienced by a great number of the finest minds among the real spiritual leaders throughout the Anglo-Saxon world; nor is this strange, for when the poet was under the overwhelming compulsion of the higher vision, the things of the hour fell away and he beheld the spiritual verities in their real light, gained a sense of proportions and was enabled to penetrate to the heart of things. The church, zealous for rites, dogmas and forms of faith, he beheld as wanting in the Christ spirit, as the Great Nazarene perceived the conventional religion of his age to be wanting in the true spirit of God that transforms the heart and makes one a living witness of the higher truths. Seldom in essay, sermon or story has this difference between the church that exalts the letter over the spirit, and the religion that visits the widows and the fatherless in their affliction and keeps itself pure and unspotted from the world, been so vitally presented as in these oft-quoted but ever-appropriate lines:

"Said Christ our Lord, 'I will go and see  
How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'  
He passed not again through the gate of birth,  
But made himself known to the children of earth.

"Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,  
'Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;

Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state  
Him who alone is mighty and great.'

"With carpets of gold the ground they spread  
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,  
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare  
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

"Great organs surged through arches dim  
Their jubilant floods in praise of Him;  
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,  
He saw his image high over all.

"But still, wherever his steps they led,  
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,  
And from under the heavy foundation-stones,  
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

"And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,  
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,  
And opened wider and yet more wide  
As the living foundation heaved and sighed.

"Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,  
On the bodies and souls of living men?  
And think ye that building shall endure,  
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

"With gates of silver and bars of gold  
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;  
I have heard the dropping of their tears  
In heaven these eighteen hundred years.'

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,  
We build but as our fathers built;  
Behold thine images, how they stand,  
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard—with sword and flame  
To hold thine earth forever the same,  
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep  
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep.'

"Then Christ sought out an artisan,  
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,  
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin  
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

"These set he in the midst of them,  
And as they drew back their garment-hem,  
For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said he,  
'The images ye have made of me!'"

It is the misfortune of man that up to the present time, save on rare occasions, his vision is so dimmed that it extends little beyond the passing day. The poet-prophet ascends the mountains while we remain in the valley. To him the past, present and future are unfolded, and he catches some idea of proper relations, impossible where the vision is bounded by egoistic limitations and the materialism of the market; and to him also are shown the things of true worth in contradistinction to the tinsel and the *ignis fatuus* that dazzles and deceives those who imagine

that Vanity Fair is all of life or who are content to live in the swampland of materiality, with no effort to rise to the heights. Here are some words instinct with helpfulness for those who have ears to hear:

"I watch the circle of the eternal years,  
And read forever in the storied page  
One lengthened roll of blood, and wrong, and tears—  
One onward step of Truth from age to age.

"The poor are crushed; the tyrants link their chain;  
The poet sings through narrow dungeon grates;  
Man's hope lies quenched—and, lo! with steadfast gain  
Freedom doth forge her mail of adverse fates.

"Men slay the prophets; fagot, rack, and cross  
Make up the groaning record of the past;  
But Evil's triumphs are her endless loss,  
And sovereign Beauty wins the soul at last.

"No power can die that ever wrought for Truth;  
Thereby a law of Nature it became,  
And lives unwithered in its sinewy youth,  
When he who called it forth is but a name.

. . . . .

"Truth needs no champions: in the infinite deep  
Of everlasting Soul her strength abides,  
From Nature's heart her mighty pulses leap,  
Through Nature's veins her strength, undying, tides.

"Peace is more strong than war, and gentleness,  
Where force were vain, makes conquest o'er the wave;  
And love lives on and hath a power to bless,  
When they who loved are hidden in the grave."

The apologists for things as they are, are ever seeking to discredit the prophet of progress and discount the vision by the claim that because a thing has not been discovered before, or because it has not been tried in some older land, it is chimerical or false. Every new discovery and advance step made by seer, scientist, philosopher, reformer and apostle of true progress has been obstructed by this old, old cry of faithless conventionalism; and to such our poet replies:

"Whatever can be known of earth we know,  
Sneered Europe's wise men, in their snail-shells curled;

'No!' said one man in Genoa, and that No  
Out of the dark created this New World.

"Who is it will not dare himself to trust?  
Who is it hath not strength to stand alone?  
Who is it thwarts and bilks the inward *must*?  
He and his works, like sand, from earth are blown."

The reformatory poetry of Lowell is vibrant with truths that are vital to man and nations. Thomas Jefferson with seeing eye beheld slavery and the inevitable outcome unless the nation was wise and great enough to be just. He declared that when he contemplated the future, the thought of slavery fell on his soul like the sound of an alarm bell at midnight. And with the wisdom of the statesman, seeing the coming danger, he proposed that the slaves should be gradually emancipated and sent to Africa, and that every ship that bore a load of slaves to their native continent should return to America laden with emigrants from Southern Europe to settle in our Southland. Had this wise course been followed, the Republic would have escaped the horrors of the Civil War, the frightful cost in blood and treasure, the corruption that fastened itself upon government and began its degrading career in business life, and also the grave and disquieting race problem that confronts us to-day. But a short-sighted materialism blinded us to the demands which wisdom no less than civilization and justice imposed on a nation that had given the world the Declaration of Independence. Hence we had to pay the penalty, as all men and nations have sooner or later to suffer for wrongdoing.

No truer utterances have been given to our people touching the inescapable mandates of justice and duty, than are voiced in many of Lowell's lines, of which the following are examples:

"He 's true to God who 's true to man; whatever wrong is done,  
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,  
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base,  
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.

"T is ours to save our brethren, with peace and love to win  
Their darkened hearts from error, ere they harden it to sin;  
But if before his duty man with listless spirit stands,  
Ere long the Great Avenger takes the work from out his hands."

"They are slaves who fear to speak  
For the fallen and the weak;  
They are slaves who will not choose  
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think;  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three."

"Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record  
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;  
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

"We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great  
Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,  
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,  
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within—  
'They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin.'

"Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,  
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,  
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

"By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back,  
And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned  
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet-hearts hath burned  
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

"For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,  
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;  
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

Freedom was a favorite subject of Lowell's verse when the poet was on the mountain heights. Here are some fine lines from a poem written during the days

when his wife was his inspirer, helper and guide:

"Freedom is recreated year by year,  
In hearts wide open on the Godward side,  
In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling sphere,  
In minds that sway the future like a tide.  
No broadest creeds can hold her, and no codes;  
She chooses men for her august abodes,  
Building them fair and fronting to the dawn."

In later life he wrote nobly again of freedom in the lines which open his magnificent ode composed for the one-hundredth celebration of the fight at Concord. The poet becomes the word-painter and portrays Freedom as she appears before his imagination—the goddess who:

"Lifted us out of the dust,  
And made us whatever we are."

"Who cometh over the hills,  
Her garments with morning sweet,  
The dance of a thousand rills  
Making music before her feet?  
Her presence freshens the air;  
Sunshine steals light from her face;  
The leaden footstep of Care  
Leaps to the tune of her pace,  
Fairness of all that is fair,  
Grace at the heart of all grace,  
Sweetener of hut and of hall,  
Bringer of life out of naught,  
Freedom, O fairest of all  
The daughters of Time and Thought!"

"She cometh, cometh to-day:  
Hark! hear ye not her tread,  
Sending a thrill through your clay,  
Under the sod there, ye dead,  
Her nurslings and champions?  
Do ye not hear, as she comes,  
The bay of the deep-mouthed guns,  
The gathering buzz of the drums?  
The bells that called ye to prayer,  
How wildly they clamor on her,  
Crying, 'She cometh! prepare  
Her to praise and her to honor,  
That a hundred years ago  
Scattered here in blood and tears  
Potent seeds wherefrom should grow  
Gladness for a hundred years!'"

"Tell me, young men, have ye seen,  
Creature of diviner mien  
For true hearts to long and cry for,  
Manly hearts to live and die for?  
What hath she that others want?  
Brows that all endearments haunt,  
Eyes that make it sweet to dare,  
Smiles that glad untimely death,  
Looks that fortify despair,  
Tones more brave than trumpet's breath;  
Tell me, maidens, have ye known  
Household charm more sweetly rare,  
Grace of woman ampler blown,  
Modesty more debonair,

Younger heart with wit full grown?  
O for an hour of my prime,  
The pulse of my hotter years,  
That I might praise her in rhyme  
Would tingle your eyelids to tears,  
Our sweetness, our strength, and our star,  
Our hope, our joy, and our trust,  
Who lifted us out of the dust,  
And made us whatever we are!"

Some of Lowell's most inspiring lines are found in personal tributes called forth when the moral heroism of the subject appealed irresistibly to the spiritual vision of the poet. These poems, because they are so instinct with truth, lift the imagination of the reader out of the valley, where materialistic concepts and sensuous desires hedge in the soul and shut out the larger vision, to the crest of the spiritual Alps, from which it catches glimpses of the past and future and gains a sense of proportion impossible to those who remain below. One of the finest of these personal poems is the following on Wendell Phillips:

"He stood upon the world's broad threshold; wide  
The din of battle and of slaughter rose;  
He saw God stand upon the weaker side,  
That sank in seeming loss before its foes:  
Many there were who made great haste and sold  
Unto the cunning enemy their swords;  
He scorned their gifts of fame, and power, and gold,  
And, underneath their soft and flowery words,  
Heard the cold serpent hiss; therefore he went  
And humbly joined him to the weaker part,  
Fanatic named, and fool, yet well content  
So he could be the nearer to God's heart,  
And feel its solemn pulses sending blood  
Through all the widespread veins of endless good."

These stanzas on William Lloyd Garrison are also very fine:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,  
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young  
man;  
The place was dark, unfurnished, and mean—  
Yet there the freedom of a race began.

'Help came but slowly; surely no man yet  
Put lever to the heavy world with less:  
What need of help? He knew how types were set,  
He had a dauntless spirit, and a press.

"Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,  
The compact nucleus, round which systems grow!  
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,  
And whirls impregnate with the central glow."

In his elegy on Dr. Channing, a very notable and inspiring poem, we have the following tribute:



"Thou livest in the life of all good things;  
 What words thou spak'st for Freedom shall not  
 die;  
 Thou sleepest not, for now thy Love hath wings  
 To soar where hence thy Hope could hardly fly.  
 . . . . .  
 "From off the starry mountain-peak of song,  
 Thy spirit shows me, in the coming time,  
 An earth unwithered by the foot of wrong,  
 A race revering its own soul sublime."

But perhaps the noblest of his personal tributes is found in the lines devoted to Lincoln, in his "Commemoration Ode" written in memory of the Harvard men who fell on the battlefield. Next to Edwin Markham's great poem on the martyred President, we think nothing better has been written on Lincoln than the following lines:

"Nature, they say, doth dote,  
 And cannot make a man  
 Save on some worn-out plan,  
 Repeating us by rote:  
 For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,  
 And, choosing sweet clay from the breast  
 Of the unexhausted West,  
 With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,  
 Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.  
 How beautiful to see  
 Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,  
 Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;  
 One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,  
 Not lured by any cheat of birth,  
 But by his clear-grained human worth,  
 And brave old wisdom of sincerity!  
 They knew that outward grace is dust;  
 They could not choose but trust  
 In that sure-footed mind's unflinching skill,  
 And subtle-tempered will  
 That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust  
 His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,  
 Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,  
 A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;  
 Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,  
 Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,  
 Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.  
 Nothing of Europe here,  
 Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,  
 Ere any names of Serf and Peer  
 Could Nature's equal scheme deface  
 And thwart her genial will;  
 Here was a type of the true elder race,  
 And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to  
 face."

It was during this period, when Lowell was under the compulsion of moral idealism and the reform spirit so largely stimulated by his first wife, that he composed that magnificent poem, considered by many the most precious sermon in song that has been written by an American

bard—"The Vision of Sir Launfal." Here occurs one of those exquisite nature poems that jewel the pages of Lowell's verse and stir the hearts of all who love the Great Mother. Next to his lines "To the Dandelion," perhaps he has written no nature verse sweeter than these stanzas:

"And what is so rare as a day in June?  
 Then, if ever, come perfect days;  
 Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,  
 And over it softly her warm ear lays:  
 Whether we look, or whether we listen,  
 We hear life murmur, or see it glisten;  
 Every clod feels a stir of might,  
 An instinct within it that reaches and towers,  
 And, groping blindly above it for light,  
 Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers;  
 The flush of life may well be seen  
 Thrilling back over hills and valleys;  
 The cowslip startles in meadows green,  
 The buttercup catches the sun in its chalice,  
 And there's never a leaf nor a blade too mean  
 To be some happy creature's palace;  
 The little bird sits at his door in the sun,  
 Atilt like a blossom among the leaves,  
 And lets his illumined being o'errun  
 With the deluge of summer it receives;  
 His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,  
 And the heart in her dumb breast flutters and sings;  
 He sings to the wide world, and she to her nest—  
 In the nice ear of Nature which song is the best?"

After such an introduction, the reader is prepared for something fine in story and lesson; nor is he disappointed when he follows the gay young knight as he rides forth in quest of the Holy Grail, absorbed in self and thirsting for some exciting exploit that shall give him glory. The spiritual poverty of the seeker for the Grail is vividly pictured in the lines describing his feeling of loathing and contempt when he beholds the leper at the gate, to whom "he tossed a piece of gold in scorn." And how impressive is the solemn spiritual truth taught in the lines that follow:

"The leper raised not the gold from the dust:  
 'Better to me the poor man's crust,  
 Better the blessing of the poor,  
 Though I turn me empty from his door;  
 That is no true alms which the hand can hold;  
 He gives nothing but worthless gold  
 Who gives from a sense of duty;  
 But he who gives but a slender mite,  
 And gives to that which is out of sight,  
 That thread of the all-sustaining Beauty  
 Which runs through all and doth all unite—"

The hand cannot clasp the whole of his alms,  
The heart outstretches its eager palms,  
For a god goes with it and makes it store  
To the soul that was starving in darkness before.”

But if the soul was drugged by the Lethe of the sensuous world when the young knight went forth, the long years of striving for something that symbolize supreme or God-like self-sacrifice, wrought a transformation in the soul of Sir Launfal, as is seen when, as an old man, he returns to his castle only to find it in possession of others, while he is banished as an impostor. When alone and friendless he muses under the cold and cheerless sky, again the leper comes with the old plaintive cry:

“For Christ’s sweet sake, I beg an alms’—  
The happy camels may reach the spring,  
But Sir Launfal sees only the grewsome thing,  
The leper, lank as the rain-blanchèd bone,  
That cowers beside him, a thing as lone  
And white as the ice-isles of Northern seas  
In the desolate horror of his disease.

“And Sir Launfal said, ‘I behold in thee  
An image of Him who died on the tree;  
Thou also hast had thy crown of thorns—  
Thou also hast had the world’s buffets and scorns—  
And to thy life were not denied  
The wounds in the hands and feet and side:  
Mild Mary’s Son, acknowledge me;  
Behold, through him, I give to thee!’

“Then the soul of the leper stood up in his eyes  
And looked at Sir Launfal, and straightway he  
Remembered in what a haughtier guise  
He had flung an alms to leprosie,  
When he girt his young life up in gilded mail  
And set forth in search of the Holy Grail.  
The heart within him was ashes and dust;  
He parted in twain his single crust,  
He broke the ice on the streamlet’s brink,  
And gave the leper to eat and drink.  
“T was a mouldy crust of coarse, brown bread,  
“T was water out of a wooden bowl—  
Yet with fine wheaten bread was the leper fed,  
And ‘t was red wine he drank with his thirsty  
soul.

“As Sir Launfal mused with a downcast face,  
A light shone round about the place;  
The leper no longer crouched at his side,  
But stood before him glorified,  
Shining and tall and fair and straight  
As the pillar that stood by the Beautiful Gate—  
Himself the Gate whereby men can  
Enter the temple of God in Man.

“His words were shed softer than leaves from the  
pine,  
And they fell on Sir Launfal as snows on the  
brine,  
That mingle their softness and quiet in one  
With the shaggy unrest they float down upon;  
And the voice that was calmer than silence said,  
‘Lo it is I, be not afraid!  
In many climes, without avail,  
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;  
Behold, it is here—this cup which thou  
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;  
This crust is my body broken for thee,  
This water His blood that died on the tree;  
The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,  
In whatso we share with another’s need;  
Not what we give, but what we share—  
For the gift without the giver is bare;  
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three—  
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me.”

The lesson here impressed, like the august truth touching duty in the presence of great problems that affect justice, freedom and the rights of others, splendidly reveals the presence of the Divine Afflatus, the intuitive power that enables the true poet, when under the compulsion of spiritual illumination, to reach the heart of things—that God-like power that is shadowed forth in the seeing eye, the hearing ear and the feeling heart, and which makes the people’s poet a way-shower of civilization and apostle of truth, a servant of progress and a lover of all living things.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

# DEMOCRACY, THE HIGH SCHOOL AND SELF-SUPPORTING STUDENTS.

BY WILLIAM THUM.

**T**HE MAIN object of every nation should be to teach the nearest possible approach to a truly democratic state. Democracy that is worthy of the name cannot be possible until a great majority of the citizens possess both a good general education and a special education in some economic field. We here include the professions and arts in economic activity. A good general education will tend to equalize us socially, and a nearer approach to social democracy will result. A well-diffused economic education will tend toward an equalization of our earning capacities, and to the extent of the equalization affected, it will develop economic democracy.

In order to build the highest economic democracy, it is of great importance that economic education be improved and more generally distributed; but it must also be accompanied by a better distribution of general education. This combined economic and general education must be of such a degree and so well distributed as to lead the citizen to the polls in the interest of laws that will result in economic justice. By economic justice we mean a state in which no man, through the mere power of wealth, can take artificial advantage of men who possess less wealth or a keener moral sense.

We cannot approximate social democracy until all citizens have an equal opportunity to obtain a general secondary and higher education, but all cannot have such equal opportunity until economic methods and customs no longer give to some persons an unearned advantage.

As just stated, we must have a higher popular education both general and economic in order to make laws that put an end to much of this undue advantage;

but as the undue advantage retards the needed advance in popular education, progress is unavoidably slow. We can, however, safely hope that the retarded education will be all the better for the struggle required. This slow progress may be the only safe way for the present, but no opportunity wisely to further education should pass unimproved.

True national democracy must always tend toward both economic and social democracy. In social democracy we include both intellectual and moral democracy.

So long as educated persons are relatively few, they will take little interest in politics; but as their relative numbers increase, their interest in politics will increase. When they are in the majority, politics will become the most important subject of their thought and action. Thus politics will be purified and democracy will be furthered. Again, so long as secondary and higher education is monopolized by relatively few, these few, with some exceptions, will take undue advantage of the less enlightened. In many cases this advantage is taken unwittingly because even higher education in politics and economics is as yet too crude. Under these conditions an approximation to true democracy is out of the question.

It is the duty of every man who has the capacity to obtain a good general education and an economic education. It is his further duty as a citizen to aid in the spread of secondary education at least. The majority of those who have the means to pay the expense of obtaining such education, or who have friends to pay these expenses for them, no doubt attend secondary schools. We therefore depend principally on the self-supporting youth to increase the number of earnest students

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in these schools. The number who systematically and liberally educate themselves at home is too small to take into account. The man who has not in one way or another obtained a thorough secondary education is usually far from his best in citizenship.

Uncomplimentary things are often said about some high schools and about some of the students, and sometimes with good reason. This adverse criticism is due to the fact that too large a proportion of high-school students regard the high school merely as a means of making one proficient in the "game of grab" or in the "society habit." Nevertheless, without high schools improved by time and greatly increased in number, our advance toward true democracy will be so slow that the reactionary element in both the so-called lower and higher classes of society will more than counteract this slow advance. Finally, such democracy as we have accomplished will be destroyed. We especially mention high schools, as, in our present state of enlightenment, they are more necessary than additional universities. If what has been said is true, the high school, or an equivalent, and the self-supporting student give us our greatest hope for further advance toward true democracy.

The following plan is offered as a suggestion to any boy of sixteen or eighteen years of age, who, in order to do his duty to himself and to his country, is anxious to have an education beyond the eighth grade, who is dependent on his own resources, and who is so situated as to make the following undertaking feasible. Let him find a willing partner in a tried and true friend, and let them together seek permanent employment in some

business, as one boy, one to work in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. After demonstrating their ability to do their work to the satisfaction of their employer, let them apply to some well-equipped high school, or polytechnic school, for admission in half-day sessions, one to attend in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon for the first year, with the reverse order of time for the second year. In this manner, each will attend a year of morning and a year of afternoon sessions, and in the two years will have obtained a full year of schooling. When over school age, the boys will be required to pay approximately their share of the operating expenses of the school. This requirement should not be regarded as an obstacle, as it will amount to only about thirty dollars a year for a half-time student. It may often be advisable that these boys room together. By this plan each will keep better informed regarding the work done by the other, and the two can better fill the place of a single employé. Two boys living at home may still live together by staying first at the home of one, then at the home of the other, alternating perhaps every month. If economy is practiced in every direction wages of seven dollars a week for the half-time of each student, will pay all living and school expenses. School men believe that most young men could easily graduate after six years of this half-time attendance. By this plan the school education would be more slowly and more thoroughly assimilated, thus making it of more than ordinary value. Employés often advance their best interests by giving employment to well-chosen, self-supporting students. WILLIAM THUM.

*Pasadena, Cal.*

## OUR OVER-DEVELOPED SENSE OF HUMOR.

BY EUNICE TIETJENS.

**T**HERE is a saying current on the Continent to the effect that the quality which is most peculiarly characteristic of Anglo-Saxon literature, and is its greatest gift to the world of letters is its humor. German literature stands pre-eminent for "*Gemüt*," an untranslatable word which means a certain friendly sentiment, the French excel in "*esprit*," in hard, scintillating wit, but the inalienable birthright of the Anglo-Saxon is humor.

Whether or not humor really is our greatest literary characteristic remains a debatable point, but we must forgive our continental brethren for thinking so, since there is very little doubt that it is the quality of which we are proudest. This is even more true of America than of England, for while we inherited our love of humor from the mother country we consider that we have far outstripped her in the race.

Humor, we say, is the grease which makes the wheel of life turn smoothly; humor, with her handmaid ridicule, rights our wrongs for us and hurls the Boss Tweeds of the day helpless to earth; humor is a strong sword in the hands of the cartoonist and reformer and a soothing syrup for our children's woes. Without humor life is unimaginable, a dreary waste of duty and boredom. If nature has been deficient in supplying you with a sense of the ridiculous, cultivate one, and never rest till this hot-house product has attained at least respectable proportions.

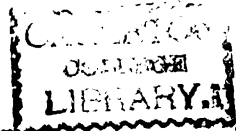
All this is undeniably true and most wise when applied to the kindly, affectionate humor of an Oliver Wendell Holmes or the reform-barbed arrows of a Thomas Nast. And yet—there is such a thing as an over-developed sense of humor, and surely our country is suffering from it.

Through much feeding and forcing our sense of the ridiculous is grown large

beyond reason. It has lost its delicacy in the process as a rose might be magnified into a cabbage. No longer do we hold our humor within bounds, but like a spoiled, over-grown child it gambols over the pastures of our life laying smutty fingers on what is deepest and truest there, on religion, on sentiment, on love. It says: "Thou shalt not tell of thine innermost religious hopes and yearnings or I will mock at thee." And we are silent. It says again: "Thou shalt not give thyself, except in superficialities. If thou hast depth of sentiment or delicacy of thought, hide them or I will laugh." And we hide them till from lack of air and sunshine they wither away. We dare no longer be ourselves for fear of ridicule.

This is even more apparent in our modes of expression than in our lives. Consider our daily press, our periodicals, our theaters, places of public amusements, even our songs. These things represent the pulse of the public at large. Look at the daily press. What do we find there? Tragedy, alas, often sordid or garish tragedy—and flippancy. Rarely anything else. The pale cast of would-be humor, cynical, ironical or coarse, according to the "policy of the paper," is over it all, tingeing the political reports, creeping into the editorials and dictating to the critics, who must write "readable" stuff often at the cost of justice. And what shall we say of the brutal, slap-stick comic supplements that are given weekly into the hands of our children? Here indeed is humor gone to seed!

Our periodicals, representing as they do the better class of literary work, are less virulent than the daily press; but what writer does not know the cry of the distracted editor for "humorous stuff"? While the periodicals, I am speaking now of eight out of every ten magazines on our news-stands, are less objectionable in one



way, in another they are better proof of what we may not say. We may not write tragedy, unless by chance we are already famous when we can do as we please; we may under no circumstances write anything so-called "unpleasant"; and we may not become sentimental except in a certain light vein where the author leaves himself a way of instant escape to the safe ground of humor.

In the theater it is the same story. Of all the money paid for theater tickets at least three-quarters on a conservative estimate go to the vaudeville house and musical comedies which have avowedly no other object than to cater to the abnormally developed craving of the average American for "something funny." This proportion is too large for intellectual health in a nation.

Even our songs hold the mirror to the times. Indeed the change which has taken place in the last twenty-five years is nowhere more succinctly set forth than in our popular songs. The fear of ridicule was not so quick in our fathers. In all simplicity they sang of "Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt" and "In the Gloaming." To-day our young manhood sings of "Poor John" and "I'm Afraid to go Home in the Dark." Our over-developed sense of humor makes us feel uneasily that it is laughable for a man to give himself to the extent necessary to sing one of the old-time songs.

There is yet another manifestation of the same condition. As a nation we have no heroes, none at least who are worshiped as such. Carlyle, writing on hero-worship once cried out: "I say great men are still admirable; I say there is at bottom nothing else admirable! No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the heart of man. It is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's

life." To this hour! What, alas, has become of hero-worship in our country? The poor bones of our long-dead ancestors are dragged out, arrayed in the gauds of the ludicrous and made to dance in the puppet show. The one exception to this seems to be Abraham Lincoln. Is it perhaps from a sense that we would be breaking blood-brotherhood to ridicule such an arch-humorist? Or was Lincoln what we consider the perfect balance between humor and seriousness? Reverence to-day is a virtue well-nigh obsolete. A man may do brave deeds and be for the moment a hero, and yet later if some trivial circumstance shows him in a laughable light, his real worth is quite forgotten and he becomes immediately a laughing stock. Or he may devote his life to unselfish toil for the betterment of his fellow-man, only to be heaped with undeserved ridicule.

Comedy undoubtedly lends the necessary spice of variety to the work-a-day world, but too much spice is unhealthy and deadens the keen edge of perception. A little study of the literature of the rest of the world will establish this beyond question. Try if you can to imagine a Werther living in the United States. You will find it impossible. Werther, of course, cannot be recommended as a model character, but young America could well stand a little admixture of his finer sensibilities.

It seems probable that our present humorous state is merely a passing phase, a growing pain which will leave us none the worse. But the end is long to wait, and meantime like the traveler on the desert we are being pushed out of the sanctum of our finer selves by this humped camel of humor which seemed so harmless.

EUNICE TIETJENS.

*New York City.*

## THE DEFEAT OF A MIGHTY CORPORATION.

BY HENRY FRANK.

A GREAT popular triumph has recently been won by the people of New York city. Nowhere in all the world is there so great danger of the enthralment of the masses by the gigantic corporate interests that control the nation's instrumentalities of wealth, as in our great metropolis. It had begun to be feared by many that the courts were being throttled by the corporations, and that common justice was beginning to be impossible if sought by the poor. Indeed, there have been several recent decisions of a disquieting character. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered some opinions which apparently threaten the progress of organization and self-defense among the working masses of our land; the boycott as an instrument of self-protection has been outlawed while the brutality of the blacklist has been seemingly connived at; certain eminent and highly-respected labor leaders have been declared to be in contempt, and sentence of imprisonment has been pronounced against them; and the laudatory effort of an inferior court to impose a merited, howbeit heavy, fine upon the most colossal corporate criminal in Christendom has been abusively condemned and the case remanded by a higher court. Hence in view of such a catalogue of events, the sudden achievement of a victory by the people over a mighty corporation is indeed an event to cause us all to rejoice and give thanks.

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York city, a corporation within the grip of whose greedy clutches millions of our citizens have often suffered humiliation, discomfort and privation, is compelled by the courts to return to the people from whom they purloined it, some nine to twelve millions of dollars, not as conscience money indeed, but as money which by the mere right of might they nefari-

ously compelled the citizens to surrender.

The mere giving back of the money in itself is not so great a triumph as the fact that this infamous concern is forced to appreciate and respect the rights of the people whom they have heretofore so disdainfully scorned or disregarded. The victory teaches that not with impunity can even a gigantic combination of moneyed interests ignore the authority and control of the *corporate people who constitute the government*. It teaches that hereafter the offensive officers of that concern will be compelled to listen to the sincere complaints of a people whose interests they have heretofore treated with imperious indifference.

But stupendous as is this popular triumph, we must not overlook the agency which achieved it. In this land the hope and future of the people lie more in the freedom and efficiency of the press, than in any other instrumentality which our history has engendered. Once the press is enlisted on the side of the people, then we feel assured the god of battles is with us and ere long victory must perch on our banners. There are, indeed, only two appalling possibilities that confront our future. The one is a purchased and subsidized, and the other a restricted or muzzled, popular press. Once the time arrives when the press shall be but the mouthpiece of commercialized and selfish personal or corporate interests, disdain- ing the cry of the people and the needs of the masses, and we shall have approached the brink of the ruin of our civic liberties and social justice.

Once the press be suppressed by fear of persecution or the whip of merciless political autocrats or imperious industrial employers, and we might as well hang our harps on the willows of Babylon and despair of progress, peace or prosperity. In the free and unrestricted press of our

country we possess our true guide and the only palladium of our liberty. Once that is wrested from us and we would soon be smitten by the heels of social and civic monsters, whose only ambition would be their self-aggrandizement and merciless industrial conquest.

It is therefore a matter not only for rejoicing but an event full of prophetic hope, that through the direct intervention and instrumentality of one of the great newspapers of the city, assisted sympathetically by a few others, the courts were compelled to give due respect to the demands of a robbed and over-ridden people, whose cry would have been all in vain had not so strong a weapon of defense been unsheathed in their behalf. But this immediate victory inspires us with the hope that in the near future a far more glorious civic triumph awaits us, compared with which the immediate legal triumph will be but as water unto wine. If the people through the courts can force a corporation to disgorge the moneys they have stolen from them and teach it that it is, after all, but the people's servant and a creature of the majesty of the law which asserts their will, why cannot this same imperious people refuse to submit to the sway of commercial buccaneers and own and control their own gas-works and operate them for their mutual benefit, void of personal profit or legalized robbery?

Once the press of the land is awake to the promises of a cooperative common-

wealth, wherein the people shall rule and spurn the effrontery of any scheming autocrat, the New Paradise will be at hand and the Kingdom of Heaven not far removed.

Once the press shall be convinced that the people are inherently right and to be implicitly trusted, it will clamor for the common-ownership not only of the public utilities, the great systems of transportation, the waterways, the railways, the lighting and heating agencies of civilization, but of all and every institution which is involved in the creation of the nation's wealth and its equitable distribution throughout the land.

Once the unpurchasable press discerns this far-visioned summit of civic promise and social justice, the reign of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the social consciousness will be proclaimed throughout the world. Then indeed will come the fall of despots and end of tyranny.

Man, the worker, man, my brother,  
Then in common love shall rule;  
Justice, swaying, shall not smother  
Souls aspiring in life's school.

Labor, then, no menial badge,  
On its heart shall wear; none,  
Bound to servitude of wage,  
Shall despond beneath the sun.

Then the strife for livelihood  
Shall not give the heart despair;  
Touched with sense of brotherhood,  
Each will give and take his share!

HENRY FRANK.

*New York City.*

## THE CENTRAL BANK IDEA.

BY ELLIS O. JONES.

**T**RADITION has it that the American people are unalterably opposed to a central or national or Federal bank. This tradition is handed down from the strenuous days of President Jackson who has become the patron political saint of a

large number of our people on account of his indefatigable fight against "the monster," as the Bank of the United States was habitually called in those days.

As a result of that tradition, the central bank has been a bugaboo to the practical



politician ever since, and the public press also touches the subject gingerly. The bank was the plain issue in 1836, and the Whigs, who favored the bank, were overwhelmingly defeated. And yet, the idea will not down. After the lapse of over three-score years and ten, the question looms up big on the political horizon. The comptroller of the currency has just gone on record in favor of it, and as a remedy for currency evils, emphasized by the recent financial panic, the central bank vies for first place with the asset currency scheme.

It may be said in general that tradition is usually a poor guide in important matters and for two principal reasons: first, because, through the passage of time, tradition invariably becomes distorted, so that the form alone is often cherished to the exclusion of the substance and, second, because times and conditions inevitably change so that tradition based on earlier and different times and conditions becomes antiquated.

So it is with this tradition. The average man of to-day receives this traditional antipathy towards the national bank without examination. He considers that the question of national or central banks has once been definitely fought out with great attendant financial disaster and economic misery, and so the average man stands appalled at the least suggestion of bringing it forward again as an issue.

Such an attitude, even the most hasty examination of what took place in the time of Jackson does not justify. Jackson did not oppose national banks in general. He was opposed to that particular institution known as the Bank of the United States whose charter, by legislative enactment, began in 1819 and was to expire in 1836. This distinction is important. Jackson kept this distinction prominently in mind throughout the entire discussion. His opening gun on the institution was fired in his first annual message to Congress, December 8, 1829, eight years before the expiration of the bank's charter. After justifying his early atten-

tion to the subject on the score of its prime importance, he said:

"Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency."

Had he stopped with that purely negative position, the effort of some historians to make it appear that Jackson's opposition was unreasoning, ill-conceived, petty and personal might carry greater conviction. But he did not stop there. In the very next paragraph he hastens to take a positive, constructive stand as follows:

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues, might not be devised which would avoid all constitutional difficulties and at the same time secure all the advantages to the government and country that were expected to result from the present bank."

Such in brief is the attitude which Jackson maintained throughout. He contended that the bank was nothing more or less than a gratuitous, special, governmental privilege to private individuals. In his message of 1832 vetoing an act to renew the charter, he figured that the government had already "donated" about seventeen million dollars to private individuals (laying stress on the fact that over one-fourth of these were foreigners) and that a renewal of the charter would mean another donation of a large amount. In another place, he said that such a bank should belong to the nation exclusively and especially if it was to be a bank of issue and discount as well as deposit; that it should be a purely governmental bank in which all the people should share. Benton, who was one of Jackson's chief supporters in Congress, continually harped on the point that the bank was an exclusive privilege to private individuals and

tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

How far right Benton was is a great deal easier to judge at this day, than it was then, clouded as the question was with thousands of personal and political side issues. We have no difficulty in escaping the awe which surrounded the big financial and industrial leaders of the time. Besides we have been thoroughly schooled in stock-jobbing propositions. Therefore, hardly more than an outline of the scheme is necessary to convince us of its utter inadmissibility as a measure for the public good.

The bank was capitalized at thirty-five million dollars, of which by law the United States government was to buy seven millions at par. Thus, it was to be a corporation and the government was to be a minority stockholder with all the chances of being mulcted which minority stockholders usually possess. The rest of the stock, with certain minor and unimportant restrictions, was to be held by private individuals. To give due credit to the acumen of the lobbyists of those days and suggest that the people would not allow steals to go through without some pretense at least of fairness, the government was allowed five directors, out of a board of twenty-five, to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. It was further provided that the government was to receive a bonus of \$1,500,000 in annual installments "in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon the said bank." These exclusive benefits provided that during the time of the charter, Congress should not charter any other bank or increase the capitalization of any bank already in existence, except under certain conditions, in the District of Columbia. It was this last provision, looked upon as an attempt to bind the acts of future Congresses that Jackson considered the chief constitutional objection. It was further provided that the legislature should have the right of examining the books of the bank with a

view to determining its security for government deposits.

With these safeguards, then, the United States was to deposit its money in the bank without interest, these deposits throughout the period ranging from \$4,057,000 to \$19,598,000 annually. In a word, that was the scheme. The government was to lend its name, its money and its credit. It was to put in seven millions of cash for stock and to place vast amounts of other moneys in the hands of private individuals. In return, it was to receive uncertain dividends on its stock (the actual dividends paid amounted to an average of six or seven per cent. per annum). It was to receive the \$1,500,000 as a payment for exclusive privileges. It was to receive banking facilities to the extent of having its moneys transferred from place to place without charge. There was nothing further. The government borrowed no money from the bank, as in the case of the Bank of England.

We who are familiar with a widespread system of paying interest on bank deposits, can readily see that everything the government received, including the bonus, and more could have been gained from any responsible banking institution without the granting of exclusive privileges.

So it may be seen that the second Bank of the United States was a clear-cut case of private graft upon the public and it was that feature which aroused Jackson's opposition. To be sure, Jackson had other arguments, such as the meddling of the bank in politics, the corruption of public servants and the public press and so on. At a later period in the discussion, it was charged that the bank deliberately called its loans in order to arouse the resentment of the people against the administration. If it did this, it merely threw a boomerang, for the financial depression only served to increase the unpopularity of the bank. Further consideration of these collateral reasons, however, may be eliminated from this paper.

The second weakness of tradition, above referred to, as a basis for public

policy lies in the change of conditions without a corresponding change in the tradition. Tradition has it that a bitter fight was once fought against a central bank and that nothing similar was substituted for the fallen institution. This is sufficient information for those who blindly follow tradition. In the meantime, however, we have been through four panics and are in the throes of a fifth. Is it not possible that each panic has taught us something? In the meantime also, we have financed three wars, emerging from each greater than before in point of productive capacity and, with the exception of the Civil War, in point of territory. Certainly each of these wars has severely jolted numerous traditions and forced new questions upon us. In the meantime also, there has been steadily manifest an inevitable tendency toward concentration and centralization. At that time, the question of state's rights was always rife, and a bitter war was yet to be fought on that very point. Now, the question of state's rights, while occasionally referred to, no longer possesses the power to factionalize men.

Especially during the last few years, have concentration and centralization of power and function with the Federal government received great impetus. The President of the United States and several members of the cabinet have openly advocated it as a definite policy. Here are the comprehensive words, recently uttered, of the venerable Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*:

"The day of great industrial combination has arrived. The great combinations, whether of labor or capital, are not to be broken up. They are not to be given control of the industries of the country. What then? They are to be made to serve the public welfare by being made subject to the power of a still greater and stronger combination, namely, that of all the people acting in and through the Federal government."

Those words are unequivocal and events substantiate their sanity. In spite

of rigid prohibitory laws, enacted not only by the central government but by nearly every state in the union as well and, in spite of the steady opposition of the Democratic party, concentration of capital, or trusts, has gone on practically unchecked.

On the other hand, in spite of powerful lobbies, in our national legislative bodies, the idea of Federal control and supervision has marched steadily onward. Call it what you will, unconstitutional usurpation, inevitable evolution or crass imperialism, it is nevertheless a fact. Railroad rate regulations, pure-food laws, meat inspection bills and the like are important instances.

In view of this tendency, it is but natural that the subject of a central bank should come up and, it may be prophesied with a reasonable degree of certainty, that a central bank of some sort will ere long be established.

To say the least, something must be done. Things cannot go on in the topsy-turvy way we now find them. At present, the statutory financial regulations of the country are largely ignored and our finances are running at the loosest of loose ends. Without legislative sanction, the public moneys are carted and bandied about among the private banks and the secretary of the treasury is the sole powerful autocrat of it all. Whether he is doing it well or ill, it is not within the province of this paper to judge. The fact remains. That is to say, we already have a kind of improvised central banking arrangement with no regulation whatever strong enough to meet the most commonplace emergency. It is like the case of the man who insisted upon perfect obedience from his dog to the extent that if the dog paid no attention to his orders, the man suited his commands to the whims of the dog.

The result is, under the present system, or lack of system, the government, the people, get all the disadvantages of a central bank, whatever they may be, without any of the advantages. What

are the disadvantages of a central bank? The disadvantages of such a bank as we had before, in which the government turns over all its resources to private individuals for their individual speculation and profit, ought to be obvious without further elaboration. Such a bank is not a central bank, properly so-called, and meets none of the needs of the present.

The disadvantages of a real central bank of the United States, owned and administered exclusively by the government, and operated for the benefit of all the people in conformity with the policy outlined by Lyman Abbott, are not so obvious. The place to look for such disadvantages is in the literature of opposition to postal savings-banks. But even postal savings-banks are coming more and more into favor with those who are in authority in this country. Several postmasters-general, including the present incumbent, have advocated the system. What seems more natural, if we are to have postal savings-banks, than that we should have a central postal savings-bank? And, if we are to have a central postal savings-bank, why should we not have a central banking institution, with the necessary branches, for all legitimate banking purposes? That is to say, why would it not be better to lend to any and all people, under proper regulations, than at present to lend exclusively to bankers with no

regulations whatsoever? Let others answer these three questions.

Those who believe that the government, the people, should continue to hand out free of charge, make donations as Jackson expresses it, valuable public rights for private individuals to exploit; those who believe with Hamilton that certain men in the community, by divine or other extraordinary right, are greater than the community itself, can undoubtedly find plenty of good and sufficient reasons for continuing the present chaotic lack of system by which the few are enriched at the expense and by the favor of the many: a system conceived in injustice and fraught with periodical widespread misery.

Those, on the other hand, who believe in greater centralization of function, a general policy which puts the whole people, the public good, first, which makes the whole exactly equal to the sum of its parts and which finds specific manifestation in the ever-increasing demand for municipal ownership of public utilities and Federal control of natural monopolies, such as telegraphs, parcels-post, railroads and even coal mines and kindred properties; those, I say, will see in the establishment of a central bank, on the proper lines, only another specific manifestation of a general evolutionary tendency.

ELLIS O. JONES.

*Columbus, Ohio.*

## THE DETERMINING VISION.

BY EMILY S. BOUTON.

UPON the shore which the waves touched softly as they advanced and receded, the youth lay stretched out on the soft, warm sand with his eyes fixed gloomily upon the ever-moving waters. And yet what he saw was very beautiful. Over the surface of the sea which, at first, wore a dull, leaden hue—the shadow of

the clouds covering the sky—there began a wonderful play of color produced by the sun-shafts that had pierced the gray veil and was making what the poets name the amethystine sea. In the sunset west grew a golden glow crossed by marvelous waves of fire. These touched the edges of the clouds now broken into irregular

masses floating across the blue, with varying tints reflected again and again in the mirror below. The air shimmered and changed into an opaline transparency as if from some central heart was pouring streams of light to shiver it into colors of changing intensity.

The youth lay and watched the glory of sea and sky which no words can adequately describe, until the pain that had shadowed his eyes and furrowed his brow had departed. It had been to him a day of days. In the early morning he had found himself at the entrance of two paths and compelled to choose which one he would follow. In other words, two offers had been made for his young manhood's work and energy. The one promised an easy way to wealth and power; the other, rough climbing with weary feet so far as his vision of the future could reach. The temptation to take the first was almost irresistible. And yet! In his heart of hearts, he knew that the one meant the gradual deadening of his highest impulses; the other, spiritual growth through suffering.

The tempter had woven specious arguments that inclosed him like a web, constantly growing stronger. Almost he had yielded, when there came to him suddenly the words of his mother's prayer with which she had sent him forth into the world: "Father, give this, my son, strength to resist temptation." Thrilled by the memory, he had broken away and sought the solitude of the seashore, there to fight the battle with the selfish self to a finish.

Slowly the brilliant colors faded into purple twilight shadows close at hand, but afar off in the horizon was still the "light shattered into heliotrope hues without a suspicion of darkness." Oh, the mystery of it! Oh, the glory of it!

Suddenly out of the light the youth saw the figure of a man drawing near. As he watched its slow approach, he was awed by the majesty of its mien, the stateliness of its bearing. Presently in the dimness a face was defined, tender, benignant,

with luminous eyes that seemed to look into his very soul.

"Come with me."

The words were low, musically accented, and tinged with an authority which he did not hesitate to obey. Taking the outstretched hand of his companion, he found himself slowly rising without volition of his own, and moving through the radiant sunset air.

They seemed to float over cities and seas, sometimes above the clouds that veiled from their vision the earth below. An indescribable sense of exhilaration filled his whole being. He spoke no word, felt no fear, or even wonderment at his strange experience.

Presently they began to move downward. Suddenly he found himself standing quietly by his companion, whom he now observed to be clothed in luminous garments as if an inner light were shining through. They were upon the summit of a very high mountain. The peak upon which they stood seemed to have shot upward and outward, bringing into view a narrow valley or ravine lying between it and a similar mountain-peak opposite.

"Look below you," said his companion to the youth.

In the depths were shadows so deep that at first he could see nothing clearly defined. Gradually he became conscious that figures were moving to and fro, a confused multitude pushing and jostling each other, pausing not to help those who fell, but cruelly trampling them beneath their feet. Apart from the hurrying crowd were others who seemed to be digging into the earth. They never paused in their labor, never looked upward toward the blue sky, but worked, *worked* unceasingly, for as fast as they threw out what looked like shining sand, it fell back again into the hollows they had made. As he gazed there came to his ear a low, hoarse roar like that of an angry sea, sometimes rising almost to a shriek, anon dying away into a murmur in which was always a note of pain.

"Tell me, who are these people," the

youth exclaimed, at last, turning to his companion. "And let us go away. I cannot bear to look longer. Who are these wretched ones?"

"They are those who, through love of money, and a desire for the ease and luxury which its possession makes possible, forgot that they had any duty to their fellow-men. Uncaring, they based their wealth upon the sorrows, the privities, the robberies of the helpless, day by day their greed strengthening, until its grip of steel was upon body, brain and soul. When the change men call death came to them, it did not alter their desires and ambitions, but they entered into this land wherein there is never satisfaction, and here they unceasingly strive for what they can never obtain."

"And must they always remain thus?" asked the youth with intensely pitying gaze. "Is there no hope of anything better?"

"The door leading into the brighter world where walk the shining Ones, the Helpers, and where is to be found the peace which, you have heard, passeth all understanding by those in the flesh, is never closed so long as there is a single aspiration, one desire to gain the clearer, purer atmosphere of the Spirit. Yet it is rare that any of these look upward. The love of gold has so interpenetrated their whole being that nothing save a mad desire for its possession enters their thought. And this desire is never satisfied. There is always the longing which is a constantly growing agony."

"How terrible it is!" cried the youth. "Why is not the world shown this picture that it may take warning?"

"It would be in vain for it would not look," was the sad reply. "Has not the Elder Brother pointed out the way to the better life? Men either give no heed to

his words or distort their meaning until they are of no avail. He taught that always the thought must be pure, must reflect the divine love, must dwell only upon the good and the true in order to gain strength to reach the heights. It is right-thinking which at last makes men but little lower than the angels. Instead of this, carelessly do they enter the pathway leading into this valley of death, their thought fascinated and held by the illusory idea of the possession of wealth. Rarely do they turn backward; rarely do they seek to find a possible place and moment of choice such as is given once to every human being. Not that it is forbidden him to follow right at any moment, but there is always a time when it is easier. Happy is he who chooses wisely in the beginning."

Into the voice of the speaker as he uttered the last sentence had come an intense earnestness which vibrated to the heart of the listening youth. While he pondered he suddenly became conscious that he was alone, that the valley with its tragic multitude was gone from his sight, nor could he hear the roar of their tumultuous striving. Instead of this was the soft and rhythmic wash of waters upon the sand. The play of colors in the western sky had ceased, leaving only the golden glow that is the day's farewell.

The youth arose from what seemed an hour's slumber, but he knew he had been shown a vision. His hesitation was over. His choice was made. Not for all the luxury that money could buy; not for the power which the possession of wealth uncounted might give, would he turn his face toward the valley, of which the shadows would never fade from his memory. And thus deciding, he took his homeward way.

EMILY S. BOUTON.

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# MEDICAL EXPLANATIONS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CURES CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF TYPICAL CASES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

SINCE we founded THE ARENA, in the autumn of 1889, to the present time, during the years when this review has been under our editorial management, we do not call to mind more than three instances where a paper appearing in our pages has called forth more favorable letters or inquiries than have been elicited by our contribution in the November ARENA on "Christian Science and Organic Disease." Many valued friends have called at the office to discuss its contents, and from Canada and various parts of the Republic have come letters expressive of new and general interest in the subject and asking for further facts, which we intimated could be given in substantiation of the claims made. Perhaps the general tenor of these letters and conversations with interested parties can best be summed up in the following expressions by two of our readers.

One friend said: "Until reading your paper in THE ARENA for November, I had unhesitatingly accepted the position which the medical profession and most writers in the magazines and newspapers have assumed when discussing cures said to have been made by Christian Science practitioners,—namely, that the diseases were not correctly diagnosed; that though in many cases there may have been no intention on the part of the patient to deceive or falsify, the conclusions were due to loose thinking or 'intellectual mistiness'; that though in many instances the cures, as Dr. Cabot observes, doubtless took place, 'they were

not cures of organic disease.' I accepted without question the opinion of Dr. Cabot when he said, 'In my own personal researches into Christian Science "cures," I have never found one in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished.\* Faulty or incompetent diagnosis was in my judgment the first explanation of the apparent cures of organic disease by Christian Scientists. Secondly, I believed that the persons making the statement, while probably usually sincere and in a general way good people, were chiefly ignorant and over-credulous, many of them prone to exaggeration, and not a few desiring to pose and attract attention,—something very common at the present day, when sensationalism is rampant. In the third place, I believed that whatever real cures had been accomplished under Christian Science treatment were clearly due to suggestion, not in nature different from that practiced by physicians who employ hypnotism, though in the case of Christian Scientists, of course, the end was attained without hypnosis. Your paper, containing as it did the deliberate testimony of two eminent diagnosticians, one an Englishman and the other an American, and both men who had been signally honored while actively practicing medicine, instantly arrested my attention. The views of these men certainly merited respectful consideration as expert opinions; and the amazing character of the cures they recorded, together with the clear and

\*Dr. Cabot in McClure's Magazine; quoted in November ARENA.

logical manner in which the material was presented, has compelled me to revise my opinions. So far as they went, the cases as presented in the November ARENA seemed to me unanswerable; but in the presence of a world-entrenched skepticism and with the medical profession as a whole, and the clergy, practically a unit in opposing the conclusions that logically followed the facts presented, it occurred to me that the cause of truth would be greatly furthered if you should give us other cases that would tend to confirm the positions taken in your paper on 'Christian Science and Organic Disease,' and thus further break down the prejudice born of long-accepted and rarely-questioned views."

The other friend also urged us to give additional cases, because, as he pointed out, there is a vast amount of literature emanating from the other side, and even the position of the leaders of the widely-discussed Emanuel movement is in perfect harmony with the conventional medical contention that no organic disease can be cured by methods other than those practiced by the medical fraternity.

The importance of the subject, the general interest in our previous paper, and the reasons urged by our friends, have led us to conclude that a further citation of typical cases might be helpful in stimulating that thorough investigation which truth challenges and which all theories, opinions or truths not generally accepted must encounter before the barriers of prejudice, conservative thought and preconceived ideas are broken down. We therefore invite our readers' attention to a further examination, in which the three popular views advanced by the medical profession and the critics of Christian Science will be considered in the light of certain facts which will tend to test their validity and answer the question as to whether they are sufficient to explain the vast and rapidly growing volume of alleged cures of persons on whom, in many instances, physicians have passed the death sentence.

II.

The three principal replies or explanations vouchsafed when claims of cures of organic disease are made by friends of Christian Science, may be briefly summed up as follows:

(1) Inaccurate or faulty diagnosis, made by the patients instead of by competent physicians.

(2) That those making the claims of remarkable cures were persons of unschooled minds, not trained to sift evidence or to consider matters judicially; that they were frequently not only unscientific in their processes of reasoning, but over-credulous and prone to exaggeration.

(3) Where cures were effected, they have been of merely functional disorders and have been the result of suggestion, essentially similar in character to that employed by hypnotists, though the results were obtained without throwing the subject into a sleep.

With these explanations in mind, we invite the readers' consideration to the detailed history of a case that in many respects is the most notable instance of cure in the annals of modern healing,— a case rendered doubly valuable as an illustration because of the supposed incurable character of the disease and the fact that from the view-point of *materia medica* the question of diagnosis leaves nothing to be desired. The history of the case by the physician in Chicago, up to the time when Christian Science stepped in, is on record in probably the most authoritative regular medical journal in the New World; while the story of the rescue of the medically-doomed invalid from darkness and despair, from untold agony and impending death, to perfect health under Christian Science, is here given as narrated by the husband of the patient as clearly and comprehensively as the downward course of the unfortunate woman's health under the care of eminent medical men was given by one of their own number.



In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for July 27, 1907, is found the following paper which we republish entire because of the importance of the facts in connection with the question we are now considering. The paper is contributed to the *Journal* by James B. Herrick, M. D., of Chicago, Illinois.

"The following case is reported because it is, I believe, the first instance recorded of the recovery from generalized blastomycosis. It is worthy of note also that the patient was a woman and of the better class. Blastomycosis in women is apparently a rarity. The patient was under the care of Dr. A. C. Garvy, with whom I saw her many times. This preliminary report is made with the kind consent of Dr. Garvy, who will later present a more detailed history of the case. It should encourage one in the persistent treatment of blastomycosis even of the generalized type, as it shows that a certain percentage, probably a small one, may terminate in healing.

"*History.*—The patient was Mrs. O., 24 years of age, for at least 15 years a resident of Chicago, of healthy, well-to-do parents, and with no severe preceding illness except the usual diseases of childhood, and nervous disturbances, largely hysterical, in 1899. She had been married eighteen months and was the mother of a healthy child three months old, which she was nursing at the time she was taken ill.

"April 24, 1904, the illness began, to quote her own words, 'with spots like hives and pains like rheumatism.' The first lesions were noticed over the left gluteal region. There was no fever at first, at least none that attracted attention, and the general health was not impaired for several weeks. The illness lasted for two years, and during this time there were seventy-nine distinct lesions. These varied in size from those 1 cm. in diameter to areas 8 cm. or more broad. They started as slightly reddish or purplish spots, showing through the skin or felt deep in the subcutaneous tissue. They

gradually became more prominent, somewhat hard and tender, and a pseudo fluctuation or a genuine fluctuation appearing, the lesions would break through the skin, discharging a thick, yellowish pus, or they would be opened by the physician; in a few instances spontaneous resolution without rupture occurred. After the evacuation of the pus a somewhat indolent granulating ulcer would be left, and there was often an extensive undermining of the skin, with burrowing of the pus. This was particularly marked over the left gluteal region where the deep situation of the abscess and its great size necessitated a drainage operation under anesthesia, which was done by Dr. J. B. Murphy, May 12, 1905. This abscess had its origin in the deeper structures, apparently in the pelvis. The lesions in some instances, as on one of the fingers, destroyed the bone. On healing they left comparatively slight scars that in their parchment-like feel somewhat resembled those of lues. Lues in the husband as well as in the patient was carefully excluded.

"*Course of the Disease.*—The general condition of the patient during the two years of illness varied very materially. Most of the time there was a slight temperature, with occasional exacerbations, when it would reach 102° or 103°. The pulse was generally rapid, a hemic murmur present and the spleen palpable. Early in the illness there was a cough, and Dr Garvy thought he detected signs of slight consolidation at the right apex. When I saw her I could make out no evidence of pulmonary lesion; at this time there was no cough. The urine showed an occasional trace of febrile (?) albumin. There was marked loss in weight and a secondary anemia. The hemoglobin at one time was as low as 50 per cent; an increase in the leucocytes was commonly present. At the time of the operation by Dr. Murphy the condition was so aggravated that it was thought she would die upon the table. There was generally more or less dis-

turbance of the stomach. At times the pain was extreme and the patient was always decidedly neurotic and even hysterical. This interfered very much with her sleep.

*Treatment*—The medication consisted of iodide of potassium, often in increasingly large doses. This seemed to benefit her decidedly, but there was never a complete healing of all the lesions, and the iodide often had to be stopped because of gastric distress occasioned by its prolonged use. The sulphate of copper was tried internally and locally, but with very doubtful benefit. Tonics and sedatives were given as indicated, the latter being of necessity used with a free hand.

*Recovery*.—In February, 1906, the patient left for California, weighing about 100 pounds instead of her original 130 pounds or more. There were still thirty-one sores on the body. The patient became quieter and less nervous, lived much of the time out of doors, began to sleep well, to improve as regards appetite, and there was soon a very decided tendency to healing of the sores. No medicine was taken after March 23, 1906. In August, 1906, the last sore had disappeared. I have seen the patient several times since and she is apparently, at the date of this writing, July 12, 1907, in perfect health. She writes me under recent date—‘I am better now than I have ever been in my whole life, and can endure anything and never have an ache or pain.’

*Diagnosis*.—The diagnosis of blastomycosis was made, not only on the clinical symptoms, including the naked eye appearance of the lesions and the exclusion of other diseases, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc., but by the microscopic examination of the pus from the wounds with a cultural development of the blastomyces. The culture experiments were made by Dr. Oliver Ormsby. The patient was seen at various times by Drs. James Nevins Hyde, Joseph Zeisler and J. B. Murphy. They agreed in the

diagnosis of generalized blastomycosis.”

Here we have contributed, by a high medical authority, the history of this remarkable case of a supposed incurable ailment; the terrible progress of the disease; the apparent approaching fatal termination; the statement of recovery, carrying a wholly inaccurate impression, it being an example of Hamlet with the Prince left out; and the diagnosis of the case. The latter is so complete that it ought to leave no doubt in the mind of the medical profession as to the accuracy of the diagnosis, if any faith is ever to be placed in medical diagnosis.

Now comes the history of the cure; and in passing let us say that this article was prepared by Mr. David Oliver of Chicago, the husband of the patient whose case has been so carefully diagnosed, to be published in a magazine that had printed an article from an eminent doctor in which he claimed that Christian Science had never cured a case of organic disease; but the magazine refused to publish this plain statement of facts. It was later given by Mr. Oliver for publication in the *Christian Science Sentinel*.

“The writer begs to take issue with a statement which appeared several months ago in one of our leading magazines, in which a doctor claimed that in his personal research into Christian Science cures he had never found one case in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished, and that the diagnosis was either made by the patient himself, or was an interpretation at second hand of what a doctor was supposed to have said. The writer has not made a personal research, but has come ‘face to face’ with a case of so-called organic disease, which he is fully convinced was cured in Christian Science, in spite of any opinions which may be held by physicians and others to the contrary.

“An article appeared in the *American Medical Association Journal*, under date

of July 27, 1907, which gave a complete statement of the case to which reference is made. By way of explanation it may be said that according to medical opinion blastomycosis is so-called organic disease, as unsightly as leprosy and as painful as any form of rheumatic trouble known to suffering mortals. To impress one with the severity of this case, it may be noted that the knife was used some eighty odd times, and that up to the present time there has never been a positive cure of such a case known in the history of medicine. It may also be of interest to know that the patient suffered from this terrible disease for over two years, and was treated by a number of eminent physicians, and that they agreed upon the diagnosis of the case as given in the medical journal already named. The writer of this testimony is the husband of the patient, and the facts herein related can be substantiated by any of the medical doctors who attended the case. The article referred to would give one the impression that the 'out-of-door' life in sunny California had a decided tendency toward the healing of this case, but the facts are that the weather during the patient's stay in California was rainy and disagreeable, which confined her to the house during her entire stay, with the exception of a few hours which were spent upon the porch.

"The patient was taken ill the latter part of May, 1904, and was not able to leave her bed except for a short period until taken to California in February, 1906. Upon her arrival in Los Angeles, she was refused admission to all hotels, hospitals, and sanitariums, nor was it possible to lease a house after the owner had ascertained the nature of the disease. At last, as a final resort, it became necessary to purchase a house for her shelter. A remarkable coincidence happened in the purchase of that house. After being turned from door to door, it certainly seemed a miracle to have the owner of that house recommend Christian Science, though she herself was not a Scientist.

Like all others who have had to be driven into the acceptance of the truth, my wife scorned the idea of being cured in Christian Science, until she was told point blank by her Los Angeles physician that her place was at home, where she could 'die among her friends.' Then came the resolution to accept the truth, and she did so right there and then. The physician was dismissed in the forenoon and a Christian Science practitioner called in the afternoon. Up to that time the patient had had little or no natural sleep during the entire illness, and had, during the past several weeks, retained none of her food. At this time she weighed less than ninety pounds, her normal weight being over one hundred and thirty. The rapidity of her progress under Christian Science treatment was almost phenomenal and unless substantiated by responsible people would certainly sound mythical or, to put it stronger, like a downright falsehood.

"March 28, 1906, was the last day that the physician called, and the first day of the Christian Science treatment. It may seem past belief, but after the first treatment in Science the patient drank two cups of coffee and ate several doughnuts and a plate of baked beans for her evening meal. She then slept until after seven o'clock the next morning, and without the usual 'capsule,' too. Within a month she returned to Chicago, and although able to walk but little, showed rapid daily progress under treatment by a Christian Science practitioner in that city. In July of the same year she had regained her normal weight, and could walk and stand as much physically as she could prior to her illness. To-day she is the same, after having spent the past year in a trip around the world without a sign of the aches and pains which usually accompany such a feat.

"It is well worth one's while to take the time to think of what Christian Science did in this case. Those who read this article carefully will see that Christian Science actually put life into a

human being who had been as it were at death's door for more than a year."

Let the candid truth-seeker consider this case in connection with the persistent claims of the medical profession in general, that there never has been a case of organic disease cured by Christian Science; and in this connection also let him call to mind the detailed account of cures of organic disease as given by Dr. W. F. W. Wilding, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and of the British Medical Association, and by Edmund F. Burton, M.D., formerly member of the surgical staff of the Cook County Hospital of Chicago and instructor in the Rush Medical College. These two scholarly physicians, whose eminent ability won them such high honors and the confidence of their brethren when they were medical practitioners, surely are entitled to be regarded as thoroughly competent diagnosticians; and they, it will be remembered, gave detailed accounts of cures wrought by Christian Science in many cases, among which were:

(a) Tuberculosis of both hip joints and consumption of the lungs, with the patient, a child of eight years, reduced to thirty pounds in weight. (This case was Dr. Wilding's own little daughter.)

(b) Traumatic disease of the knee joint, in which the joint was greatly enlarged "and the various component parts were little else than a mass of pulpy swelling."

(c) Organic disease of the valves of the heart.

(d) Paralysis of twenty years standing.

(e) Broken bone restored to normal condition without aid of surgical treatment.

(f) Cancer of the stomach; patient in advanced condition; death considered imminent.\*

All these cases, it will be remembered, are reported by persons whose medical

education and training entitle them, even from a medical view-point, to the position of experts as diagnosticians; while in the case of Mrs. Oliver, according to the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, three eminent medical diagnosticians examined her case and passed on it.

Now if it can be proven that one clearly defined case of organized disease has been cured by Christian Science, the claim of Dr. Richard Cabot and the medical profession in general, that organic disease cannot be cured by this system of healing, falls to the ground. We hold that if medical testimony is worth anything, if the slightest reliance is to be placed on the diagnosis of eminent and honored physicians, the case of Mrs. Oliver, taken together with those of Dr. Wilding and Dr. Burton, proves not only the possibility but the fact that organic disease has been and is being cured by Christian Science.

Nor is this all. Many of the cases which we are about to cite as illustrative of the other contentions advanced by critics of Christian Science, by virtue of their circumstantial character will impress all intelligent truth-seekers, not blind because they will not see, as extremely valuable as corroborative evidence of the fallacy of the claim of faulty diagnosis accounting for seeming cures of organic disease by Christian Science practitioners.

### III.

Turning from the examination of the question of diagnosis, we come to notice the second claim advanced when cures are cited by patients who have been restored to health after placing themselves under Christian Science treatment.

A few years ago it was very common, when these alleged cures were mentioned, to hear them promptly dismissed with the confident declaration that the persons making such claims of cures were ignorant, credulous, and often not over-

\*See ARENA for November, 1908, pages 446 to 452.

conscientious, or persons easily influenced by what others told them. And to-day the claim is constantly made that those who report their cures are not persons whose minds are trained to weigh evidence, to judge and discriminate; that they are over-credulous and therefore little weight is to be placed on their testimony.

Before examining this very common and convenient explanation advanced by the critics of Christian Science and those ignorant of the facts involved, we wish in passing to touch upon one phase of the question that seems to have escaped the attention of those who are biased in their views concerning Christian Science. Quite apart from the vast and rapidly growing volume of alleged cures by Christian Science of serious organic diseases, there is a mighty army of persons who have been rescued from the living death experienced by those whose nervous systems have become completely broken down and who, through various forms of diseases that physicians might term functional, were living lives of such indescribable misery as to frequently call forth the earnest prayer that they might be so blessed as to die,—a great army of men and women whom the medical profession have been powerless to cure or even materially relieve, but who have been completely restored by Christian Science.

These persons, many of them distinguished in business, political, professional and educational spheres of activity, whose cases so long baffled regular treatment and who from chronic invalidism are to-day enjoying perfect health, are in much the position of the blind man described in the scriptures, whose sight was restored by the Great Nazarene. It will be remembered that the conventional doctors of the law, the chief priests, scribes and Pharisees, who represented the professional world with all its prejudice and intolerance, were greatly exercised by the cure. They attempted, in the first place, to deny the validity of the

claim by insisting that the man was not the person he pretended to be. When the parents were called, however, they discomfited the critics by insisting that the man was their son, who had been born blind. Next the conventional critics sought to terrorize the parents and the fortunate man by insisting that the cure had not been wrought by a prophet of God, because the good deed had been performed on the Sabbath. The blind man, however, manifested his impatience at the quibbling of the schoolmen, emphatically insisting on the one point that was vital in so far as he was concerned: "One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."

So to those who have been rescued from a living death or brought back from the brink of the grave by Christian Science treatment, after all other methods had failed, the fact that they are in the enjoyment of abounding health is far more material to them than the question whether the disease which was carrying them to the grave was functional or organic.

It may be urged that persons who are suffering from neurasthenia or general nervous collapse are not in a position to judge of their condition, and this is doubtless measurably true in some cases, where the mind has never been trained to rigid logical processes, to weighing evidence, or to considering facts in relation to other facts. But in the case of scholars, lawyers, judges, and critical thinkers, our observations lead us to conclude that these conditions frequently increase the mental perspicacity.

With this general observation concerning a large class of persons, many of them distinguished judges, lawyers, critics, authors, artists and members of other professions, who have been restored to lives of usefulness by Christian Science, let us notice this third popular claim,—that of the incompetency of those who have been cured to speak truthfully and accurately in regard to their restoration after long and faithful treat-

ment under regular physicians had proved unavailing. A volume could be compiled composed entirely of the statements of cures of judges, lawyers and critical thinkers, or where evidence has been obtained under oath and with corroborative facts that render the testimony unimpeachable. Space, however, renders it impossible for us to cite more than a few well authenticated typical cases where the facts are of such a character as to entitle them to the careful consideration of all earnest truth-seekers.

In the first place, we desire to give the case of Judge John D. Works, the eminent jurist of Los Angeles, California, and in so doing we confine ourselves to the evidence elicited under oath on the witness stand at a trial in Los Angeles, California. We do this because it cannot be claimed that such statements are the garbled or colored narratives of reporters or that they are the careless statements such as certain physicians seem to imagine all people who are not cured by the regular methods are wont to indulge in when describing their cures. To economize space we omit many of the questions asked and condense replies, while retaining the witnesses' exact words in the testimony given.

The Hon. John D. Works is one of the very prominent lawyers of the Pacific coast. He was for some years judge of the Superior Court of San Diego County, and later was one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the State. In answer to the question as to his trouble and his experience in the treatment of the same, he said:

"I had been a sufferer for many years from stomach trouble mainly. I had resorted to all kinds of treatment, allopathic, homeopathic, osteopathic, and my condition had grown steadily worse. I had lost something over thirty pounds in flesh. During much of this time I was taking active treatment from physicians for my condition, some of them attributing it to one cause and some another and directing their remedies to

whatever they conceived to be the cause of my trouble.

None of them seemed to do me any good. Latterly, I was a sufferer almost constantly from headache, mostly in the back of my head, which was exceedingly distressing, and to a very large extent towards the last incapacitated me for the kind of work that I had to do. I was really not able to do my full day's work. Generally I had to quit at three or half past three o'clock, unable to finish out the day's work. I had tried what I regarded as thoroughly competent physicians in their different schools and whom I had no doubt were entirely conscientious in their treatment. But deriving no benefit, I finally went to a Christian Science practitioner and told her what my condition was. She told me to eat three meals a day, eat what I wanted, and that she would take care of the balance. I commenced to do so and I am eating my three meals a day now, and suffer no discomfort from it. I have been relieved from headaches almost entirely. I am able to do my full day's work without discomfort, and am benefited generally in every way."

In June of last year, Judge Works gave an extended report of his cure, from which it is shown that under Christian Science treatment his various troubles steadily gave way, until he came into the enjoyment of excellent health and regained all his lost flesh. His health has remained excellent since his cure, now a period of some years.

Judge Works also described under oath the cure of his wife by Christian Science, after a condition of chronic invalidism extending over a period of more than fifteen years.

During the trial at which the Judge's testimony was given, a number of other highly respectable representative citizens of Los Angeles, including a number of prominent business and professional men of the city, also testified to cures wrought on themselves and members of their families through Christian Science, in

many instances after faithful and conscientious but unavailing treatment by physicians. Among those who thus testified were Mr. William Pridham, superintendent of the Wells, Fargo & Company's Express for thirty-four years; R. P. Bishop, of the firm of Bishop and Company; W. E. Brown, of the firm of Brown, Stanley and Company; and Dr. A. Willis Paine.

There were among those that testified some remarkable cures of patients who, according to their physicians, had tuberculosis in advanced stages. One of these cases—that of Mrs. Lila Young—we cite because the evidence here given was under oath and with the consciousness that the witness would be subjected to severe cross examination; so that the claim of loose or careless reporting of the facts cannot be advanced. One of the physicians who had pronounced Mrs. Young's case tuberculosis was the eminent Dr. R. Beverly Cole, one of the most famed physicians of the Pacific coast. When he examined her, her case was so advanced that he held out no hope of recovery for her. The restoration was accomplished many years ago and the patient's health has steadily improved during this period. She for some years has enjoyed most excellent health. Here, as in Judge Works' case, we condense the answers, retaining in every instance, however, the witness's exact words:

"I was healed of consumption. . My people, my mother and her family, consisting of six in the family, all died with consumption, and I was doctored for many years. There were twelve years that I was in bed the greater part of the time, and an eminent physician of San Francisco was the last physician that told me—he examined my lungs and shook his head and said that he didn't know what to do for me. He said he knew of no climate—he said, 'I can only compare you to the sensitive plant; heat or cold, you will wither away.' It seemed to me he explained my situation

better than I could. And at that time, there hadn't been a day, I presume for more than a year, that I sat up all day. I was healed by Christian Science after I had no other hope."

In the cross examination Mrs. Young gave the name of the distinguished physician who last pronounced on her case. In reply to a question, "You had consumption, did you?" she replied, "The doctors said I had. Dr. Beverly Cole was one of them, whom probably nearly every one here knows of, as he is known everywhere."

Under date of December 18, 1908, in answer to a personal inquiry from us, Mrs. Young wrote that she now weighs 150 pounds, and her friends are all ready to say, "You don't look as though you ever had consumption." "I have been well now for fifteen years," adds Mrs. Young.

When, after the publication of our paper in the November ARENA, general interest was evinced in this question, we wrote to a number of persons who were said to have been cured of well-defined organic diseases or troubles about the cure of which the doctors held out no hope. We have received a number of replies, in all of which the writers testified to the verity of the cures; but space renders it impossible to give more than three or four of these cases, and in some instances we have found it necessary to abridge the statements, or rather to omit those portions of the reports that do not directly deal with the cure of the disease or affliction under consideration. The cases, however, are so clear and detailed in character and come from persons of such standing that they are of special interest and value, not only as answering the special objection we are considering, but as further proving the power of Christian Science to cure organic disease and afflictions considered by physicians as incurable.

The first case to which we wish to invite the attention of our readers is that of Mr. J. J. Petermichel, Official

Reporter of the Superior Court, Los Angeles, California, who under date of December 21, 1908, writes:

"It affords me pleasure to comply with your request for an account of my cure.

"The doctors pronounced my trouble, as near as I can now remember the language, 'Mixed tubercular infection with a combination of mucous, the sputum showing or indicating cavities of long standing and tubercles in large quantities.' About six months prior to the time of the microscopical examination of the sputum, I had partly recovered from a ten weeks' illness of double pneumonia, which left my lungs filled with mucous, making the case a more complicated one and very difficult of cure.

"I had been affected for about five years, the major portion of which time was spent in travelling in search of a climate that would be beneficial.

"The names of the doctors who treated me, as far as I can now remember (I do not now recall their initials, as it has been almost ten years since I have given them any thought) are as follows: In Chicago, Doctors Way, Reynolds and Stryzowski, and one or two others. Doctors Way and Stryzowski advised me to consult with Dr. Norman Bridge, one of Chicago's noted specialists, and have an examination made. Dr. Bridge, after such examination, advised me to go to California, although he declined to state definitely how serious my trouble was. In California I had several physicians at the different places where I located, but can now only recall Dr. Bayliss of San Bernardino and Dr. Kruell of Los Angeles. Dr. Kruell was my last physician and upon his advise a microscopical examination of the sputum was made by Dr. Croftan of Pasadena, who made a report substantially in the language hereinbefore stated. Dr. Kruell told me that he had exhausted all remedies known to his profession, and it was his frank opinion medicine could do no more

for me; he advised me to return East with my family so that I could die among my friends and relatives and my family could be taken care of. He held out no hope and gave me a month to live. About two months prior to that time Dr. Bayliss told me if I did not find a climate that would benefit me I would not live three months. My friends had given up all hope, and as one of them expressed himself some time after my cure in Christian Science: 'While standing on a corner talking to Petermichel, who was waiting for a car, I was anxious to get him on the car as quickly as possible and get him out of my sight, as I was afraid he would die on my hands.' To give you some idea of my condition, I might state that I at that time weighed 120 pounds; that my normal weight was 160 pounds, and I now weigh over 185 pounds. I, at that time, had not a pound of flesh on me, was practically a walking skeleton, had reached the stage where I was blue around the lips, unable to walk ten feet at one effort, a perpetual dry cough racking my frame day and night, unable to eat or retain food, and unable to breathe without great effort, and having finally given up all hope of a cure and expecting any day to be my last.

"I had removed from the mountains to Los Angeles with the intention of disposing of my effects and taking my family East to their relatives. Our neighbors on each side of us were Christian Scientists and it was upon their, and my wife's earnest solicitations, and primarily to satisfy my wife that I was willing to do anything to be cured, that I consented to one week's treatment. At the time the thought of God doing anything for me was repugnant, as I was not of a very religious turn of mind, having found nothing in the various religions I had investigated that appealed to me; therefore having no faith in God's disposition or ability to heal me. At the time of engaging the treatment I informed the practitioner that I had no faith in the



treatment and there would have to be some appreciable benefit realized within the week or treatment would be discontinued. After the first treatment I was told to go home and eat heartily of such food as I desired and to fear no ill effects, following the scriptural injunction to 'Take no thought for your food.' I partook of a hearty meal, with some misgiving and considerable skepticism as to my ability to retain the food, but strange as it may seem, no ill effects followed. I enjoyed my meal and the food remained on my stomach (something I had been unable to do for six months); I spent a more restful night, having some sleep and more restful breathing. The first week I gained some two pounds in weight, was able to be about with more comfort, able to breathe with less difficulty and at greater depth; the cough became easier and less painful; my appetite became better, and, best of all, hope was renewed within me and I began to see the possibility of a cure and I learned that God was not only able, but willing to cure me. I continued under treatment with the practitioner for five weeks, at the end of which time I felt I was able to (with the understanding of the rules of Christian Science and their application, gained from the practitioner and from the study of the text-book, *Science and Health*, during that time) conduct my own treatment. In about eight weeks after beginning the treatment I was at work at my profession, and have continued at work during the past nine and one-half years without the loss of one day on account of sickness.

"It was some two years before I regained normal weight and before my friends would admit that the cure was permanent, although I was conscious of the healing after I had left the practitioner after my last treatment, the fear of the disease having been destroyed, and I was conscious of the fact that I had no disease and it would be only a matter of the physical effects to follow. I am now

36 years of age, enjoying vigorous health, able to work fourteen to fifteen hours a day for weeks at a time, with no resultant physical ill effects."

Like pulmonary tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs, albuminuria or Bright's disease is considered by the medical profession as not only organic but incurable. If the patient whose detailed story, sent to us under date of January 8th from Los Angeles, California, and given below, had applied for relief to the Emanuel Church in Boston or to any of the various other experiment stations where attempts are being made to harness medicine and religion, she would have been refused treatment, because the attending physician had pronounced her to be suffering from albuminuria. The progress of this disease, it will be observed from Mrs. Hebbard's report, had been attended by nervous break-down accompanied by such acute pain that the patient was driven to morphine for relief, with the dread result that the morphine habit became fixed. Here we have four serious conditions: albuminuria, nervous prostration or nervous and mental break-down, neuralgia, and the morphine habit. The almost instantaneous cure of the drug habit is certainly worthy of notice, as it is usually considered one of the most difficult things that doctors have to contend with. The following testimony is given by Mrs. Josephine A. Hebbard, of Los Angeles, California:

"I turned to Christian Science, hoping to be healed of the drug habit. Through a very severe and chronic case of kidney trouble, which the attending physicians had called albuminuria, and from which I had suffered for over eight years, neuralgia had been superinduced, and I could only find relief in morphine. I became addicted to the use of this drug in very large doses, and in fact became so dependent on it that I could not do without it. I had been treated by a number of our best medical men for this kidney trouble, but grew worse

instead of better. I also had a number of attacks of nervous prostration and declared by an eminent nerve specialist (Dr. Brainerd) to be one of the most typical cases he had seen. I seldom ate anything but raw eggs and milk. At the time I turned to Christian Science I weighed only ninety-seven pounds and was a mental and physical wreck. One treatment in Science cured me of all desire for drugs and in three weeks I was a well woman. I gained twenty-nine pounds in twenty-eight days, and in less than three months after I had commenced treatment I had gained forty-three pounds. I have had my urine examined by two different physicians since then and the result was, a healthy and normal condition was found and no trace of any kidney trouble. I have written certificates from three physicians, each testifying to the firm belief that I was healed from an apparently hopeless condition through the application of Christian Science.

"I will here supply the physicians' names who have treated me: Doctors H. G. Brainerd, D. C. Barber, George L. Cole, D. W. Edelman, J. C. Ferbert, Merritt S. Hitt, Thaddeus Johnson, Charles Taggart, and O. O. Witherbee. The physicians writing the certificates are Doctors Hitt, Ferbert and Barber, and the papers are in the hands of Mr. Frank Gale of the Christian Science Publication Committee of San Francisco."

The following report, received since we commenced writing this paper, is from the pen of Mrs. D. W. King, of Newark, Vermont. It has an important bearing on the special points considered in this paper, because here it can not be claimed that the diagnosis was superficial or faulty, the patient having been operated upon and her hip bone scraped, by reputable physicians; and it is not a disease in which it will be claimed by physicians and hypnotists of standing in the scientific world, that hypnotic suggestion could be hoped to effect a cure.

"Six years ago I was afflicted with tuberculosis of the hip, and in August of that year went to the hospital at Hanover, New Hampshire, and underwent an operation in which the sore was opened and the bone scraped. I received the best surgical attention as well as kindest care of nurses but failed to obtain relief, and the following spring the hip was much worse and the discharge increased. The next summer I had a severe stomach and bowel trouble and for many weeks was not expected to recover. At that time I was attended by Dr. W. R. Noyes of West Burke, Vermont,—now removed to Brattleboro. I could take no solid food, even a few spoonfuls of broth causing great distress. The condition of the hip grew much worse, with constant discharge. I could walk only as I used two crutches, moving but an inch at a time and with much pain.

"At last my father urged me to go to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and stay with relatives where I could be treated by Dr. Walter Aldrich of that place, a physician of reputation. He, however, gave my father no hopes of my recovery, as I was too weak to have another operation for the hip. When I begged him to do something for my stomach he only shook his head and said there was no help for that condition, as the sores poisoned my whole system.

"My aunt, with whom I was staying, was a Christian Scientist and when she saw my hopelessness and despair at leaving my husband and three little children, for death seemed inevitable, she began to tell me of Christian Science; how it had healed thousands of hopeless ones. She read the text-book, *Science and Health*, to me and explained its teachings to me, and I forgot all about the pain and distress in my stomach and at the end of the afternoon remarked that I had not had it and was really hungry. She told me to eat what I wanted for supper and I did so, among other things cheese and pickles. I slept

soundly that night, something I had not done for two years, and from that time have had no trouble with my stomach, being able to eat anything I wish. I returned to my home and commenced the study of *Science and Health* with an eagerness I had never felt for anything before. I had treatment by a Christian Science practitioner. At the end of one week the hip had begun to heal; in a month the pain had entirely ceased, and at the end of thirteen months the sores had all healed and I have had no trouble from the limb since, being able to do all my work for a family of five."

We now invite the readers' attention to a very detailed statement of a most remarkable case, given by E. A. Crane, a well-known lawyer of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Mr. Crane's report is very long, but the case is so striking in character that we feel it important to give the entire statement, excepting Mr. Crane's presentation of the Christian Science philosophy as presented to him by the practitioner through whom he was healed. This, though interesting, is not of evidential value in the present discussion, and for want of space is omitted.

"I was born in A. D. 1844 at Paw Paw, in this state. Lived on a farm till grown up, and was naturally of a husky, healthy make-up. At the siege of Atlanta, during the Civil War, in which I served three years in the cavalry, we were dismounted and put in the trenches to support our cannon which was throwing about 300 shells a minute at times. The terrible concussion fairly shook the earth and was very enervating. We often in a lull would fall asleep and be suddenly shaken by the renewing of the firing. The result was that very many of the soldiers lost their hearing, I with the rest; but gradually the hearing of my right ear returned so it was fairly good, but to my left ear it never did return till the event hereinafter stated. My condition in that respect was such for about forty years that it was necessary

always to sit or walk on the left side of those with whom conversation was to be had, and, in company with several, to always turn my head to catch the sounds with my right ear. After the war Dr. N. W. Abbott, then a prominent practicing physician in Chicago (now deceased) examined my ear and took me to a leading aurist practicing in Chicago (cannot recall his name) who examined me, and he said something was paralyzed (some part of the ear) and that nothing could be done for it; and nothing further was attempted.

"I have been a practicing lawyer since A. D. 1873, and have enjoyed good average health. In the fall of 1899 my eyelids gave me some annoyance with an itching sensation, which was relieved from time to time by the use of a little salt water, till the evening of the 23rd day of December of that year I called on an oculist practicing here (a graduate from that department of the Michigan University) and asked him to tell me what caused the itching sensation. He turned back each lid and applied something that caused a burning sensation and which I afterwards learned was nitrate of silver in solid stick, and which if used at all should have been diluted several times and there should have been some preparation put on the eyeballs to protect them from possibility of injury by unspent portions of the poison, neither of which precautions were taken; and the result was that when the lids turned back onto the eyes there was enough of the poison to destroy the tops of the eyeballs. Nothing could stop it till its force was spent and furrows burned into the eyeballs till, as the doctors advised me, it had destroyed the structural part of the eyeballs. My suffering was intense and indescribable. The tops of my eyes sloughed off, and from what others tell me, what was left looked more like pieces of raw beef than like human eyes. My health and strength went with my eyes, till in about three months I could not walk; but in time the in-

flammation went down and physical suffering ceased. I found myself then with one eye destroyed. The outer coating, when I first saw it, hardly had the semblance of an eye. The color was between a white and yellow-white. The right eye had some color, but no luster; but part of the cornea showed and I could see sufficiently to keep on the walks; could see people near me but could not discern one from another till the time hereinafter referred to.

"I prefer not to give the name of the doctor or oculist who made the mistake, unless some controversy arises that seems to make it necessary. He is practicing here. I have forgiven him and wish the mantle of charity used for his good.

"The same evening I was injured I called Dr. O. A. La Crone, an oculist of good standing here, and he had local charge of my case as long as it was in care of doctors at all. He called to see me every day for many weeks and encouraged me to think at first that my sight would return when the inflammation was gone. A small part of the time I was in a hospital here kept by a Dr. Clark who is still here and who I am sure examined my eyes, as I think several other local doctors did, among them Dr. Edward Ames, Dr. H. B. Osborn, Dr. A. N. Crane, Dr. Edwards and others. I think the principal doctors here examined them, because when Dr. La Crone came to treat me he had others with him. They did not talk. I could not see them, but could hear them.

"On the fifth of May, 1900, four months after I was hurt, I went to Ann Arbor, Michigan, to consult with Dr. Carew, then the leader of that department in the Michigan University. He called in another member of the faculty, and from what I overheard between them no encouragement was offered. From these doctors and several others I was given to understand that my left eye was destroyed and that nothing could be expected from that source. However, I then went under Dr. Carew's care, also

retaining Dr. La Crone. Their treatment was the same, but there was no improvement. On the 29th of May I went to St. Louis, Missouri, to see a noted oculist, whose name I have forgotten; but he gave me no encouragement. So I returned to Chicago and was examined by a couple of specialists there; have forgotten their names but could get them if necessary. They decided that nothing could be done for the left eye and that there was but one chance to improve the right eye, which was by a surgical operation which they thought might keep it.

"I continued treatment with Dr. Carew and Dr. La Crone till July 16, 1900. About July first, at request of friends, I consulted a Christian Science practitioner here (now in Paris, France). She gave me encouragement but would not take my case unless I would give up the doctors, and so advised me not to give them up as long as I had any faith that they might help me.

"About the tenth of July I wrote Dr. Carew of Ann Arbor, that there was no improvement going on in my case and had not been, and asked if he could not change remedies to help me. He replied that he could not. He did not know anything better to recommend, and then said that he considered it his duty to advise me that he considered mine a very serious case. This statement, with what I had heard from others, convinced me that there was no hope; that I was to be blind; and the doctors, after doing the best they could, had decided to let me know the worst.

"I then went to see the Christian Science practitioner and engaged her to take my case. This was July 16th.

"About the third meeting with the practitioner she noticed that I was hard of hearing, as I turned my head when she spoke to me, and the cause of the loss of hearing was then explained to her; but I requested that she not try to help my hearing, as it might divide her powers, all of which I felt necessary to improving

sight; but she replied that I must be every whit whole."

After explaining the treatment in detail, Mr. Crane continues:

"The settled, fixed idea that there was no help commenced to yield. I commenced improving physically and mentally, and in about ten days suddenly my hearing returned clear as a bell,—much better than from the other ear. I now use the 'phone receiver at the injured ear altogether.

"There was no material improvement in sight till August 17th, when suddenly my sight returned. I picked up a common newspaper and read out loud a whole column, and that without glasses, whereas I had used glasses for fifteen years. I then used to read evenings to amuse my family.

"August 23rd I tested my ability to see with and without glasses, and found that I could see to read without them better than with them, and made a note of the fact in my diary. Glasses were discarded entirely for a time, and till curiosity led me to view myself in a glass. The sight of my eyes so frightened me as to necessitate the return to glasses. One eye was practically blank, while the other had some color but no luster or life. That experiment cost me much anxiety and set me back years which it has taken to overcome the fright and loss of faith. While I understand why it was so, it's not easy to explain so others may see the logic. Since then I have used glasses the same as before the injury, unless I forget them, as I sometimes do, and find myself reading and writing as well without them as with them; but as my attention is called to the fact that my glasses are not on, my sight is affected and it becomes necessary to put them on. My sight now averages as good or better than before the injury. With the left eye, that was supposed to be entirely destroyed and which all the doctors seemed to agree could never be used, I can now read coarse print without glasses.

"Dr. La Crone is now deceased, but the other doctors referred to as well as Dr. W. F. Hoyt of Paw Paw and Dr. Frank Young of South Haven, and no doubt others, could be cited who examined my eyes, and you are at liberty to refer to any of them. They may not concede the cure to be the result of mental treatment and understanding, but they are all conscientious, able practitioners in their line. They are all friends of mine in this sense. They know me generally; they know of my injury; and they know that I claim to have been cured by Christian Science principles; and they, or some of them, often talk with me about it. I give as general references almost any business man in south-western Michigan, where my life has been an open book.

"This letter is much longer than necessary for ordinary purposes, but I have refrained from permitting the facts to be published because so many errors usually creep into such communications. The above statements are easily proven by responsible, conscientious people of good standing; and if something may be gleaned from the mass that will be helpful to others, I shall be pleased to know it."

In investigating Christian Science cures we have been astonished to find the great number of artists, sculptors, authors, as well as lawyers, who have become interested in Christian Science through having been cured after physicians of eminence have signally failed to give relief.

In a previous issue of *THE ARENA* we gave at length the report of the remarkable cure of Mr. Charles Klein, probably America's most eminent living playwright. In Mr. Klein's statement of his cure, it will be remembered that he described how he had been brought to a condition of "incipient melancholia," in which he "took a saddening pleasure, a morbid interest in thinking of the joy of oblivion. Life had completely lost its interest." Prior to this condition,

Mr. Klein states that he had suffered for years from liver and kidney troubles, insomnia, nervous irritability, and a constant dread of something impending. He had consulted and acted on the advice and treatment of physicians, specialists and alienists, but all to no profit. In fact, his condition grew steadily worse. At this stage he was induced to try Christian Science treatment, with the result, to use his own words, that: "I gradually, indeed almost immediately, recovered my health, my peace of mind, professional and financial success, and happiness far beyond my wildest dream, and I have never taken a drug nor consulted a physician since that hour. Under Christian Science treatment all traces of kidney disease disappeared. I suffered no more from insomnia. I lost my desire for alcoholic stimulants, and stomach troubles which I had from boyhood, dyspepsia, nervous irritability, heart, gastric and bowel ailments, all left me by degrees; I had no more of those awful fits of depression, and my whole life was changed."

A few weeks ago, on the occasion of the successful presentation in Boston of Mr. Klein's latest play, "The Third Degree," the playwright called at our office. He was the picture of health and naturally enough enthusiastic in praise of Christian Science as the means by which he had passed from darkness into light.

One of the latest remarkable cures that has been effected among our leading artists and illustrators, is that of Mr. Howard Chandler Christy, one of the most famous illustrators of the day. In a personal letter to us, written under date of November 15, 1908, Mr. Christy thus speaks at length of his remarkable restoration after a well-known New York physician had declared that he would lose his eyesight within three months.

"The trouble with my eyes," says Mr. Christy, "began several years ago, before I had even taken so much as one drink of alcohol, and was just beginning

to use tobacco. My eyes were examined by Dr. Reese and another doctor whose name I have forgotten and whose office is in the Arcade Building, Fifth Avenue. Now both these doctors gave me good advice which I followed until I saw it did not help my eyesight. They both gave me little hope. Then Dr. E. E. Tull said I would be totally blind in three months' time. Then I tried William Muldoons for one month; no drink and no smoking. I became strong in body, but it did not help my eyes. Then I tried boxing an hour a day for six weeks at a time. Thinking that a healthy body would make healthy eyes, I tried heavy weight and middle weight prize fighters. My body was healthy enough, but my eyes did not improve. My sight became so bad that I could read only the headlines of a daily newspaper; and about seven months ago (on a Monday noon) I was treated by a Christian Science practitioner. I had been very sick and my health was gone.

The first thing I noticed after the first treatment was the change in my eyes. Everything began to clear up. I went out for a long walk, bought seats for the theatre, sat down and found no difficulty in reading the preface to *Science and Health* and several pages besides. Went to the theatre that night. The next day arranged to go to work, and Wednesday morning I *did* go to work and did the frontispiece for *The Spitfire*. Then I began the illustrations for James Whitcomb Riley's *Home Agin With Ma*,—forty-two drawings in all; then six larger illustrations in color for Mrs. Wilson Woodrow's novel, *The Silver Butterfly*. I have missed but one day's work since that Wednesday morning I began the first drawings, which was practically the first work I had attempted for one year and a half. My eyesight was entirely restored in two weeks' time and I have been perfectly healthy, with the exception of about three day's time, since that first treatment. I was almost instantly healed

of a very bad case of grippe and lost only about an hour's time,—just long enough to go down town and be treated. Then came back and went to work.

"If these facts can be used to help others I am only too glad to have you use them. I certainly would like to do something to show my appreciation for what God has done for me through Christian Science."

Here we have a volume of testimony, some of it is given under oath, where the patients knew they would be subjected to rigid cross examination; and in all instances the reports bear evidence of conscientious and intelligent purpose to give not only a full and truthful report, but a circumstantial report calculated to appeal to the reason of all intelligent, thoughtful and unbiased persons. In many instances not only are the records of the most intimate and circumstantial character, but the names of the various physicians who have examined and treated the patients, and the reports of their diagnosis are set down, together with the accounts of the steady progress of the diseases under conscientious medical treatment and the rapid cure of the same disorders under Christian Science. And yet we have only taken a few cases from a great number of similar testimonials in our possession,—cases that may be cited as fairly typical of a vast volume of similar cures.

#### IV.

This brings us to the consideration of the latest and most popular explanation advanced by physicians and other critics of Christian Science to account for remarkable cures that have been effected under this treatment. Some ministers no less than physicians are insistent in their claim that Christian Science cures are due wholly to suggestion. Their position in this respect is clearly set forth in the following words taken from an article by Professor Willett, a prominent minister, in *The Christian Century*

for January 9, 1909. In answer to some queries in regard to Christian Science, Professor Willett among other things says:

"The principle which Christian Science employs is the simple one of suggestion. This is the basis of every form of mental therapeutics practiced to-day—It is a satisfaction to record the undeniable fact that Christian Science, like the other forms of mental healing, has wrought great good to many sufferers. People whom other forms of treatment left without hope have been quickened into new health and happiness by the practice. This result is quite independent of the theory of Christian Science, and would be the same under any other of the forms of suggestive therapeutics. Many people are only mentally sick anyway. That is, they are impressed with the belief that they are actually suffering from some malady over which medicine is powerless to work healing. In thousands of cases, even of acute physical suffering, these maladies have been shown to be purely mental and imaginary—In all these cases it is the central principle of suggestion, whether employed in hypnotism, suggestion proper, or what is known as re-education. Christian Science is merely one of the forms of healing which make use, some of them unconsciously, of this fact."

The above opinion admirably summarizes the attitude of those who rely upon this most popular of all present-day explanations of Christian Science cures. It may be characterized as the latest sheet-anchor of those who are forced to recognize the healing results attending Christian Science practice. These critics are most insistent in their declaration that wherever actual cures have been made, they are the result of suggestion essentially similar in character to that employed in hypnotism, though the results are obtained without the use of hypnosis.

We have during the past twenty years devoted considerable time to the

study of the literature of hypnotism—the writings and the recorded experiences of the master psychologists and physicians of Continental Europe, England and America, who have made exhaustive studies and extensive practice of hypnotic suggestion and who are justly entitled to be regarded as authorities in this department of experimental science; and we do not call to mind a single instance where one of these men, even among the most enthusiastic and ardent upholders of hypnotism as a therapeutic agent, ever claimed that any clearly-defined organic disease of the character, for example, of blastomycosis, tuberculosis of the hip joints, tuberculosis of the lungs, Bright's disease, etc., could be cured by suggestion. We have talked at length with eminent regular physicians who have made a special study of hypnotism and who have great faith in its therapeutic value in certain cases, but in every instance they insisted that its value lay in the treatment of functional diseases; that it could not be hoped to effect a cure in any well-defined case of organic disease. In no instance have we found a reputable physician, no matter how enthusiastic he was in his belief in the value of hypnotism, who believed it could cure cases where the vital organs had been assailed and where physical disintegration had set in; and they all agreed with the eminent and authoritative writers, that the province of suggestion was restricted to functional disorders. The regular medical profession and European savants whose opinions are recognized as authoritative by the profession, are we believe, a unit in the maintenance of this position.

With this fact in mind, let us turn to the consideration of the subject in hand. Here we are in the presence of cures of diseases which in the opinion of high medical authority and according to the microscope and other scientific tests are unquestionably organic diseases—diseases which are considered incurable in their advanced stages, and yet which

have been entirely cured by Christian Science, and the patients have for years been in the enjoyment of perfect health after years of invalidism of the most distressing and hopeless character.

Since the medical profession does not claim that hypnotism can cure such organic diseases as blastomycosis, tuberculosis of the hip joints, consumption of the lungs, etc., one such case which has been so competently diagnosed as to leave no doubt as to the real character of the trouble, which has been cured by Christian Science treatment, causes the explanation of suggestion as the rationale of the cure necessarily to fall to the ground.

With the recognition of this fact, let the reader return to the history of Mrs. Oliver's case as given by the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and the cure as reported by Mr. Oliver. Then let him read the cures given by Doctors Wilding and Burton, referred to in this paper but given in detail in the November *ARENA*; after which let him peruse the circumstantial testimony of Mr. J. J. Petermichel, Mrs. Josephine A. Hebbard, Mrs. D. W. King, Mrs. Lila Young, and Mr. E. A. Crane, as given in this paper. These cases render entirely inadequate the explanation that in suggestion, such as practiced by the master hypnotists, is to be found the rationale of the cures of Christian Science.

v.

We have now noticed the three master claims advanced by the medical profession and other critics of Christian Science to explain the alleged cures of organic diseases and afflictions pronounced incurable or which physicians had long faithfully but unsuccessfully treated. We have seen that if medical diagnosis is of any value, organic disease has been cured by Christian Science; that none of the greatest authorities on hypnotism would venture to claim that many of the diseases that have been restored under Christian Science treatment could be cured by hypnotic



suggestion; and we submit also that the character of the testimony given is such as to thoroughly discredit the claim of incompetency on the part of those giving the evidence. Surely the facts here given—though they are only a small part of the volume of evidence which we hold and but for want of space would have given—are sufficient to challenge the thoughtful consideration of all earnest and high-minded lovers of the truth. If human testimony is worth anything, these cases, representative as they are of a vast army of men and women who have been in the same manner restored to health, prove that Christian Science is to-day doing a work for the restoration of the sick which medical science and other means of relief have signally failed to accomplish.

And yet, that which to us is the most profoundly significant feature of Christian Science practice has not been touched upon, as it does not come within the scope of this paper. We refer to its

influence in awakening the spiritual side of life or moral idealism in its adherents, developing character and affording moral supremacy over the dominion of passion, appetite and physical desire. And it is a notable fact that in almost every report of cure which we have received, the spiritual awakening which has brought the patient from the bondage of sense dominion to moral mastery is given precedence as the crowning result that has followed this treatment. That Christian Science arouses moral idealism in those who come in a vital way under its influence is abundantly proved by the life and testimony of thousands of thoughtful people; and in an age like the present, when the materialism of the market has laid so firm a hand on church, state, school and press, nothing is more urgently demanded than the spiritual enthusiasm that is born of moral idealism.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE FOURTH ESTATE.

BY RICHARD A. HASTE.

**D**URING the formation of that most intangible of all important things, the British Constitution, the Lords, the Clergy and the Commons were the three pillars that were supposed to sustain the structure of English liberty. They were known as the three estates. Here was a trinity second only to that of the Godhead. Combined they constituted Parliament—and Parliament was omnipotent.

The Lords and the Clergy, having mutual interests, sat together, but the Commons sat apart as was seemly for Commons.

As time wore on jealousies sprang up among these estates over their respective prerogatives and powers. Thus it came

about that Edmund Burke in the House of Commons, commenting on the comparative influence of the three estates, admonished his hearers not to overlook the Fourth Estate—the Press—represented in the reporters' gallery.

And so it came about that the Press was known and recognized as the Fourth Estate, not by the constitution nor by any law of the land, for it had no place in the machinery of government—its members had no seats in Parliament and no votes; they did not answer to roll-call nor take part in the divisions, but they made and unmade ministries.

From the time of the inception of the printing press, through the age of pam-

phleeteering to the present—the newspaper age—the evolution of the Fourth Estate in England has been uninterrupted along the lines of social and political progress. Its increased power has been gained at the expense of the Clergy and the Lords. The aristocracy of the church and the aristocracy of birth have had to make room for the aristocracy of brains. For more than a century the Fourth Estate has been the medium through which the intelligence of the British empire has spoken—the forum where economical and national matters have been freely discussed for the benefit of the people. Here the press has retained its influence because, right or wrong, it has stood for something vital, and the Fourth Estate still represented by the daily press exerts its pristine power. Not so in the United States. The course of evolution has been checked and diverted from its original channel. The daily newspapers no longer represent the Fourth Estate. This fact, as well as the reasons therefor, are well worth noting.

We of America inherited our dominant tastes and tendencies from England. We inherited, willingly or otherwise, the principles of British government and, to a large extent, the common law. It is true that in the formation of our national government we did not recognize the Clergy as a governmental unit, but we did honor the House of Lords by the creation of a senate to represent the aristocracy of states, and which by a natural evolution has become the representative of the aristocracy of wealth.

The Fourth Estate we inherited entire. As in England it was not recognized in the scheme of government, but nevertheless it had much to do with determining the scheme of government. Here in America during the formative period, the Press was the guiding power—it was the *dominant estate*. The men who reached the ear of the public through the press were the real leaders of opinion.

Ben Franklin was the first notable representative of the Fourth Estate in the

new-born American commonwealth—the first great newspaper editor. He represented as no one had before and as few have since, the aristocracy of brains. He had opinions to express, and he expressed them. He put his personality into the discussion of public questions. It was Franklin speaking and not a mere machine, and therein lies the whole secret. He has had some worthy successors during the last century—real men, editors whose personalities dominated their papers and gave the Fourth Estate in America its moral as well as its political power; but to-day that race is well-nigh extinct. The great editor—the leader of public thought—has been pushed from his throne, and in his place sits a nameless thing, opinionless and usually money-mad, a sightless, soulless corporation—a *publishing company*.

#### THE PASSING OF THE EDITOR.

It was near the middle of the century just past that the Fourth Estate in America reached high tide as a factor in the problems of government and as a moulder of public opinion. The editorial page was then the heart and brains of the paper. Here it was that the editor discussed fearlessly the moral and political questions of the day with no thought of the effect his position might have on the business department of the publication. The editors of the then great newspapers were known by name, not only to the American people, but also over seas. They were men of culture, of brains, of experience, and, above all, of character. They were leaders whom the people delighted to follow. They were public characters with reputations to sustain. They were responsible to the world, and they knew and felt their responsibility.

It was not the New York *Tribune* that was speaking—it was Horace Greeley. Back of those printed words were always the white coat, the child-like face, the great brain, and the wonderful personality of the editor. It was not the New York *Sun*, but the opinions of Charles A. Dana,

that had weight. It was not the *Chicago Times*, but Wilbur F. Story, and so on through the Fourth Estate of the last century.

It was the personality of the men behind the headlines that gave weight to the metropolitan press of those days. People read what these men had to say even though they differed widely from the opinions expressed, because the utterances had the ring of personal conviction. But who to-day reads the editorials of the average metropolitan papers? Who cares for the opinions of an unknown hireling of a corporation on matters of ethics or public policy? Who cares to wade through inane and pointless comments on current news that now occupy the wide space of the editorial page?

In the development of American metropolitan newspapers—and by the word metropolitan we must include the papers of our smaller cities—the editors of the Greeley and Dana stamp have been entirely eliminated, because the first object of the modern American newspaper is to furnish news, the second to get advertising. As to the expression of opinions on public matters, there are to be none unless they dovetail perfectly with the financial interests that control the paper. The policy of the paper is shaped in the business office, not in the editorial room. And this is perfectly logical—the legitimate result of the evolution of the Fourth Estate in commercial America. The American newspaper of to-day is a business enterprise. The gathering and publishing of news, more or less doctored, is necessary to that business success. The circulation depends upon the news columns—therefore the news must be sensational—and the amount of advertising depends upon the circulation. The highest salaries, therefore, are paid to the business-getters and the news-fakers—the better the faker the better the salary. Anybody can write editorials—no one reads that page anyway. The editorial page is a form that is maintained out of respect to tradition, but it is re-

garded by most “newspaper men” as a useless expense—a waste of space that had better be given to advertising.

As a general rule the editorial page is turned over to the pensioners whose long service keeps them on the payrolls. It is amusing to observe the contempt which a cub reporter or an advertising solicitor entertains, and sometimes expresses, for the editorial writers. And it is not wholly undeserved, for if there is ever such a thing as mental prostitution, it is to be found on the editorial pages of American newspapers.

In twentieth-century newspaper parlance an editor is not a man who writes editorials or in any way shapes the policy or opinions of the paper, but the man (or boy) who “holds down a desk.” The term “editor,” like that of “doctor,” has been expanded until it has no significance. There are managing editors, city editors, telegraph editors, exchange editors, Sunday editors, night editors, society editors, sporting editors, beauty editors and contest editors, each with certain specific duties not connected in any way with the opinions of the publication—if it have any.

These various editors have their ideas of what the public wants and from these ideas the character of the paper takes its color. The Sunday editor of a metropolitan newspaper which advertises itself as “The world’s greatest newspaper” was asked why he published so much “hog wash” in his Sunday editions. His reply was pregnant with the spirit of modern journalism: “We are running a restaurant—if the people want soup, we give them soup.”

The editor of a certain Sunday magazine in returning some manuscripts, wrote the author in explanation: “The readers of this magazine want to be entertained and amused; we therefore cannot use any informative articles no matter what may be their literary merit or instructive value.”

The screaming headlines and the colored picture pages show to what lengths the newspaper will go to attract attention

—and like the stunts on the vaudeville stage they indicate the character of the average readers. Is it true that the people demand soup? From the apparent success of the press-restaurants which serve that dish exclusively, it would appear that "soup," however thin, is preferred to the best cuts of journalistic steak.

In theory the public press has two coordinate primary functions—the publishing of news and the moulding of public sentiment. It was the honest discharge of the latter function with its resultant influence, that elevated the press to the dignity of a fourth estate. And it was the subordination of both these primary functions to the business department, or their prostitution to selfish and illegitimate ends, that has shorn it of its high prerogatives and left it without influence among the thinking.

The rise of commercialism marked the beginning of the decline of the Fourth Estate in the United States. Corporations and individuals, for that matter, desiring special privileges needed special legislation, and it was soon discovered that it is cheaper to buy newspapers and through them control legislation, than to buy legislators direct. Besides, newspapers when once bought stay'd bought. It is not an uncommon thing for a great industrial or transportation corporation to own outright, either directly or indirectly, a dozen big newspapers and control a hundred others. The Hill roads, for instance, have a string of papers from St. Paul to Puget Sound. And the very telegraphic news that appears in nine-tenths of the daily papers in the United States is controlled absolutely by a well-known trust that openly defies the laws, while the man at its head with his ill-gotten millions founds universities. To what extent this news is colored is difficult to determine. I have no doubt that in all matters affecting the Standard Oil or its allied interests the news bears the taint of its origin. The writer for a number of years was the "editor" (?) (the interrogation is mine) of a certain well-known

metropolitan daily the policy of which was determined in the office of a railway magnate, while the detailed instructions as to editorial expression came from his private secretary.

Such is the condition of the Fourth Estate. From the country weekly to the city daily we find few free moral agents. Those that are not owned, stock and bonds, body and soul, by corporations with interests to protect, are rendered nerveless and opinionless by the fear of losing their advertising patronage. If the *System* cannot reach the owner of the paper directly—if he be proof against its moral suasion it can reach the advertiser; and under our modern methods no matter how independent a publication may be it has one vulnerable point—the business office.

During the fight recently made by the railroads against national legislative control, the Fourth Estate became the battleground. A large sum of money, estimated at not less than \$2,000,000, was raised for the campaign by a pool of the railway interests. One-quarter of this fund was expended in an effort to influence the public through the country press. Over a million copies of a "Magazine Section" were sent out weekly to all who would use them, free and with express paid. But the bulk of the work was done through a publicity bureau that "card-indexed" every editor and publisher of a paper in the United States. If he yielded to gentle influence all right—he was sent proper copy to use, but if he was incorrigible or stiff-necked, his record was looked up, and if weak spots were found in his personal or financial armor he was promptly put on the rack.

The result of this campaign demonstrated the weakness of the Fourth Estate as a factor in moulding public opinion—the people repose little or no confidence in the opinions of the average newspaper.

This characterization of the press must not be considered as universal. There are a few great newspapers that are still

true to the best traditions of the Fourth Estate—but they are not money-makers and it requires money to run a great newspaper. Unless a reaction toward sane and honest journalism sets in soon, they, too, will be compelled to join the great majority.

This evolutionary struggle for survival within the Fourth Estate has brought forth a new type of journalism, the type represented by the Pulitzer and Hearst papers. Here we have the vilest of yellow journalism coupled with fearless editorial expression; news columns filled with the most sensational claptrap side by side with editorials expressing the loftiest public sentiment. The excuse offered for this unholy marriage of virtue and vice is that the times demand it—that the sensation is necessary to secure the circulation—and circulation is essential to a hearing—the masses must be reached if they are to be influenced.

Mr. Pulitzer himself is said to prefer the *New York Evening Post* to all other American newspapers. When asked why he did not publish such a paper he replied, "I want to talk to a nation, not to a select committee."

The decline of the newspaper as a guiding force left the great field of the Fourth Estate open to the magazines. These publications which for many years had been regarded as means of recreation only at once came to the front as forums for the discussion of grave public questions. Men with something to say could, through these media, reach the public without running foul of the business office. Here crimes could be exposed—great crimes as well as crimes of the great. A few magazine publishers with their ear to the ground heard the rumble of a coming storm, and boldly preëmpted the estate abandoned by the daily press. Their reward was great—the people hailed them as deliverers and their circulation and their revenue grew apace. At last the high obligations of the Fourth

Estate were to be shouldered by the great national weeklies and the militant monthlies.

That was three years ago. The public is now much wiser regarding the methods of millionaires than it once was. A few of the mailed knights remain in the lists avowed champions of honest business, a square deal and clean government, but some of the foremost in the lists of three years ago seem to have grown weary of the contest. Have they been made to feel the pressure of the thumb-screw or has public approval been outbid by private interest? Why this silence and inactivity where there was once the shout of battle and the clash of arms? Is the magazine to go the way of the daily press? Is the Fourth Estate to sink again to the level of the American House of Lords? It has been demonstrated that a magazine may give the truth to the world and live. It must be expected, however, that any publication which challenges the existing order will feel the heavy hand of secret and persistent opposition. Publish to the world social or financial rottenness, and you are a "muckraker." But in this crisis the "muckraker" is as essential to our economic and moral sanitation as is the "drain-man."

This is not a preachment on the duties of the public press and its moral obligations to organized society; but the following observation is so axiomatic that it may not be out of place in this connection. Whenever a newspaper, posing as a member of the Fourth Estate, is run purely as a business proposition or as a special advocate, and in the chase after dollars or in its efforts to accomplish other ends, suppresses or garbles the news and devotes its editorial influence to selfish ends alone, it becomes a public menace, worse than a venal public servant—worse than a pirate on the high seas.

RICHARD A. HASTE.

*Chicago, Illinois.*

## A CITY'S STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AND MORAL FREEDOM.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

**T**HE CITY of Los Angeles, California, is passing through a crisis in its history that should attract the attention of the whole country. The city has, for years, been under the control and domination of a strong and well-organized political machine which has been in turn controlled and dominated by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. This was so well understood that many of the better class of citizens became indifferent to their duties as electors, failed to attend the caucuses and conventions of their respective political parties, and left the field of politics open to the pernicious influences and control of the machine. Party nominations, in the city as well as in the county and state, were made through caucuses for the selection of delegates to the nominating conventions, which were controlled absolutely, in almost all cases, by the political machine, directed by a political boss, which, of course, made the convention itself, made up of such delegates, wholly subservient to the influences that brought it into existence.

To make the situation worse, and further enable these manipulators of politics to manage the elections more conveniently and effectually, the charter of the city provided for the election of members of the city council by wards. The result of these conditions was that the city could not depend upon its representatives in the city council to protect its interests as against the Southern Pacific Company and other utility corporations having like interests with it to protect. Not only so but the interests through which untrustworthy men were made public officers did not themselves trust them, and must protect themselves not only by electing them

to office, but by keeping them under subjection by intimidation or hope of further reward. The outcome of this condition of things was inevitable and actually came to pass. The municipal government became venal and corrupt, and the management of the affairs of the city extravagant and burdensome.

The first step for the emancipation of the city from this condition of thralldom took form in an effort to form a new charter for its government. A commission of fifteen citizens and electors was chosen from the various civic bodies of the city supposed to represent all interests in business, and different shades of belief as to the best form of municipal government, to draft a new charter. The writer was a member of that commission, representing the Chamber of Commerce, one of the largest, most active and representative civic bodies of this or any other city. In order to make any charter that might be agreed upon efficient, it was necessary under the constitution of California that fifteen freeholders of the city be elected by the people to act upon it, for which purpose an election must be called by the city council. It was soon known that the commission at work upon the charter had agreed upon two changes that would go far to destroy the power of the political machine. One of these was a provision for the election of councilmen-at-large, instead of by wards, the other a provision for the nomination of all candidates for city offices at a primary nominating election, the candidates to be placed on the ticket to be voted at the nominating election on the petition of any one hundred electors of the city, and their names placed on the ticket in alphabetical order, and without any party designation.

This was enough to condemn the proposed charter in the estimation of a majority of the city council, who could never hope to be reelected by the electors of the city at large, and, consequently, that body refused to call the necessary election to put the new charter in force. But the better citizens were not to be balked of their purpose to rid the city of the rule of the railroad machine. Through the Municipal League, whose purpose is to protect the city from misrule, the initiative was inaugurated to compel the calling of an election to vote directly upon these two measures, and others, as amendments to the existing charter of the city. The necessary signatures to the initiative petition were quickly procured and the city council compelled thereby to call the election. That election has just been held. It was a clean-cut issue between the decent and law-abiding citizens and the forces of evil. The result was a complete and decisive victory for the better element in the city, both the amendments being adopted by handsome majorities.

In the meantime another issue had been made up and must yet be settled at the polls. It was discovered that the mayor of the city, and the police commission, of which he is ex-officio a member, had been protecting vice and violators of the law. The fact was exposed in two of the leading newspapers of the city that the mayor and some of his appointees on the police commission had formed a number of corporations and sold the stock of the companies to saloon-keepers, keepers of assignation houses and other places of vice, whereby its officials, whose duty it was to protect the city from these keepers of dens of vice, had become their associates in business. The result was that vice, in its various forms, was flaunting itself everywhere, mostly without molestation or fear of the enforcement of the law against its perpetrators. The mayor was also charged with the appointment of unfit men to office supposed to be

in fulfilment of election pledges made to secure his own election.

There was but one course open to a self-respecting people. The charter of the city provides for the recall of an unfaithful officer as well as for the initiative. The Municipal League again responded to the call to duty. It called a mass meeting of over five hundred of the representative people of the city to consider the question of instituting recall proceedings against the mayor. The meeting was a large one and the situation was fully discussed. The outcome was a resolution instructing the League to commence proceedings to recall the mayor adopted with only five or six dissenting votes. The demand for the mayor's recall, and the purging of the present administration of the evil influences that have brought it so low, was spontaneous, outspoken and overwhelming. People did not wait for the recall petition to be presented to them for signature. They hunted it up.

At this writing the success of the movement is well assured and the city of Los Angeles is about to furnish to the world an example of civic virtue and independence well worthy of emulation. Its people have had before them the appalling experience of our sister city, San Francisco, and have not waited until it is too late. As usual, the cry has been raised that the city would be injured by exposing this unfortunate condition. But good citizens are not disposed to cover up the corruption that pollutes the city. No city can be injured by the exposure and removal of a corrupt or unfaithful officer, and, if it could, it would furnish no just excuse for compromising with evil.

The adoption of the amendments to the charter, above mentioned, was the beginning of the emancipation of the city from bondage to the political machine, and official corruption. The successful enforcement of the recall against an officer who has betrayed his trust will be a warning that will serve to prevent repe-

tions of the offense in the future.

In the beginning the writer did not look with favor on the initiative or the recall. They seemed revolutionary and unwise. The recall looked like a menace to the honest and fearless officer by placing in the hands of less than a majority of voters who disagreed with his sincere convictions of right and duty the power to recall him from office. But it is not likely that such proceedings will ever be taken unless the officer has clearly shown either his corruption or his incompetency, in either of which cases he should be forced to give way, if he does not do so voluntarily. It is still believed that the recall should be resorted to only in extreme cases where the cause for it is clearly established. But fortunate is the city that has the power of the initiative, referendum and recall when it falls into the hands of political corruptionists and unfaithful officials.

The criticism of the recall is made that it enables less than a majority of the electors to enforce it. But the officer cannot be deprived of his office by the mere filing of the recall petition. Its only effect is to call for a new election which enables the accused officer to prove himself as a candidate for reelection, an opportunity that an honest and faithful officer should court rather than shun. Under the recall provision of the charter of the city if the necessary petition is filed and the election called, the officer proceeded against is made one of the candidates without nomination and his name is placed on the ballot as, of course, unless he expressly declines to be a candidate. So he is treated with perfect fairness and consideration.

It so happens that in the present instance the mayor was elected by a mere plurality of votes, much less than a majority, and that the signers to the recall petition exceed in number the votes by which the mayor was elected to the office. Under these conditions he cannot justly complain that the number of petitioners necessary to put him to a second election is too small.

Los Angeles is rapidly taking the necessary steps to redeem itself and establish its moral and political freedom, as fully as may be done by a well-regulated city governed by honest, capable and efficient officers, and woe to the public servant that betrays his trust. The good people of the city now know their power to coerce their officers, and have shown that they have the courage to use it. It is a ray of light in this darkness of political and official corruption that should lead us on to better things: to a cleaner, better-regulated city with higher ideals of civic duty and virtue in its people. Let the good work go on until we have thrown the rascals out and keep them out. So will political and official corruption be overthrown and good municipal government established.

Since the above was written important events have followed each other in rapid succession in the City of Los Angeles. The mayor was recalled by the necessary petition of twenty-five per cent. of the electors of the city. A mass meeting of citizens selected a candidate to make the race against him, and the necessary petition for the nomination of the candidate selected was quickly procured. Under the charter the incumbent is made a candidate, without nomination, unless he declines to run. The grand jury, in session, investigated the mayor's official conduct and made a report exposing, in part, his misconduct as mayor, but failing to indict or bring specific charges against him. But the newspapers discovered the facts that forced him to resign the office and he, at the same time, refused to be a candidate for election under the recall proceedings.

An interview with him was published in one of the local papers, in which he declared that he was induced to resign by the political boss of Los Angeles who threatened to withdraw his support from him and who assured him that if he resigned the recall would be defeated, no election could be held, and the appoint-



ment of his successor for his full unexpired term would rest with the city council, a majority of which was supposed to be subservient to the political machine. On the other hand the friends of the recall maintained that the election must be held, notwithstanding his resignation, and any appointment made by the city council must terminate with the election, and the council was so advised by the city attorney. The scheme was to elect a machine man who would contest the election of the successful candidate at the recall election and prevent his taking the office. But the whole scheme failed. The people were so incensed, and the pressure upon the council was so strong, that the councilmen did not dare to carry it out, if they had ever intended to do so, and a worthy citizen, friendly to the recall was unanimously elected to fill the term until the election, under an express pledge to surrender the office to whomsoever might be elected. But the machine, nothing daunted, brought suit in court to enjoin the city officers from expending the money necessary to hold the election, hoping thus to defeat the holding of the election. But this attempt to prevent the people from selecting their own mayor met the same fate as the other. The suit was forced to an immediate hearing, and, three days before the time for holding the election, the court denied the injunction and held that the resignation of the recalled mayor did not take away from the people the right to elect his successor. In the meantime the Socialist party had regularly nominated a candidate, thus leaving the contest between him and the citizens' candidate. The only hope the machine and its allies had left, to defeat the recall candidate, was to combine and support the Socialist candidate. It was hard on the Socialists. They found themselves in very bad company. They were properly and rightly supporting their own candidate. He was a good citizen and there was but

one reason, why the machine should support him. It was willing to stultify itself, in any and every way, to defeat and discredit its worst enemy, the recall. So the people, who were conscientiously endeavoring to support this great principle, found the liquor interest, the keepers of dens of vice, the gamblers and other criminals, and all the disreputable and indecent elements against them, combined with the Socialists and some of the labor unions and a few other good citizens who professed to be working against the recall on principle. None of these many conflicting elements were sincere in their opposition to the recall candidate except the Socialists, and the labor unionists who naturally affiliated with them because of their preference for the Socialist candidate.

It was a death struggle between the decent and law abiding element, and the grafters, saloon keepers and vicious elements of all kinds. And the recall candidate, standing on his own merits, and supported by the best elements in the city, defeated them all and was triumphantly elected. It was a great battle for good government and moral and political freedom and the result one of the most important ever achieved in this or any other city. It proved that, when they will, good citizens can control the elections, and that they can, if they do their duty as citizens, overcome the powers of evil in politics and retire the political boss from business.

This great achievement of this far western city, still in its infancy, should be an inspiration to other cities throughout the country and establish, once for all, the efficacy of the recall as a means of retiring unfaithful officers to private life, and as a terror to evildoers.

In this great struggle for better government two of the leading newspapers of the city, the Los Angeles Herald, and Evening Express, one a Democratic and the other a Republican paper, did yeoman service and deserve the commendation

of all good citizens. On the other hand the organization of both the Republican and Democratic parties were opposed to the interests of the people, and had for their support the *Times*, *Examiner* and *Record*, the first a Republican and the second a Democratic paper, and the last without any politics or other principles. The line between the law abiding respectable citizens, and the grafters, saloon men and machine politicians, with the horde of criminals and self-seekers that

they control, was sharply drawn and the newspapers took their choice of the company they would keep and will be judged accordingly. But the great thing is that the supporters of good government and the right of the people to control municipal affairs were successful against the combined forces of these enemies of good clean government.

JOHN D. WORKS.

*Los Angeles, California.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE SINISTER ASSAULT ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

### Further Timely Warnings on The Despotism-Fostering Attempts to Throttle a Free Press.

**W**ILL it be necessary for the old battle, in which Eliot lost his life, and later Pym his ears, and Hampden both fortune and life, to be fought over again that the principles of free government, the rights of the people and the freedom of the press may be preserved from the aggressions of autocratic assumptions of power? This is the grave and serious question that has arisen in many minds since the almost incredible effort on the part of President Roosevelt to punish Mr. Pulitzer and crush the *New York World*.

Serious and disquieting as is this suit, considered merely as a specific attempt to resort to ancient and reactionary practices entirely out of accord with the principles and practices that have obtained during the greater portion of our national history, the question assumes infinitely more sinister aspects when it is viewed as a precedent which is sought to be established at a time when the handy-men of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt political bosses are so actively engaged in attempts to check and defeat all efforts to make our government truly representative or to secure to the people the blessings of pure and free government. Once establish the precedent and accept the contention which Mr. Roosevelt and his apologists advance, and the days of free government will be numbered, unless there be enough of the old American spirit to relight the torch of democracy.

It is indeed encouraging to note that a vast number of our stronger papers, Republican, Democratic and Independent alike, denounce this latest and most ominous action of President Roosevelt. Brave men also are coming to the front with strong words of protest and criticism.

So important is the question and so necessary is it that the friends of clean, progressive and free government should have on file, easily accessible, the opinions of representative thinkers and great journalists on the question, for use in case that in the future a similar attempt shall be made, that we have decided

to quote from several of the notable utterances that have been called forth by the President's instigation of governmental action against the *World*.

### Hon. Thomas E. Watson on The Effort to Shackle Free Government.

The Hon. Thomas E. Watson, the well-known author of an exceptionally able life of Napoleon Bonaparte, one of the best lives of Thomas Jefferson, and other important works, in writing the *New York World* under date of January 24th, says:

"When the British ministry in 1810 was resorting to suppressive measures to check the progress of democratic principles, a bill was introduced into Parliament to shackle the press. Against the ministerial policy Richard Brinsley Sheridan made an impassioned speech by which he thrilled the House. Said he, alluding to the reactionaries of that day:

"Give them a corrupt House of Lords; give them a venal House of Commons; give them a tyrannical prince; give them a truckling court, and let me but have an unfettered press, and I will defy them to encroach a hair's-breadth upon the liberties of England."

"The great Irish orator was right. No personal government, no divine-right military despotism, can exist and flourish where there is freedom of the press.

"Civilization rests upon liberty—liberty of person, of thought, of speech. To liberty of speech the freedom to print is a necessary adjunct. Without the one the other is incomplete. Restraint of freedom to print should go no further in principle than goes those necessary restraints which the law places upon liberty of person and of conscience.

"With a censored press, Russian bureaucracy can perpetuate itself at a time when liberty is enlightening the world. With a censored press the Manchu dynasty can maintain itself in China. Neither in Russia nor China would despotism be possible were the press unfettered.

"Without the press Martin Luther could never have established the Reformation. Without it the glorious work of Rousseau, Vol-

taire and Diderot could never have been done. Without it the ancient régime could never have been overturned.

"When a Napoleon reaches the period when he can brook no opposition to his will he censors the newspapers, banishes Madam de Stael and shoots the bookseller Palm.

"When Bismarck grows too great to regard the will of the people he muzzles the press and makes lavish use of the 'reptile fund.' True as holy writ are the words of Sheridan.

"Despotism cannot flourish under the scorching light of an unfettered press. The letters of 'Junius' prove it; the success of Dean Swift proves it; the omnipotence of such books as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* proves it, and it was but a few months ago that we saw a weekly paper in Berlin shake the Kaiser's throne to its foundations.

"Because the Federalists in the days of Adams and Hamilton undertook to fetter the press, the Democracy, led by Jefferson, won control of the government and held it for half a century. The Sedition laws under which President John Adams cast editors into dungeons were not more undemocratic than the policy of repression which is now foreshadowed. It is the patriotic duty of men of all parties to resist any efforts to shackle the press."

#### Representative Newspapers on The Menace to Free Institutions.

The well-known Republican daily, the *New York Mail*, thus editorially comments on the early proceedings of the government in this case:

"Some assertion of governmental power to punish criticism is contemplated. *Some blow at the freedom of speech and of the press is meditated.* It is appropriate, and yet it is infinitely disquieting, that this is being done behind the scenes, in a darkness too profound for even the best lawyers in the Senate to penetrate it. *The environment of this action, its initial stages, suggest the court procedure of Russia before there was a Duma to give voice to public opinion;* suggest also the Star Chamber chapter of British history and the unhappiest chapters of royal aggression on the liberties of the English people.

"This connection is vital rather than fanciful. Unless the country, which has been kept in darkness, is mistaken, the action will be brought under an alleged authority which comes direct from the Star Chamber, was

embodied in the common law of Maryland and may never have been repealed in the laws of the District of Columbia, formerly a part of the state of Maryland. . . . What the *New York Tribune* said in 1895 is just as pertinent now:

"The law of criminal libel in the District of Columbia, then, is the law as it existed in England before the American Revolution. That law received its form from the infamous Court of Star Chamber, and was the most terrible of all engines for the suppression of a free press at the hands of arbitrary and tyrannical power. Under it any publication which tended to produce an ill-opinion of the administration of the government was a crime."

The *Milwaukee News*, the well-known independent daily, observes that:

"The threat to prosecute Pulitzer will not intimidate the publisher of the *New York World*. Yet it is a distinct assault by the Executive authority upon the liberty of the press. There are thousands of newspapers throughout the country that lack the resources of Mr. Pulitzer and which, even aware of their legal rights, are yet fearful of litigation. *Such a threat as uttered by Mr. Roosevelt is calculated to silence them as effectually as if the Executive had the power to muzzle or suppress them by Executive order.* . . .

"If Mr. Roosevelt's idea of libeling the government were enforceable in law, there could be no criticism of the acts of public officials, for to criticize Congress, the Executive or any of their agents would be to subject the critic to prosecution by the Federal government. It effectually would destroy liberty of press and speech and bring an end to popular government."

The *Boston Herald*, probably the most influential supporter of Mr. Taft in New England during the recent campaign, has the following to say:

"The fundamental issue in the controversy growing out of the *World's* criticism of Federal officials and of private citizens concerned in the Panama business is not whether the charges were warranted or unwarranted, or whether they can be sustained. It is not a question of relaxing or tightening the law of libel. *The gravity of the situation lies in this fact, that the American press faces not a Congressional enactment but an Executive decree intended to intimidate editors, and setting up the thesis that the Government can be libeled, a decree which, under the authority of obsolete and long-forgot-*

ten laws, can engage the judicial machinery of the Republic for the purpose of haling non-subservient, non-obsequious editors into court and punishing them because they had had the courage to utter their convictions. Since the President's message of December 15th first announced this newly-assumed power of 'the government,' and since the Attorney-General was instructed to find a law to fit the will of the Executive, there has been a perceptible waning of insistence on vigorous prosecution. Why? Possibly the revolt of the press of the country against this high-handed scheme has had something to do with the waning of 'the government's' zeal. For popularity with the press is not despised even by autocrats, oligarchies or the elected of the people. Possibly some legal advisers who know that liberty is founded upon law and not upon vindictiveness or impulse, whispered into an impatient ear in one of its listening intervals. At any rate, whatever the cause, it begins to appear as if there would not be frontal attack through Federal action, but a flank attack inspired from Washington but nominally on the free volition of individuals."

Mr. W. E. Haskell, the editor of this paper, in a personal letter to the *World*, further states:

"As the *Herald* has stated, we do not believe that the Federal government should have power to bring action for libel against the press.

"To give the government the right of action would mean a menace to the freedom of the press and of speech. With such a power recognized by the courts a dominant party would be in a position to throttle free speech at will and hold a powerful club over every editor who dared honestly express an opinion at variance with the wishes of the administration."

The *Springfield Republican*, the ablest edited daily paper in the United States, says:

"Think for a moment of what would follow the government's success in the pending prosecution on such grounds as have been indicated. If the prosecution is for libel of individuals, then Federal jurisdiction could be asserted over practically all libel cases, for few are the newspapers which do not circulate in some government reservation, and circulation there would constitute a commission of the offense there. And none are the newspapers which do not circulate in a government reservation if the post-office be regarded as such. Are the states of the Union thus to be divested of a

police power long recognized as belonging to them? Are the closing days of the Roosevelt administration to be marked by so high-handed and sweeping an aggression as this for the exaltation of the central government, and a personal government at that?

"This would be bad enough. But even worse will success in the prosecution be if the charge is a libel upon the government itself. Then indeed will the freedom of speech and of the press have been extinguished, and with that will go in time a people's government under the rise of arbitrary and personal power which, as Napoleon said, has more to fear in three newspapers than in a million bayonets. It is thinkable that Mr. Roosevelt should so act, but it is wholly unthinkable that any other power in the Federal government should support him."

The *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, one of the leading Republican dailies of America, says:

"The woes and wrongs of one man become unimportant when it is sought to create a new crime whose existence, if once established, would make of no account the constitutional guarantees of the liberty of the press and of the citizen.

"For it is plain to all that if the United States government were put in a position to throw the whole weight of its power against any newspaper which had happened to hurt the President's feelings by criticizing his relatives or censuring his conduct, that newspaper would be wiped out.

"One after another the newspapers could be reduced to silence at the will of any President, and the American press would have no more liberty than that of Russia.

"Any editor whose words the President disliked could be given the alternative of silence or the jail. *Lèse-majesté* in the United States would become a fact."

And the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the leading Republican daily of San Francisco, observes:

"If to say what is incorrect about the official conduct of public men is a sin, it must be acknowledged that the United States is a sinful country and this planet is a sinful world. There are countries in which it is held that the maligning of high officials is a public offense of exceeding gravity, but in those countries the crime is not called libel, but *lèse-majesté*. And if any crime has been committed against the 'Government' by the publication of these alleged wrong stories it is the crime called *lèse-majesté* in other parts of the civilized world. If

that crime has been recognized in the United States since the repeal of the Alien and Sedition laws, which almost caused rebellion in this country some hundred and odd years ago, it will be news to most people. But the crime of libel can be committed only against an individual."

Of the scores upon scores of able editorials that have been called forth relative to this case, nothing has come to our notice that better presents certain fundamentally grave aspects involved than the following editorial by Mr. Louis F. Post, of the *Chicago Public*, which appeared in his able weekly of January 22d:

"On the surface there seems to be little connection between the proceedings at Washington against the *New York World* for seditious libel, and the proceedings there against the *American Federationist* for what we shall have to distinguish as a labor libel. Yet the two are intimately related. Each is a different phase of a tendency toward usurpation of power. In the *Federationist* case, the proceedings tend to destroy freedom of the press by remitting questions of its abuse to the arbitrary determination of injunction judges, thereby destroying the American principle that in libel cases juries shall decide all the issues—publication, libelous character, publishers' motives and justifiableness of publication. In *World* case, the proceedings tend to subject publishers all over the United States to trial in the District of Columbia.

"The proceedings against the *World* are therefore of vastly greater moment to the people of the United States than any question regarding graft in connection with the Isthmian canal, important as some of those questions are. For these proceedings are a menace to the general freedom of the press. They are a greater menace than was the sedition law of 1798, for which the Federalist party was responsible and which drove it from power.

"That old sedition law made it a crime to publish libels upon the President or Congress, and under it editors were tried, convicted and imprisoned. The trials were in the Federal courts in their own states. Yet the people, realizing the danger of bridling the press in its exposures of and comments upon the central government, realizing that it were better that officials be subject even to libels than that the people's liberties be quietly undermined by means which the press dared not expose nor denounce, rose in indignation against the sedition law. But the sedition law was mild in comparison with these proceedings against the

*New York World*. They go farther toward despotism than the despotic old Federalists ever dreamed of going.

"Not only does the Federal government take jurisdiction of libels by making them subject to Federal indictment—which was all that the sedition law of 1798 undertook to do—but by making them triable at Washington, though they be published in the most remote part of the Union, it goes the further length of centralizing the power of the Federal government over the press of the whole country.

"Consider the matter. The District of Columbia is the only place, other than territories not yet advanced to statehood, in which offenses not distinctly Federal may be tried in the Federal courts. In the District of Columbia, all phases of the law are within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts; whereas, in the states, the Federal courts have no jurisdiction over cases not involving the authority of the Federal Constitution. A Federal court in Illinois cannot try a criminal libel case, because questions of libel within a state are exclusively of state concern. But in the District of Columbia, the Federal court may try a case of criminal libel, because the District of Columbia is not within any state. The Federal courts there combine the jurisdiction which in a state is divided between state and Federal courts. So long, then, as a person within the District of Columbia commits a crime of any kind against the peace and order of the District, it is entirely right that he be tried there. Consequently, an indictment against Mr. Gompers might be right enough; for his offense, if it was an offense, was committed within the District of Columbia. The question in his case is not one of territorial jurisdiction; it is a question of government by injunction. But the question in Mr. Pulitzer's case is one of territorial jurisdiction. His offense, if it was an offense, was an offense against his state. Possibly it may be conceded that he might be indicted in the District of Columbia for sending a libelous publication into that jurisdiction, on the principle that one state may indict the resident of another for sending a libelous publication over its borders. But the state which indicts under those circumstances cannot try the offender unless he comes voluntarily into its jurisdiction. It cannot bring him there against his will. So in the case of Mr. Pulitzer. If the courts of the District of Columbia may indict him, they cannot compel his attendance without thereby

establishing a precedent for subjecting every publisher in the land to liability to transportation to Washington for trial for any utterance that gives offense to Federal officials.

"To concede the lawful power of the District of Columbia to bring witnesses from a state into its courts by subpoena, or to bring any alleged offender from a state before its courts by warrant, is to concede that all judicial power, over all persons throughout the United States, resides in the courts of the District of Columbia, provided some subtle interpretation of the law enables them to say that the alleged offense was committed in the District constructively. It is therefore to concede that the rest of the United States is, in respect of the most important safeguards of personal liberty, subject to the District of Columbia. This alone would be a dangerous concession, but there lurks within it a greater danger. For the proceedings against the *World* are for sedition—for libeling Federal officials as such. Let this sort of proceeding take root in a little district controlled by the President and a small and irresponsible coterie in Congress, with power in the courts of the district to grab an alleged offender anywhere in the Union, and unauthorized criticism of the President, his official associates and his policies would be too dangerous for any but reckless and irresponsible libelers or exceptionally sturdy patriots to risk.

"We trust that Mr. Pulitzer may at the outset contest the authority of the courts of the District of Columbia to drag him before their bar. Charles A. Dana of the *Sun* did this in President Grant's day of unsavory memory, and did it successfully. Judge Blatchford decided that the courts of the District of Columbia had no long and strong arm with which to sweep this country in the interest of despotism as the long and the strong arm of the Czar sweeps Russia. We trust that Mr. Pulitzer will contest this question, and we wish him the success that Mr. Dana had. It is a vastly more important question than his exposure of the Isthmian canal conspiracy out of which it has grown, and it offers Mr. Pulitzer an infinitely more responsible and more exalted place as a champion of our traditional liberties."

#### **The "World" on Mr. Roosevelt's Attempt to Establish *Lèse-Majesté*.**

On January 21st the *World* in its editorial leader entitled "*More Lèse-Majesté*" thus

reflects its views, which are, we imagine, the views of a vast majority of the more thoughtful Americans:

"The *Sun* reprints from the *Tribune* the following inspired despatch from the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent relating to the government proceedings now under way against this newspaper:

"The President has been advised that a method of prosecution has been found, and although it is too early to reveal the government's plans, it may be said that the prosecution will be pushed with energy. The President is deeply interested in this case, and those charged with the prosecution realize that they will earn his gratitude if their efforts are successful."

"The Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, another staunch Republican newspaper, declares editorially that 'the real complainant, though he brings his action in the name of the United States, is Theodore Roosevelt.' The evidence in Mr. Roosevelt's special message to Congress would alone be sufficient to prove that this is a personal proceeding on his part against the *World*, undertaken for purposes of private and political revenge.

"The real offense of the *World* is that for years it has been an uncompromising leader of the Democratic opposition against Mr. Roosevelt's jingoism, militarism, lawlessness, violence, centralization and cowboy government.

"Mr. Roosevelt's grievances against this newspaper are numerous and noteworthy. We severely condemned his methods of raising a campaign fund in 1904, a criticism that was afterward corroborated by sworn evidence of \$150,000 of life-insurance contributions, by public proof of Harriman's \$260,000 and by the undeniable charge of the Standard Oil Company's \$100,000. We printed the Harriman letter to Sidney Webster, in which that eminent railroad manipulator discussed his secret political relations with Mr. Roosevelt. This compelled Mr. Roosevelt to make public the correspondence with 'My Dear Sherman' which showed how he himself had encouraged tainted money to believe it could control the Presidency.

"We censured Mr. Roosevelt for his wild, vituperative speeches in the summer of 1907 and warned him that he was driving the country on to a disastrous panic. Mr. Roosevelt continued his policy of government by denunciation, and the Roosevelt panic came.

"We have criticized the favoritism with which he has enforced and not enforced the law. We have criticized the favoritism which has demoralized the army and navy. We have criticized his tirades against 'malefactors of great wealth' whom he has refused to prosecute individually for the offenses he charged against them. We have also criticized him for his wanton assaults upon the courts, for his libel upon Congress and for his slanders against individuals, and we shall continue to criticize him on principle whenever we deem it necessary in the public interest.

"The President is not conducting his inquisitorial, star-chamber proceedings against the *World* for any 'infamous libels' it has uttered about the government or any individual. *He is prostituting his power as President of the United States to prosecute the World for the truth it has told about Theodore Roosevelt.*"

Personally we believe that no more deadly blow has been struck against the great bulwark of free institutions—a free press—than is being attempted by this proceeding.

On February 2d the *World* published another important editorial on the latest and in some respects the most amazing and incredible contention in regard to Mr. Roosevelt's action. As this editorial deals in a luminous manner with an important phase of the question, we reproduce it in full:

"United States District-Attorney Stimson has made a remarkable legal discovery. Taking President Roosevelt's view of the law, Mr. Stimson says that any newspaper can be criminally prosecuted for libel 'in a number of distinct and independent jurisdictions.' Mr. Stimson adds that 'in each of these jurisdictions, under well-known principles of law, each of these publications would constitute a separate offense.'

"Mr. Stimson further says that 'criminal-libel proceedings may well engage the attention of the officials whose duty it is to enforce the law in those localities.'

"According to this view of the law, if a copy of one newspaper were sent through the United States mails to anybody in the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guam and anywhere else where the post-office is a Federal building, or where a military or naval reservation exists, for that one act an indictment for criminal libel could be found in every one of these jurisdictions. The proceedings could be prosecuted simultaneously, as Mr. Stimson

advises Mr. Jerome. Indictments could be found simultaneously. The proprietor, the editor, the reporter or whoever was responsible for the publication could be simultaneously arrested by every United States marshal in whose district the offending publication had appeared.

"To put in the defense of truth, which Mr. Stimson admits 'would in the present case constitute a complete defense,' would require that the defendant should produce in Guam or Porto Rico or San Francisco or Hawaii, or wherever else President Roosevelt chose to try the case, all the witnesses and all the evidence in his defense. If acquitted there he could proceed to the next jurisdiction with his witnesses and his evidence, and so continue until he was bankrupted or convicted.

"As the *Milwaukee News* well says: 'There are thousands of newspapers throughout the country' which, 'even aware of their legal rights, are yet fearful of litigation' for lack of resources. 'Such a threat,' the *News* adds, 'as uttered by Mr. Roosevelt is calculated to silence them as effectually as if the Executive had the power to muzzle or suppress them by Executive order.'

"Comparatively few newspapers are backed by ample financial resources. Comparatively few are conducted at considerable profit. In most cases the consciousness of service rendered and the privilege of advocating the principles he holds dear must serve the newspaper publisher in lieu of large monetary reward. Not the most honorable, the most inconspicuous or the most careful member of the profession can feel secure from ruin if Mr. Roosevelt's view of the law is accurate. By the power to subject any newspaper to great expense in vexatious and distant proceedings the Executive would possess resources of censorship greater than the Russian Czar's.

"He would not need to 'black out' passages in a newspaper that criticized him. He could crush the offending publication by the tremendous power of the United States government. Under the Roosevelt interpretation of the law any President could, as the *Milwaukee News* says, '*Destroy liberty of the press and speech and bring to an end popular government.*'"

On February 4th the *World's* editorial continues its discussion of the latest contention in regard to the case as follows:

"The discovery of United States District-Attorney Stimson that upon President Roosevelt's view of the law of *lèse-majesté*, any news-



paper can be criminally prosecuted for libel 'in a number of distinct and independent jurisdictions' involves momentous consequences.

"If the Roosevelt Discovery is sound in law, if vexatious proceedings can be begun against any newspaper critic of the government in any Federal reservation, then the stanchly Republican *Detroit Journal* was not too emphatic when it said that the President's proceeding 'has reached a stage where it is time to stop laughing. . . . When personal vanity and personal power menace the freedom of the American press the situation ceases abruptly to be amusing.' There are no fewer than 2,686 of these various reservations scattered over the country and its possessions.

"The editors of any newspaper whom a President sees fit to prosecute under this interpretation of the law can be dragged from the Portsmouth navy-yard to the Puget Sound navy-yard, from Fort Knox to the Presidio, from Fort Ethan Allen to Fort Grant, where Colonel Stewart was exiled because he declined to retire from active service at the pleasure of the President. The possibility of ruin—under the Roosevelt Discovery—to any American publisher is an everyday business fact on which he must constantly reckon.

"The Republican *Omaha Bee* says that 'when the publisher of a small weekly at Gretna, Nebraska, was dragged to Omaha for trial on a far-fetched libel charge, the *Bee* protested vigorously against it.' From Gretna to Omaha is twenty miles by rail; and even that shift of venue the *Bee* terms a 'judicial outrage.'

"The Gretna publisher undoubtedly mails his paper to Congressman Hitchcock, of Omaha, in Washington. Let him 'libel the United States' by criticising its Executive, and he and his employés may be cited to Washington on the strength of his 'circulation' there, to the neglect and ruin of their business. They may be taken thence to another Federal reservation, and another, at the mercy of lawless caprice.

"The words of the Boston *Herald*, written before Mr. Roosevelt's Very Latest Discovery in *Lèse-Majesté* became public, are not less applicable in the light of that preposterous doctrine:

"The gravity of the situation lies in this fact, that the American press faces not a Congressional enactment but an *Executive decree* intended to intimidate editors, and setting up the thesis that the government can be libeled, a decree which, under the authority of obsolete

and long-forgotten laws, can engage the judicial machinery of the Republic for the purpose of haling non-subservient, non-obsequious editors into court and punishing them because they had had the courage to utter their convictions.'

"Nor are responsible editors, publishers and employés alone menaced—if the Roosevelt Discovery stands—with possible ruin by repeated, distant, trumped-up proceedings. Any business man who may for any reason incur the dislike of any Executive may be harried from pillar to post to 'testify' concerning facts or publications of which he can know nothing whatever. This has happened in the present case. It may happen again if such subversive proceedings go unrebuked; and we may thus exchange constitutional government for the universal tyranny of subpoena.

"Under the Roosevelt interpretation of the law any President could, as the *Milwaukee News* says, 'destroy liberty of speech and press and bring an end to popular government.'"

#### **Europe Amazed at President Roosevelt's Attempt to Establish Lèse-Majesté in The Republic.**

The London dispatches to the *New York World* for January 25th give the following as indicating something of the amazement of Europe at President Roosevelt's action:

"There is no procedure in any constitutionally governed European country that is equivalent to that taken by President Roosevelt against the *New York World* in the libel cases now before United States grand juries.

"In England it is impossible to libel the state. If any individual claims to be libeled he can proceed either by civil proceedings for damages or by criminal process for fine or imprisonment of the libeler. It is not within the power of the state or any of its functionaries to summon witnesses to give evidence in any inquisition excepting when a charge has been duly and distinctly formulated by the plaintiff, who must specify clearly who is the alleged offender.

"There has been no analogy in England to President Roosevelt's procedure since the abolition of the Star Chamber. Constitutional authorities here are utterly mystified by the proceedings before the Federal grand jury. They are incomprehensible, being an absolute negation of the accepted principles of law.

"In France President Roosevelt's methods have caused equal amazement. Donald Har-

per, the eminent international lawyer, of Paris, said to the correspondent of the *World* :

“WHICH PART OF STATE LIBELED ?

“Such a procedure as that instituted by President Roosevelt against the *World* would be impossible in France. I fail to grasp what part of the United States has been libeled. Is it the President or the House of Representatives? My understanding is that none of the governmental departments has been libeled.

“You can't libel France as a country, but the President of France, his cabinet, the Senate or Chamber of Deputies may be libeled. If the President of France is libeled the Procureur-General may bring an action, but he cannot do that in the case of the cabinet, Senate or Chamber of Deputies until those bodies have ordered prosecution. Moreover, there must be a specific charge which shows libel.

“No fishing expedition is permissible to find out if there was a libel and who did the libeling. Such a thing is in direct contradiction of the spirit of the French Republic since the Revolution. It seems a rather queer theory that any country except an absolute monarchy could be libeled. A king in an absolute monarchy is really the country. Louis XIV. said, “I am the state.” In those days he certainly could have had any disrespectful newspaper man put in jail. The theory of all republican forms of government is that the country itself cannot be libeled.’

“UNKNOWN IN GERMANY.

“Professor Wagner, of Berlin, an eminent authority on constitutional law, explained to the *World* correspondent that the German law recognizes as offenses any treasonable practices committed by newspapers against the state. It recognizes libel against certain institutions of state that may be accused, but the offense of libeling the state as such is unknown.

“‘In the case of a libel made by a newspaper against any institution,’ said Professor Wagner ‘the prosecutor must show all his cards and make specific and definite charges. Such a procedure as a fishing inquiry without

naming the prosecutor is unknown in the German Empire. The laws of evidence are the same in all cases. A case on similar lines to that of President Roosevelt against the *World* is unknown and impossible in Germany.’”

There can be no doubt but what from the Czar down, every friend of despotism and every enemy of that essential bulwark of free government—a free press—rejoices at the action of the President. It is difficult to conceive anything that could so hearten the enemies of free institutions and clean, progressive and democratic government as the spectacle of the President of the United States invoking the great power of the Federal government in an attempt to crush a newspaper that fearlessly and, as we think the vast majority of our people believe, honestly and patriotically strove to further the interests of good government by exposing what it believed to be evil conditions. We believe no newspaper in the Anglo-Saxon world has ever been engaged in fighting a battle more vital to the life of pure and free government than is the *New York World* at the present time.

#### **Abraham Lincoln on Freedom of Speech.**

In bold contrast with the present action of Mr. Roosevelt, we have the noble utterance of Abraham Lincoln, who in the most troubled and crucial period in our national history, when if ever there could be justification for suppression of free speech there was present such justification, was too great and far-  
visioned a statesman, too fundamental a democrat and friend to human liberty and progress, to yield to the importunities of the shallow and timid friends who requested him to suppress the *Chicago Times*. In Lincoln's noble reply he said:

“I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the very sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to daunt that could be construed into an interference with or to jeopardize in any degree the common rights of the citizen.”

## SENATOR ROOT'S OPPOSITION TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

THAT class of men whom Elihu Root has so faithfully and efficiently served since the days when a great judge severely reprimanded him for his uncalled-for and improper activity in the interests of Boss Tweed, have every reason to congratulate themselves over the replacing of the faithful friend of predatory wealth, T. C. Platt, by Mr. Root. One of the first speeches made by Mr. Root after his election to the Senatorship from New York state, was against the only practical movement of the day that threatens to destroy the corrupt domination of politics through bosses and money-controlled machines working in the interests of privileged wealth and against the rights and interests of the people.

Mr. Root most admirably voiced the cherished wish of all corrupt political bosses and their associates in the feudalism of privileged wealth. He is opposed to Direct-Legislation. Certainly. Would any one ever suppose that the man who was so long the faithful handyman of Thomas F. Ryan and men of his ilk, would favor the rule of the people? But Mr. Root goes further. He is opposed to the people having the opportunity of selecting the United States Senators. Perhaps the personal reason might have somewhat biased his views, but even if it had not entered into the consideration, it is perhaps too much to expect that the Hamiltonian Mr. Root, with his long and intimate association with the master-spirits in the feudalism of privileged wealth, would have ranged himself on the side of popular government at a time when the plutocracy is so active in pushing forward reactionary measures and disseminating undemocratic opinions?

The New York *American* of January 30th contains the following most admirable editorial on Mr. Root's opposition to the people being permitted the chance to menace the rule of corporate wealth by having the power to select the United States Senators, which we commend to the thoughtful consideration of all our readers, as it clearly and succinctly states certain facts that no American patriot should for a moment lose sight of:

"New York's new Senator holds that the law of the land in ordaining the formal election of United States Senators by the state legisla-

ture means that they shall not be directly chosen by the people of the state. The utilization of direct-primary laws to that end is illegal, if not morally wrong and politically unwise. *Mr. Root is not going to the United States Senate as the direct representative of the people, but of the legislature of New York.*

"In defending his position this avowed follower of Hamilton, the great Federalist, was obliged to take a stand for states' rights in the form of Senators representing states, as states, rather than popular movements.

"But Mr. Root's toga of logic failed to fit the situation.

"Senators should represent states, true, but under the present system they do not represent states so much as one party of a state, and that produces a condition of corporation supremacy beyond popular control.

"If the people send a Democratic majority to their state legislature the 'interests' which have their stronghold in the United States Senate secure the election of a corporation Democrat as Senator.

"If the people elect a Republican majority the corporation influence gains a corporation Republican in the United States Senate.

"Mr. Root himself is an example of how the thing works.

"It works to elect corporation Senators rather than Senators representing the people, or the state as a state, or even the legislature. Who believes that Elihu Root will care a snap of his fingers for the New York legislature?

"The new Senator tried to fasten his toga of logic with the fact that some anti-corporation champions clamor for states' rights if they see a way to hit the enemy with state law and state prosecution, while, at the same time, urging the United States government to overstep its boundaries of authority to do what the states fail to do.

"That point is equally strong against the influences behind Mr. Root. They are Federalists when the states assail them and states' rights men when the Federal government seeks to bit and curb their high horse. And in his speech of thanks at Albany Mr. Root tried to explain that he is both a Federalist and a states' rights man, according to circumstances.

*"But the real trouble is that he is a corpora-*

*tion lawyer and that his real constituents are neither Federalists nor states' rights champions, but corporation champions against the people.*

*"The conflict is not between United States and state authority, but is a question whether the people or corrupt private interests still rule this country."*

## POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS AND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

**T**HE GRATITUDE of the people is to statesmen who have bravely and aggressively fought for the establishment of postal savings-banks throughout the Republic. Were it not for the devil-fish-like grip of the banking and other privileged interests on our government since the feudalism of privileged wealth allied itself with the political boss and gained mastery of the money-controlled machine, it is inconceivable that there would be any serious opposition on the part of the people's representatives; for if the best interests of all the people rather than the selfish desires and cupidity of a class are to be made a master-concern of government, all criticism of postal savings-banks falls to the ground before the much stronger reasons for their establishment.

The success of the postal savings-banks in Great Britain and elsewhere completely answers many of the specious objections which the secret or avowed special advocates of the banking interests have advanced. It has been clearly shown in the practical working of these banks where they have been introduced, that one of the great objects of these banks—an object that operates in favor of both the nation and the individual, has been attained in even greater degree than even the friends of postal savings-banks dared hope would follow. We refer to the wonderful influence they have exerted in promoting thrift and savings on the part of the poor. Englishmen who in the old time were in the habit of spending a goodly portion of their earnings at the public house of a Saturday night, have in thousands upon thousands of instances been induced to set aside part of their earnings for deposit in the government savings-banks. Soon they had accumulated quite a little nest-egg, and were then encouraged to put away more and more, and often all of the money that formerly had been spent in the public-house found its way into the government savings-banks. Children were led to deposit their little money, instead of spending it as before on candy, etc. So

in various ways England became a nation of depositors; thrift was encouraged and hoped for; for the family which had a few government consols to its credit and the prescribed limit in cash in the government depository, had a great load lifted from its heart. The former ever-present dread of sudden sickness, death and the Potter's field has been lifted in the case of a vast army of Englishmen, who under no circumstances would have deposited their money in private institutions.

The claim that savings-banks answer the purpose of the government postal savings institutions is wide of the truth. First, because there are thousands upon thousands of post-offices where there are no savings-banks, and by the establishment of these bank millions of our people would have brought within their reach the benefits and blessings of a savings-bank that would be absolutely safe. Second, where savings-banks do exist they do not appeal to a large proportion of the people as safe depositories for their earnings, as there have been too many failures of these institutions to invite the confidence of a large proportion of cautious citizens. This is especially true of immigrants or foreigners who, though they have perfect faith in a government institution, will not in a large proportion of cases deposit their hard-earned money in private banks. Wherever there are postal savings-banks, they have been found to foster wider diffusion of the holding of wealth among the people—one of the things which next to the cultivation of thrift on the part of the people is a master demand of our day.

These are but a few of the valid reasons for favoring the establishment of government savings-banks, which are being so satisfactorily and so generally operated throughout the most progressive and civilized lands and which would long since have been a most beneficent feature of our postal system had it not been for the avarice of interested parties and their power in our government.

## SOME RECENT SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS.

**Court Decisions That Are of Great Importance to The People.**

**R**ECENTLY, just at the time when the great reactionary journals and their masters, the political bosses and the chiefs of the feudalism of privileged wealth, were congratulating themselves over the general situation and feeling that the great machines and class interests working in unison had succeeded in getting things well in hand, some court decisions were announced which came as a distinct shock to the great predatory and essentially anarchistic bands which have assumed that they were above law and could trample upon the rights and rifle the pockets of the people with impunity.

The decision that debts could not be collected by the law-breaking and lawless corporations has naturally created consternation in the camp of the systematic law-breakers; while the New York Gas decision described in this issue by Mr. Frank came as a further rude awakening to the great criminal corporations. It establishes a precedent of vital importance to the people's cause at the present time.†

**The Unexpected Declaration For Socialism of The United Mine Workers.**

A second disquieting event to the masters of the bread who imagined that through union with other reactionaries they were in a position to check Socialistic advance and step by step weaken the cause of union labor, was the unanimous action of the convention of the United Mine Workers in committing the miners to Socialism. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

*"Whereas, In the light of the industrial depression that has haunted America for more than a year, millions of willing workers have been forced into involuntary idleness, thereby denied access to the means of life; and,*

*"Whereas, Many of those who are victims of this industrial depression have in self-preservation become infractors of law; and,*

*"Whereas, A class of predatory rich who scarcely know the limits of their wealth are co-existent with the countless thousands whose poverty is directly attributable to their failure to find some owner of the means of production to employ them; and,*

*"Whereas, The denial of the opportunity to the willing workers to engage in useful labor springs from the fact that the means with which the necessaries of life are produced, are owned and controlled by private individuals, who are not necessary factors in the field of wealth production, but whose only function is to profit by the activity of the working-class so long as a market can be found where the product of the workers can be disposed of; and,*

*"Whereas, The workers receive in the form of wages only a small share of what their labor power with the aid of machinery creates, thus preventing them from buying back out of the markets the equivalent of what they have produced, necessarily causing a glutted market; therefore, be it resolved, etc.; the declaration following:*

*"Resolved, That we, the United Mine Workers of America, in annual convention assembled, recognize and declare for the necessity of the public-ownership and operation and the democratic management of all those means of production and exchange that are collectively used; that every man or woman willing and able to work can have free access to the means of life and get the full social value of what they produce."*

A year ago, it will be remembered, the Socialist resolution was voted down by a decisive majority, and the reactionary press generally confidently declared that never would the great mining organization be committed to the Socialist movement. The United Mine Workers is one of the great dominating bodies of the American Federation of Labor. The action, coming at the present time, affords a striking illustration of the strong current that has set in toward Socialism throughout the labor circles of the United States. Nor is this current confined to those who labor with their hands. The coming out definitely for Socialism of a number of brilliant and influential writers, led by Charles Edward Russell, and the surprising progress being made by the Christian Socialist movement among the clergymen of the New World, are equally significant signs of the general trend of thought among a large element of conscience-guided men and women in every walk of life.



## CONCERNING PHARISEES WHO POSE AS PARAGONS OF RESPECTABILITY.

**How Reactionary and Conventional Leaders Seek to Discredit all Movements That Make for Higher Morality and Social Justice.**

EVERY cause that seeks a wider measure of justice for the people and the uplift of the moral ideals from egoism to altruism, has long to encounter the calumny, slander and misrepresentation of the pillars of conventionalism. And another curious fact to which history bears ample testimony is the proneness of those who pose as ultra-respectable members of society to be guilty of the very sins that they with no valid foundation, charge against those who choose to sink thought of self-advancement for the emancipation of those who are under the wheel of oppression or tyranny.

It will be remembered that the Pharisees of Jesus' time were greatly shocked because the incomparable Prophet of Nazareth ate and consorted with publicans and sinners. They pointed with scorn to the fact that He was the friend of the pariah classes. The Pharisees, by reason of their long prayers and loud protestations of superior morality and respectability, were able to deceive the unthinking masses while they, as Jesus pointed out, devoured widows' homes. And again, we find the moral lepers hastening to the Nazarene with a woman who had been less successful than they in hiding her unchastity.

As it was in the days of Christ, even so is it now. A number of those who have been most strenuous and clamorous in their shameful misrepresentation of Socialism, while pretending to be paragons of respectability, have been overtaken by the Nemesis that their hypocrisy courted.

So striking is this fact that Robert Hunter, one of the strongest and finest members of a splendid coterie of young scholars who have dedicated their lives to social advance and fundamental democracy, has been moved to point out some typical cases in question.

**Robert Hunter on The Sad Fate That Has Overtaken Certain Arch-Foes of Socialism.**

Heretofore Mr. Hunter has appeared as one of the most serious of writers, his works on *Poverty* and *Socialists at Work* being among

the most suggestive and masterly volumes of the class that have appeared. But on this occasion he has departed from his serious vein and handles the subject in a humorous manner that is tellingly effective. Since it is well for friends of social advance who are constantly confronted by the silly echoings of the unthinking parrots of conventional and reactionary thought, to have at hand some facts relating to a few of those who have been among the most violent and reckless assailants of Socialism we reproduce in full Mr. Hunter's bright, brief article which appeared in a recent issue of that vigorous and able new Socialist daily, the *New York Evening Call*:

"I am not a superstitious person. I do not believe in ghosts or witches or goblins.

"But something happens now and then which I can't explain. It frightens me sometimes.

"Whether witches or ghosts or goblins do it, I do not know. I think it is goblins, because James Whitcomb Riley once wrote a poem about them.

"It was the story of 'Little Orphant Annie,' and when people did wrong she told them to beware, 'Fer the Gobble-uns 'll git you ef you do n't watch out.'

"The fact is that anybody who attacks Socialism nowadays is sure to come to a frightful end. The goblins get after him and give him no peace or quiet.

"A clergyman some time ago attacked Socialism as immoral. The goblins got after him, and almost the next day there was a scandal in his church, and his wife divorced him.

"A few years ago Frank Bigelow, president of the National Bankers' Association, delivered himself of a venomous attack on Socialism.

"And the goblins got after him in the twinkling of an eye. Before he could say 'Scat!' he was convicted of embezzlement, and is now lying in the government prison at Leavenworth.

"Governor Peabody, of Colorado, tried to murder three Socialists. He hired the state militia to the mine owners and sent it wandering over the state bayoneting and shooting innocent workmen.

"The goblins got after him, and now, three years later, he is a penniless beggar, fit for the breadline.

"John R. Walsh, of Chicago, was a great banker. He was also a politician. He got rich by robbing his city and country. To help his banking and his politics he bought the *Chicago Chronicle*.

"And then he made a terrible mistake.

"The goblins let him off until he attacked Socialism. It was a vicious attack. He filled his paper with filthy lies about Socialism, and when he did that, the goblins went after him.

"He was indicted and sentenced to prison. He has appealed the case, and his lawyers hope now to prevent a final decision until the old man dies, which they hope will be soon.

"About a year ago Broughton Brandenburg, an unfortunate magazine writer, ventured to attack Socialism.

"The most terrible thing about Socialism, he thought, was its advocacy of free love.

"He sold his lies to the *Broadway Magazine* at so much per lie. He was chuckling over his bargain and rubbing his hands when the goblins got him.

"He went from the *Broadway Magazine* to his home in West Washington street and was seized and arrested. His wife was forced to sue him for support, as he was living with another woman.

"I am not superstitious, but certainly all this proves that there *are* goblins.

"I know people now who do n't believe there are goblins. But watch out!

"And do n't attack Socialism, especially if you're a clergyman, a banker, or a magazine writer, 'for,' as Orphant Annie says, 'The Gobble-uns 'll git you ef you do n't watch out.'"

## WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY AS A LIFE-SAVER.

**T**HE RESCUE of the passengers and crew from the doomed "Republic," after she had been rammed and fatally wounded by the "Florida" when far out at sea, gave the world the most striking and dramatic illustration yet afforded of the practical value of that most marvelous of the latter-day electrical discoveries, wireless telegraphy. The great steamer, enshrouded in dense fog was plowing her way through the waves, with prow pointed to the Old World, when suddenly came a fearful shock. The vessel had been stricken and fatally wounded by the prow of another steamer. In old times the probable fate of the human freight on the doomed vessel would have been a watery grave in the trackless deep. But thanks to Marconi, a new day had dawned for the ocean-traveling public. The wireless operator, though his

booth had been partially torn away, was able to find the key of his instrument and instantly sent forth the distress signal, recording the name of his vessel and her latitude and longitude. Far away on the American coast another operator caught the faint signal as registered by his instrument and instantly repeated the call for aid. This message, flung forth upon the deep, was instantly registered on vessels in port and coming and going on the sea, and almost instantly the messages were flashed back of help coming—coming from various directions. Soon a veritable race was taking place. Vessels from various directions were rushing to the aid of the disabled "Republic." Thus succor came in time and death was cheated of its harvest by the discovery and inventive genius of the great life-saver, Marconi.

PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN AUSTRALIA.

**The Triumph of Women's Suffrage in Victoria, Australia.**

ANOTHER significant victory has been won for women's suffrage. This time it is in Victoria, Australia. For sixteen times the popular House had passed a bill in favor of granting franchise to women, only to have it defeated in the upper reactionary House, on the ground that the conservative statesmen were opposed to hasty legislation. At length, however, the public pressure became so strong that the reactionaries could no longer resist the popular demand, and the bill has now been passed by both branches of the legislature.

**Rapid Growth of The Temperance Sentiment in New Zealand.**

The last election in New Zealand registered as emphatic an advance in the temperance sentiment in the Dominion as that which has marked recent elections in this country. In commenting on this result, the *Australian Review of Reviews* says:

"At the time of writing it is announced that no-license has been carried in eleven electorates, Manukau, Grey Lynn, Ashburton, Oamaru, Mataura, Clutha, Bruce, Eden, Ohinemuri, Ivercargill, Masterton, Hutt, Wellington suburbs and Wellington South. Of course it must be remembered that the issue is carried on a three-fifths majority. In order to show how sweeping was the sentiment in favor of no-license, we need merely quote the fact

that in fifty-four electorates from which returns are available, forty-five showed majorities in favor of no-license. In Wellington City the votes came only about 900 votes short of no-license, and in Auckland about the same number. All of the four large cities had majorities for no-license, though they fell short of the three-fifths necessary. It would seem as though it is only a question of a little time before the figures rise high enough all over the Dominion to swamp the liquor trade. It is estimated that over 150 hotels will be closed as the result of the poll. Not a penny compensation will be paid. The licenses simply are not renewed on their expiry in June next. Wellington City will be now surrounded by a no-license area some miles wide. Fuller particulars will be available for our next issue."

**The New Zealand Election.**

At the last election in New Zealand, Prime Minister Ward and the Liberal government were overwhelmingly victorious. It is evident that the electorate of the Dominion are not disposed to listen to the false prophets of reaction, while the steady and progressive program that has marked the government of New Zealand since the triumph of the Liberals brought prosperity and democratic advance to the islands, in the early nineties, appeals to the people as safer and wiser than the more radical and revolutionary program that some voters insisted upon.

MR. STEAD'S REPORT OF HIS PSYCHICAL EXPERIENCES.

IN A CONVERSATION with Frances Willard several years ago, the great Christian Temperance and purity worker expressed her intense interest in Mr. William T. Stead's psychical experiences. She was an admirer of the distinguished journalist and had great confidence not only in his sincerity and uprightness, but also in his ability to competently investigate psychic phenomena; and the fact that he was obtaining such remarkable results in automatic writing gave special interest to his work for this high-minded Christian woman.

Later Mr. Stead described to us at length his extended experiences, in which his hand automatically wrote, sometimes of things he did not know and in the nature of the case could not know through recognized or ordinary channels of information.

In a recent issue of the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. Stead contributes a notable paper on "How I Know the Dead Return," in which he gives a graphic record of his personal experiences. In this paper he points out from time to time the inadequacy of such popular explanations as telepathy to meet certain phe-



nomena he has personally experienced. Like Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, he has had most remarkable experiences in photographs containing images purporting to be those of the spirits of the dead. Mr. Stead is not blind to the fact that frauds may easily be perpetrated in the making of such photographs. On this point he says:

"Let me disarm any skeptical reader by admitting that nothing is more easy than to fake bogus spirit photographs, and further that an expert conjurer can almost always cheat the most vigilant observer. The use of marked plates, which I handle, expose, and develop myself, no doubt affords some protection against fraud. But my belief in the authenticity of spirit photographs rests upon a far firmer basis than the fallible vigilance of the experimenter."

Here are some experiences he gives concerning a friend who kept her promises to the journalist after she had crossed the Great Divide:

"She promised, in the first place, that she would use my hand, if she could, after death, to tell me how it fared with her on the other side. In the second place, she promised that, if she could, she would appear to one or more of her friends to whom she could show herself. In the third place, she would come to be photographed, and fourthly, she would send me a message through a medium, authenticating the message by countersigning it with the simple mathematical figure of a cross within a circle.

"E. M. did all four. (1) She has repeatedly written with my hand, apparently finding it just as easy to use my hand now as she did when still in the body.

"(2) She has repeatedly appeared to two friends of mine, one a woman, the other a man. She appeared once in a dining-room full of people. She passed unseen by any but her friend, who declares that she saw her distinctly. On another occasion she appeared in the street in broad daylight, walked for a little distance, and then vanished. I may say that her appearance was so original it would be difficult to mistake her for anybody else.

"(3) She has been photographed at least half a dozen times after her death. All her portraits are plainly recognizable, but none of them are copies of any photographs taken in earth life.

"(4) There remains the test of a message accompanied by the sign of a cross within a

circle. I did not get this for several months. I had almost given up all hopes, when one day a medium who was lunching with a friend of mine received it on the first attempt she made at automatic writing. 'Tell William not to blame me for what I did. I could not help myself,' was the message. Then came a plainly but roughly drawn circle, and inside it the cross. No one knew of our agreement as to the test but myself. I did not know the medium, I was not present, nor was my friend expecting any message from E. M."

Mr. Stead thus closes this remarkable paper: "One last word. For the last fifteen years I have been convinced by the pressure of a continually accumulating mass of first-hand evidence of the truth of the persistence of personality after death, and the possibility of intercourse with the departed. But I always said, 'I will wait until some one in my own family has passed beyond the grave before I finally declare my conviction on this subject.'

"Twelve months ago this month of December I saw my eldest son, whom I had trained in the fond hope that he would be my successor, die at the early age of thirty-three. The tie between us was of the closest. No one could deceive me by fabricated spurious messages from my beloved son.

"Twelve months have now passed, in almost every week of which I have been cheered and comforted by messages from my boy, who is nearer and dearer to me than ever before. The preceding twelve months I had been much abroad. I heard less frequently from him in that year than I have heard from him since he passed out of our sight. I have not taken his communications by my own hand. I knew him so well that what I wrote might have been the unconscious echoes of converse in the past. He has communicated with me through the hands of two slight acquaintances, and they have been one and all as clearly stamped with the impress of his own character and mode of thought as any of the letters he wrote to me during his sojourn on earth.

"After this I can doubt no more. For me the problem is solved, the truth is established, and I am glad to have this opportunity of testifying publicly to all the world that so far as I am concerned, doubt on this subject is henceforth impossible."

Few things in modern happenings are more remarkable than the fact that side by side with the rapid waning of general or popular interest in spiritualistic or psychical phenomena has

been the steady rise in interest in these phenomena on the part of great psychologists, physicists, and other critical investigators and leading thinkers. Such men as Sir William Crookes, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Cesare Lombroso, Camille Flammarion, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor William James and Professor James H. Hyslop are but a few of those

who rank among the foremost scientific and critical investigators of the age; while Mr. Stead among journalists, and Hamlin Garland among novelists, are typical representatives of popular thinkers who have investigated psychical phenomena until they have become thoroughly convinced as to the reality of the phenomena.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Malpractice.

NO SCIENTIFIC principle has yet been found that could not be used for malpractice. Progress is based not on that malpractice but on the recognition of quackery as such and its consequent elimination. Public-ownership of public utilities, because of its very normal appeal is often used as a political slogan, a sort of political patent medicine. Then, when the colored water in the fancy bottle has no effect on political ills of the community we hear the victims cry municipal-ownership has failed. In reality it has not been tried.

A Western city known throughout the country for its rotten politics is a case in point. Its administration when elected on a municipal-ownership platform actually worked against the establishment of municipal plants, and now under a slightly different tittle is trying to sell some of the plants they have sucked dry. By one man's deference to another man's campaign promises the city acquired a model garbage plant, built as the first unit of a system. With that plant only a few months in operation the city is now considering a thirty-years' garbage contract with prices fixed in advance at what is already an exorbitant figure. When for purely political reasons the lighting plant becomes a sort of contribution-box, we are treated to such fine thinking as "It takes an extraordinary man to run a lighting plant, and we of Seattle are only ordinary men." No, it does not take an extraordinary man to run a lighting plant. It takes an ordinary sense of ordinary decency. When Seattle's administration acquires that we will admit it to the rank of "ordinary men" and will listen to its

experience. Until then it is in a different class and it throws no light on the question of Public-Ownership.

### Water-Front Development in Massachusetts.

THE CITY of Lynn has before it no less ambition than to become the largest port on the Atlantic coast. Work has been begun to reclaim land along the water-front to the value of \$40,000,000, and a channel is being dredged forty feet deep and 1,000 feet wide.

Salem, in olden days one of the great ports of the world, is planning exactly the same thing.

Boston, on the other hand, will first give a franchise for railroad tracks along the East Boston water-front before it approaches the full issue of harbor improvements.

### Pasadena, California.

PASADENA faces the not unusual situation of a municipal lighting plant needing a considerable bond issue for its completion and running in competition to a private plant. The manager of the municipal plant wisely suggests that the city buy the private plant. If the city is in a position to do so this is the only logical course. In the ordinary run of events both parties have more to gain by consolidation than by competition. In no event should the city leave its plant incomplete, for in that case it would simply be taxing the community for the benefit of the Edison Company. Just why any city should start to operate a municipal plant, put a lot of money into it and then stop and say, "We really can't do this, you know. See, we tried it, and it did n't work," is incomprehensible. Yet a group of

people are working very hard to make Pasadena say that. Why, the very demand for extension shows that the plant has good prospects.

It is a pity, however, that a growing city like Pasadena should expend any money on overhead wires, for it thereby postpones the era of the underground conduit. It is a short-sighted policy that builds only for to-day, and the city that goes on stringing up overhead wires is gradually mortgaging its future.

#### **Practical Conservation.**

GOVERNOR FORT, of New Jersey, is advocating public-ownership by the state of all the sources of water supply in New Jersey, particularly in the northern part of the state. Water occupies a peculiar position in Jersey, for not only is it sought, as elsewhere, by private corporations, but it also figures in inter-urban politics, and some of the Jersey cities have been known to seek a corner in water. With the coming of the Hudson tunnels the map of New Jersey is rapidly changing, and as Governor Fort points out, the entire district within twenty-five miles of Jersey City is rapidly becoming one solid urban community. Under these circumstances the control of water supply by the separate municipalities leads not only to unnecessary expense but to much friction and not a little danger. Governor Fort's suggestion is both far-sighted and practicable. It differs from the metropolitan service of Massachusetts only in that the need is greater and in that the central city is not under the same jurisdiction as the suburban towns and cannot take any share in the expense. The latter difference serves only to make the plan easier of execution, however, and leads to an equitable distribution of the cost among the cities that benefit most by the improvement.

#### **The Smile on The Face of The Tiger.**

DURING the last few years considerable emphasis has been laid on the substitute for Public-Ownership known as the "Partnership Plan," whereby the city gets a share of the net earnings of the private corporation that operates a public utility. In theory this plan is admirable, and if it were possible to control corporation accounting it would seem unobjectionable. Policy has demanded fair returns to the city during the first years of this experiment wherever it is being tried—and the results are soothing. The other side of the

story makes its first appearance in the recommendations recently sent to the city council of Philadelphia in connection with the proposed appropriation for the city's legal department. It advises that the council forbid any attorney whose name appears on the city's payrolls, or his law partners, to bring suit, either directly or indirectly against the city. Directly or indirectly, the Rapid Transit Company is a partner of the city. Therefore a suit against the Rapid Transit Company is a suit against the city. Therefore—

#### **Notes.**

HADDONFIELD, New Jersey, has finally started to build its own water-works.

VENTOR, New Jersey, which plans to give free service to its property-holders, disposed of its \$25,000 issue of sewer and water bonds at a premium. The bonds were taken by New York and Philadelphia houses at \$101.25.

PARIS received \$13,000 more revenue from the Bois de Boulogne than was necessary to keep the park in perfect condition.

IN THE last financial year the light and power plant of Riverside, California, cleared \$34,739.10.

THE WATER and lighting plants of Jacksonville, Florida, show a profit for the year of \$31,000.

#### **The Next Act.**

WITH the return of trade all over the country—not yet the return of prosperity—comes an equally wide growth of far more importance. Like a picture puzzle of gigantic size, with a contribution now from this city, now from that, now from a national body, again from a local group, bit by bit we are getting a national feeling of interdependence. Hitherto we have been groping and growing like children in a common school, now as we mature, we try to find our place in a larger sphere, to do our part. City after city manifests this desire to fit into some general plan. Commercial organizations are studying local problems not with the view of making the biggest copy of New York or Chicago but of centralizing in each city the industries best suited to each community. That is the first step. Then comes the securing of a market, the coöperation with the surrounding country (noticeably, for instance, in the case of Minneapolis and St. Paul), then the development of transporta-

tion witnessed by the movement for inland waterways, and the continent-wide opposition to existing express rates. What could be more significant than the return of Lynn and Salem from manufacture to their former standing as great seaports? And so on.

The President has vetoed a franchise for water-power in Missouri. States everywhere are reaching out to protect their natural resources. Why? Because these resources are essential to the new growth, to the readjustment, to the larger plan. The position of the city is changing. It is becoming a unit in a vast commercial scheme. And as such not only must it be governed better, but it must control as common property those resources on which all business is dependent. In the new order of things new values appear, and the fight for Public-Ownership takes on a new aspect. Momentarily the difference is due to the fact that water and light are both subsidiary to water-power. But that change contains in itself its own hope. For as new needs arise for water and light and power, as more and more individuals depend for their success on the equitable distribution of natural resources, as they must with any form of local adaptation, so these things will naturally pass into public control. Whatever the causes of the panic of 1907, however slow our recovery, we grow out of it a greater industrial republic with a much greater realization of our democratic needs.

#### **Manitoba's Profitable Telephones.**

MANITOBA'S telephone system, operated under government ownership, shows a surplus of \$250,000 for the first year.

In January, 1906, the Provincial government bought the Bell Telephone Company's plant, lines and paraphernalia for some \$4,000,000. In certain classes rates were reduced, but it was not deemed practical to make many reductions on account of heavy expenditures in running 600 miles of new long-distance lines and in opening large numbers of

new exchanges, besides building many rural systems.

Reductions are promised shortly in rates of from 25 to 40 per cent.

#### **Quito, Ecuador.**

A CONTRACT is offered to the city of Quito, Ecuador, South America, by the electric-light and power company of that city, whereby, in return for an electric tramway concession for seventy-five years, the company offers the city, after 7 per cent. has been paid on the capital invested, participation in the remaining net profits of the company during the first ten years, 5 per cent., 10 per cent. during the second ten years; 15 per cent. during the third ten years, and 20 per cent. during the remaining forty-five years.

#### **Los Angeles, California.**

EARLY in 1902 Los Angeles resumed possession of its water-works, which had some years before been leased to a private company. Since that date the city has, out of the water-rents, not only paid the accruing principal and interest on the bonds issued for the repurchase of the water-works, but has rebuilt the entire system and extended its mains to meet the demands of a city three times its present population. Nor is this all: it has also reduced water-rents fifty per cent., so that citizens of Los Angeles are now paying but a trifle more than one-third as much as the people of San Francisco. The water department has, in seven years, paid out of its profits for the benefit of the people almost four million dollars and has nearly three-quarters of a million dollars surplus left in its treasury. Citizens of other communities should put on their thinking-caps and look about them. Do you wonder that interested parties who decry Public-Ownership are willing to relieve municipalities of the "loss" and "bother" of running their own plants?

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,  
Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

**Oregon.**

**S**INCE the last issue of *THE ARENA* very little of interest to Direct-Legislation workers has occurred in the way of law-making. The interest centers chiefly in proposed measures, discussion of theories, and explanations of existing laws. Among the important discussions is that of United States Senator Bourne, of Oregon, on the Oregon situation with reference to the election of United States Senators in that state. Writing of the Oregon law in Senator LaFollette's new paper, Senator Bourne thus comments:

"This law provides for the popular nomination of all candidates for office, including that of United States Senators, by a regular election under the Australian ballot system within those parties that in the preceding general election cast twenty-five per cent. of the state's vote.

"Our primary-election law provides that an elector seeking office may get his name on the party's ballot by petition, in which, among other things, he agrees to 'accept the nomination and will not withdraw,' and, if elected, 'will qualify as such officer,' implying, of course, that he will also serve.

"Under the law, the legislative candidate may, in addition to stating on his petition in not to exceed a hundred words what measures and principles he advocates, also subscribe to one of two statements; but if he does not so subscribe he shall not on that account be debarred from the ballot."

The first is designated in the law as Statement No. 1, and is as follows:

"I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference."

"It will be perceived that it is the people's choice and not a party's choice that the legis-

lator is pledged to, in which respect our law recognizes the people—the electorate and not a party as the source of sovereign power in the state."

Statement No. 2 is as follows:

"During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient."

"The petitioner may omit making any statement if he so desires, and let his constituents guess as to what course he may take in the Senatorial contest.

"In Oregon, as in some other states, for years public sentiment has been a crystallized one in favor of the popular election of United States Senators.

"Recognizing this popular conviction the average legislative candidate in Oregon is now inclined to take the Statement No. 1 pledge.

"But it was found on the very first trial of our law that the political boss was out of a job and particularly injured because his influence and value were entirely eliminated when forty-six or more of the ninety members comprising the legislature should be pledged under Statement No. 1 to elect the people's choice for United States Senator."

After explaining the Senatorial situation in Oregon where a Democrat has received a majority of the popular vote in a Republican state Senator Bourne adds:

"The people's selection of Governor Chamberlain for their Senator will inevitably be ratified by the Oregon legislature, and thus Oregon will present a demonstration that our electorate have evolved a plan which in effect permits the people to select their own Senators, and crystallized public opinion forces the legislature to elect the individual thus selected by the people.

"While a number of other states have primary laws, none have the Statement No. 1 provision which, in my opinion, is the essence of our primary law as far as the selection by

the people of their United States Senators and their enforced election of same by the legislators.

"All of those fifty-one members in the Oregon legislature who subscribed to Statement No. 1 pledge did so voluntarily. It was so subscribed to by them from a personal belief in the desirability of the popular election of United States Senators and for the purpose of securing for themselves from the electorate preferment in the election to the office sought; the consideration in exchange for such preferment was to be by them, as the legally constituted representative of the electorate in that behalf; the perfunctory confirmation of the people's selection for United States Senator, as that choice might be ascertained under the provisions of the same law by which the legislators themselves secured nomination to office.

"No oath could be more sacred in honor; no contract more binding; no mutual consideration more definite than is contained in the Statement No. 1 pledge; and no parties to a contract could be of more consequence to government and society than the electorate upon the one side and its servants upon the other.

"Under the United States Constitution there can be no penalty attaching to the law. The legislator breaking his sacred pledge cannot be imprisoned or fined; hence, he is doubly bound by honor to redeem his voluntary obligation. Failure to do so would not only brand him as the destroyer of a sacred trust but as the most contemptible of cowards, because legally immune from punishment for his perfidy.

"It is absolutely inconceivable that a single one of these fifty-one men will prove recreant either by resigning, by emigrating from the state or by refusing to vote as he has pledged his sacred honor to do. Death only can relieve him of his responsibility, and the individual who would advise or in any degree justify one of these men in such betrayal would become even more contemptible than the actual culprit in the estimation of every honorable man. Nor could the beneficiary of such perfidy and betrayal of a sacred trust escape. The office itself would be made thereby unclean, and the odors of fraud would linger in the toga."

It is with great pleasure that we record the fact that the Oregon legislators have been true to their pledge and have elected the people's choice to the United States Senate. This proves that the people can rule when they will.

#### **Governor Hughes on Direct Primaries.**

THE ZEAL of the opponents of Direct-Legislation for the maintenance of the representative system is something refreshing. To them the representative system has become the most sacred thing in human affairs. They are even opposed to direct primaries lest representative government should be overturned by the people. The real meaning of their zeal is, of course, that they do not want the power of the party boss overthrown. Their pretensions are well exposed by Governor Hughes, of New York, in a speech before the Hughes Alliance in New York City where the Governor said:

"Whatever may be said in theory, the intervention of delegates to choose the nominees is for the most part a sham. Whether the delegates are ignored, as is so largely the case, or are the subject of barter and traffic, as is too frequently the case, particularly in our smaller communities, it comes to the same thing. They represent a form which is useful in the main only to delude the people, and constitute a travesty of representation. If it were proposed to confer by law upon these who to so large an extent dictate the nomination of candidates, the power that they actually exercise, the state would rise in indignant protest.

"I have urged that party candidates should be nominated directly by the voters of the party. That is, that the party members should decide directly who should stand for office as the party representative. This is called the system of direct nominations.

"The system is criticized by some upon the ground that it is inconsistent with representative government. Some who advance this argument must believe the charge that I am lacking a sense of humor. For the valiant defense of representative government by those who in practice seek to nullify it and treat it with contempt, is one of the most absurd spectacles to which we have ever been treated in the dominion of political argument.

"We elect our governors, our mayors and our legislators directly. They are chosen by direct vote of the people. These officers are none the less representative, and we have none the less representative government because we choose them by direct vote.

"The king and aristocracy had as secure a title and as many arguments in their favor as our modern bosses and political cliques. The transfer of power from self-constituted authority, whether based on claim of divine right or achieved through astute manipulation, to the

people cannot be complete as long as party machinery is so devised that it makes easy the domination of the few.

"It is not enough to say that those who may control party government frequently yield to or seek to ascertain the demands of the people. The same can be said of some of the worst despotisms that ever existed.

"Some would have it appear that the matter is one of great difficulty and intricacy. In fact, we simply have to adapt our primary methods to those of our general elections with such improvements as our own experience shows to be advisable. In reality our delegate system is far more complicated, and if it does not appear to be such, it is because it has become so largely a matter of form."

#### **Direct-Legislation League of California.**

THE Direct-Legislation League of California has been organized "for the purpose of ending corrupt political rule in city, county and state by placing in the hands of the people those instruments of Direct-Legislation that make representative government truly representative."

It is the purpose of the League to secure from the next legislature the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the Initiative and Referendum powers. The League is also heartily in favor of a proper direct-primary law, and its representatives at Sacramento, during the next session of the legislature, will work to that end. The League is non-partisan. It is neither for nor against any party, but it proposes to bring about the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum.

Dr. John R. Haynes, of Los Angeles, is the president of the League, and Milton T. U'Ren, 26 Montgomery street, San Francisco, is the secretary.

#### **"The Union of Reforms."**

"THE TIME has come when the reformers of all classes should unite on one great fundamental principle and work until it is secured. This is the principle of the Initiative and Referendum. Here is a field for the activity of those who believe in the single tax, in prohibition, in Socialism, in populism, in anti-imperialism and in tariff reform. The princi-

ple of Direct-Legislation once established, these reforms can be taken up by their special advocates and brought directly before the people without confusion and without any connection with other reforms.

"As an illustration, let us take the question of Socialism. There are a great many people socialistically inclined who do not believe in a complete Socialism, or at least who would regard it as dangerous to have Socialism forced upon us by a party. Party rule is always minority rule. The majority of the party controls the party, and the majority of a party is always a minority of all the people. Hence, there is a reason to dread Socialism, if inaugurated by a political party, but no reason to dread it if it should be inaugurated by a majority of the people themselves. The people would be in no danger of moving too fast towards the desired goal. If they found they were going too fast they could easily retrace their steps, but a party could not retrace its steps without inviting defeat. The situation is too obvious to need further argument. The first step in reform is plainly to secure the Initiative and Referendum."

THE *Iola, Kansas, Register* is authority for the statement that Senator Frank Travis will introduce in the legislature a resolution to submit the question of the Initiative and Referendum to the electorate of that state. The *Register* further explains:

"The 'initiative' is the power of proposal of a law by the people; the 'referendum' is the power of submission of a law to the people at the polls for approval or rejection. The object of the measure by Senator Travis is, of course, to provide a process for the elimination of bad laws and the enactment of good ones, by the people, when the legislature refuses or fails to act. The measure is based on the Oregon Initiative and Referendum law, which has been time tested and found adequate in all particulars. The states of Montana, Utah, Nevada, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Maine and Missouri have adopted the Initiative and Referendum and with satisfactory results where the law has been effective long enough to give it a practical test. Senator Travis has had the advice and personal suggestion of the framer of the Oregon law in preparing his measure."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,  
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**Co-operative Housekeeping.**

**T**HE PRACTICABILITY of coöperative housekeeping is slowly but surely winning its way, and that which has been but a vision is coming into the realm of the actual at last. The successful institution of coöperative apartment houses in New York has brought about coöperative apartments in other cities. A small apartment building is to be erected in Boston in the near future, and in Philadelphia the plan is being tried in a restricted way in a group of 97 two-story houses which is being erected by the Girard estate on the squares which center at Eighteenth and Porter streets. These houses do not have a coöperative kitchen, but heat, light and hot water are supplied from a large power-house, costing \$125,000 which is being erected at one side of the tract, near Twentieth and Oregon streets. This service will be rendered with unusual economy, and it is expected to minimize the work of house servants, doing away with lighting and care of fires, removal of ashes and incident duties. Under this plan it is estimated that heat, light and hot water can be provided at an average expense of \$8 to \$10 per month. The task of supplying hot water to the houses, which are detached two-story dwellings, caused much study, but was met by an independent system of pipes. For those who wish to operate sewing-machines or washing-machines by electricity, power can be supplied from the central plant, and further extensions of the coöperative idea are planned if the first conveniences prove satisfactory. Besides providing a common household service, the Girard estate has made a departure in two-story house operations in Philadelphia by introducing varied architectural designs in the new houses down-town and not building them according to a single design. The variety of effects, including Colonial, Romanesque and Queen Anne styles, makes an unusually picturesque grouping for the smaller class of residences, and to this is added an attractive little park at the northwestern angle of the tract, upon the site of Stephen Girard's old country home.

A New York artist, Charles R. Lamb, has recently drawn up plans for the installing of a coöperative kitchen in the typical New York flat. Such a block of flats averages about ninety-five dwellings devoted exclusively to dwelling purposes. The American family averages about five persons, so the block contemplated by Mr. Lamb would represent 450 persons for whom food would have to be provided. The artist's idea is to take a strip from the relatively useless yards of perhaps ten houses, and erect thereon a three-story coöperative building. This structure is to be three stories in height, with a laundry in the basement, store-rooms and a receiving court on the first floor, and a kitchen on the second. Between this building and the contributory dwellings covered ways extend, so that the housewife can communicate with kitchen or laundry with comfort and facility. Here all the cooking and all the laundry work of the block can be done. The scheme would enable each housekeeper to determine precisely the sort of dishes she wanted and those who preferred to do their own shopping could have their meats and other provisions sent home and delivered at the coöperative kitchen merely to be cooked. Or, in some cases, Mr. Lamb thinks the housekeepers of a block might agree upon a series of meals on the *table d' hote* plan. In any event there could always be a series of dishes or classes of meals from which people in the block could order at pleasure. Mr. Lamb, drawing from statistics as to the actual cost of meals in New York hotels, figures the cost to each individual under the above plan to be less than one dollar a day. Mr. Lamb goes on to say, "The domestic side of life is the only one which has not hitherto profited by modern advances in business methods, but the time is coming when organization will do its work in the home as in the office. It is an obvious proposition that a cook, occupied steadily for eight hours a day, could do far more work than she does now in a private family, where there are other duties.



Moreover, the private individual purchases at a disadvantage. Why not put the percentage lost in private barter into paying for a coöperative kitchen?"

#### University Students' Dining Club.

AN EXCEEDINGLY interesting account of the coöperative dining club at the University of Missouri, situated at Columbia, appears in the daily press, and it seems worth reprinting in full, because it shows so clearly the methods employed by this most successful institution.

"Students at the University of Missouri are able to get board at the University Dining Club for \$1.50 a week. This low price is made possible because the club is coöperative and because 450 students are members. This year scores of students made application for meal-permits, and were told that the club was already filled to its capacity. Students desiring to 'break in' at the club have paid as much as \$7 as a premium for a meal-permit. A day's menu at the club is as follows:

"Breakfast—Apples, grapes, pears, or oranges; cereals; beefsteak, breakfast bacon, pork chops or liver; eggs in various styles, biscuits, bread, coffee, milk.

"Dinner—Roast beef or pork, occasionally fowl; potatoes, peas, beans, corn, tomatoes; pie or pudding and occasionally ice cream and cake; cranberries and celery; corn and light bread.

"Supper—Roast beef, pork chops or fish; one or two vegetables; biscuits, bread, coffee, milk and fruit.

"A meal-permit which gives the owner the right to eat at the club, costs \$19. A permit must be bought from the secretary of the university. The main purpose of a meal-permit is to supply the manager of the club with funds at the beginning of the year, so that he may be able to purchase food-stuffs and other incidentals in large quantities and thereby save on the purchase price. The permit also serves to pay the salaries of the cooks and other helpers of the club.

"Freshmen or men eating at the club for the first time must pay an initiation fee of \$1. A deposit fee of \$5 is required of all members. This is refunded at the end of the year. The meal-permit fund amounts to more than \$8,000 a year. The weekly income of the club amounts to more than \$650. The club's annual income totals \$30,000, and the expenditures of the club are the same as the receipts.

"The amount of food used at the University Dining Club is said to exceed that used by any dining-room in Missouri and is equal to that used in any large Eastern college dormitory. Three hundred and fifty pounds of meat, six bushels of potatoes, 1,000 biscuits, six gallons of syrup and 225 loaves of bread are used in a day. All food-stuffs for the club are bought in large quantities, usually in carload lots. Meat is contracted for by the year and is received in weekly shipments from the Kansas stock-yards. At present there are more than \$5,000 worth of groceries in store in the club pantry. All groceries and meats in store are kept cool by a modern cold-storage and refrigerating system, which was installed last summer. The University Dining Club has eleven student waiters. After each meal twenty self-supporting students find employment in the club kitchen as dish-washers and as kitchen assistants. The club uses 2,500 dishes for each meal, and they are washed by a mechanical washing-machine run by an electric motor."

#### A Miners' Co-operative Club.

THE employes of the Newhouse mines, of Newhouse, Utah, have been allowed by the policy of the mine-owner, Mr. Newhouse, that opportunity for social development, which is chiefly lacking in most American mines, and which has resulted in a most flourishing coöperative club. The story of its organization and development is told by Lafayette Hanchett, general manager of the mines, in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, published in New York.

The Cactus Club, as it is called from the name of the mine where the men work, was incorporated on May 27th, 1905, with nine employes of the company as directors. An attractive and commodious club building of one story and basement was erected. The main floor was divided into general reception-room, reading-rooms, billiard-room, and bar-room. This was furnished with one billiard table, one pool table, card tables, reading tables, book-cases, lounge, and a plentiful assortment of easy and comfortable chairs. A small bar with usual fixtures was included. A few days later the club was opened to its members, having obtained its first supplies upon credit, payment being guaranteed by the mining company. The organization followed lines similar to those adopted by city clubs. An initiation fee of 50 cents and

monthly dues of twenty-five cents were charged. The directors instituted a policy of selling best grades of liquors and cigars at about two-thirds the price usually charged in saloons. The club employes were instructed to discourage and prevent excessive drinking. The club was open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. to members only. The first requisite to membership was that the applicant be an employe of the mining company, his election or rejection resting solely with the directors.

From the beginning the club has been a success. An average membership of 250 has prevailed, out of 400 employes. A pianola piano was purchased and also an Edison talking-machine and a supply of books. A barber-shop was fitted up; the magazine and newspaper list was increased extensively. A ladies' day was established each Wednesday, with dancing as a feature of the evening.

The excessive use of intoxicants formerly apparent in many individual cases on pay days, almost disappeared, because of the influence of the club and the restrictions imposed by the club directors.

As the club prospered it accumulated a considerable fund, which resulted in the directors erecting a small theater for public entertainments and dances. At this time the miners' boarding-houses afforded the sole and somewhat unsuitable means of accommodating theatrical companies; therefore, the club directors decided to erect a small hotel which was to be conducted in a superior style and to be completed at the same time as the theater building. Both buildings were put in use early in 1908 and served to improve the social life of the town.

Beyond its charge for monthly rental for use of the club building the mining company refrains from any connection or interference with the affairs of the club. All powers are vested in its nine directors. In the three and one-half years of its existence, from a start with no funds and with a stock of goods bought entirely upon credit, it has reached a point where its property, fully paid for, including theater and hotel building, furniture, fixtures, and stock of merchandise, shows an inventory value of over \$16,000. In addition it has cash in treasury amounting to \$2,500. The directors are now considering carrying their cooperative plans into broader channels by instituting a club general store, and so furnish members and their families all commodities directly at cost.

### **Grange Stores.**

THE Patrons of Husbandry of Sagadahoc county, Maine, are starting a cooperative store in Bath which is to carry a complete line of meats, groceries, hardware, seeds, flour, farming tools, etc. The farmers bring their wares to the store to be disposed of on commission or exchanged for articles carried by the store, and whatever is purchased will be at only a slight advance over the cost, a special price being made to Grangers, and the profits will be taken care of by dividends which will go to the stockholders, who are all members of the Grange. The movement for cooperation among the Granges seems to be reviving throughout the East. This is the second Grange store in Maine organized within the year, and several Massachusetts Granges are seriously planning to start cooperative stores.

### **Chicago Packers' Profit-Sharing Plan.**

ON January 1, 1909, the huge packing firm of Morris & Company, of Chicago, put into operation a most comprehensive employes' profit-sharing system. The plan, which has been worked out by Edward Morris, president of the company, will be participated in by 10,000 employes of both the main and subsidiary companies, and the annual pension disbursements are expected to be about \$100,000 at the start. The fund is to be raised by an annual contribution by the company of \$25,000 until the fund reaches \$500,000, and three per cent. of the salary of every employe who wishes to take part. All members must have been with the company for six months and draw a minimum weekly salary of \$10, and none may pay in an amount to exceed \$7,500.

### **Cleveland Shoe Company.**

THE Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company of Cleveland, which employs 5,000 shoemakers, allows its employes six per cent. interest on the money which they put into the business, and as a result of this the deposits of the workmen amount to \$150,000, and many of them have secured stock. The result is that the entire 250 stockholders of the company, except widows of workingmen, are directly employed by the company. Seven large factories with a weekly payroll of \$50,000 are engaged in manufacturing the company's products, of which the chief are the American Lady and the American Gentleman shoes. One hundred and fifty salesmen are employed in putting these shoes on the market.

**Employment Union.**

IN Detroit there is an organization known as the American Coöperative Employment Union, which provides for old-age pensions and annuities to widows and orphans and secures employment for members out of work. They are planning to incorporate a general merchandise store to be run coöperatively.

**Women Form Co-operative Company.**

A CHARTER authorizing the formation of a coöperative company was issued in January at the capitol at Harrisburg to twenty-five Phila-

delphians, twenty-two of whom were women. The company is to be known as the Unity Shirt Manufacturing Company, and has \$5,000 capital. Bertha Cooperstein of South Fourth street is the treasurer.

**Finis.**

THE Union Coöperative and Protective Association of Chicago includes among its other activities the conducting of funerals of union men. Recently the company has decided to extend its business to the making of caskets.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

**PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.**

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

**The Proposed Oregon Law.**

**F**OLLOWING up the constitutional amendment which introduced the single vote and permitted Proportional Representation, a proposed law is being introduced into the Oregon state legislature, and Mr. W. S. U'Ren has favored me with a copy. Its title is:

"A Bill for an Act making effective the Proportional Representation Provisions of Section 16 of Article 2 of the Constitution of Oregon in the election of Representatives and Senators in the Legislative Assembly, and regulating elections thereunder, and repealing all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with this Act, in so far as they conflict therewith."

I shall simply endeavor to present the salient points of the proposed law without following its sections and detail. It is the Free List plan, with Single Vote, and a state quota, as follows:

"1. Present electoral districts are retained. Most of them are multiple districts, from which several members are elected.

"2. Each elector has one vote only for representative, and one vote only for Senator.

"3. The whole number of votes cast in the state for representatives in the legislative assembly shall be divided by sixty, which is the total number of representatives to be elected. The quotient, disregarding fractions, shall be the number of votes which insures election, and shall be called the quota of representation.

"4. The whole number of votes cast in all the representative districts of the state for all the candidates of each party for representative shall be severally divided by the quota of representation. The quotients shall be the total number of representatives to which each party shall respectively be entitled in the legislative assembly as the result of that election. This result is obtained as follows:

"5. The whole number of votes in each representative district cast for the candidates of each party in that district for representative shall be severally divided by the quota of representation, and the quotients will show the number of representatives to which each party is entitled from that district.

"6. Votes shall be transferred in the local districts as follows: Any candidate having a quota of votes is elected. No candidate shall retain more than a quota of votes. Surplus votes of any candidate, over and above his quota, are transferred from him to that candidate of his party who has not yet a quota, but who has otherwise the highest number of votes. When all the surplus votes are thus disposed of, the lowest candidates of the party are cut off, one by one, and their votes transferred to the candidates of the same party who stand highest without a quota, until the seats are filled to which each party is entitled in that district.

"7. Besides the 29 local districts, a district is formed, consisting of all the counties of the

state, called the Thirtieth District. In each local district there will be 'remainders,' because the number of seats to be filled will never divide exactly into the number of votes cast. These remainders will all be credited in the Thirtieth District to the party to which they belong, and where the remainders of any party constitute a quota, that party will be credited with an additional seat, presumably to be filled by the highest unsuccessful candidate of that party in any local district.

"8. Voters are entitled to write in the names of party or of independent candidates not previously nominated. These written votes are all credited in the general district (the Thirtieth) and help to make up quotas along with the 'remainders' referred to in paragraph 7.

"9. Senators are elected on precisely the same principle as representatives, except that only fifteen are to be elected instead of sixty."

This is a most ingenious adaptation of the List System, and does great credit to its originators. It gets rid of the troublesome inequality of remainders in small districts, by making a state quota and a state clearing-house for "remainders." It also gets rid of the defects of the "single untransferable vote" by its provision for transfers within the parties.

#### Hare-Spence in The Labor Council.

THE Toronto District Labor Council elects officers and committees twice a year, and does it on the Hare-Spence system of Proportional Representation. I am usually invited to assist. The last election took place on January 21, 1909, when three trustees and three auditors were elected, and also a label committee of six, and two other committees of five each. Ninety-eight men voted. The ballot papers were printed in two "parts," three ballots on each part. This permitted two sets of election officials to be concurrently at work.

The election proceedings opened by Chairman Kennedy calling upon me for some explanatory remarks, chiefly for the benefit of new delegates unacquainted with the system. The ballots were then distributed, marked by the voters, and collected.

Four scrutineers or tellers (including myself) then sat down at a table in the meeting-room, in order to demonstrate the system by counting one election in public; while the other set of tellers retired to an ante-room to count the ballots of their own three elections.

The contest chosen for public demonstra-

tion was the election of three trustees, there being six candidates. Each voter having marked the candidates on his ballot with the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., in the order of his choice, the count began by sorting out the ballots according to the first choices, paying no heed to the other figures. This gave the following result:

Corcoran .....	41
Sinclair .....	19
McFadyen .....	13
Barron .....	9
Storey .....	8
Thompson .....	8
	98

The quota (the number of votes to ensure election) was next found by dividing into 98 the three seats to be filled, giving a quote of 32. Corcoran was therefore elected on first choice, with a surplus of nine votes. Nine ballots were taken at random from Corcoran's pile and were distributed amongst such of the remaining candidates as had been marked second choice thereon by the figure 2. Seven of these votes went to Barron, and put him ahead of McFadyen, who had only 13 originally.

The next process was to eliminate candidates from the bottom of the poll upwards. Thompson went out first, his eight votes being distributed amongst the other candidates according to second choice, unless the second choice happened to be Corcoran, who could not use it; in which case the third choice was taken instead. Storey and McFadyen went out successively, leaving only Sinclair and Barron on the board; so these two joined Corcoran as election trustees. Barron had nine votes transferred to him, and Sinclair 12, making their respective totals 18 and 31. Each trustee was elected by a separate and distinct group of voters.

The tellers of Part I. then retired and finished their work in an ante-room. All the elections went off satisfactorily.

A great deal of time is saved by the use of the Hare-Spence system as compared with the old one, because only one name has to be tallied from each ballot, instead of three, five or six, as the case might be, on the old plan.

#### The English Model Election.

ONE OF the biggest things ever done in the way of an illustrative election was put through in England last December. Fourteen daily newspapers published ballot papers, and a few thousand were circulated besides. Nearly

twenty-two thousand ballots were marked and sent in to be counted on the Hare-Spence system. Twelve candidates had been chosen, of whom five were to be elected.

The first duty of the returning officer was to ascertain the total number of votes polled by each candidate, each ballot paper being a vote for the candidate marked 1 thereon. This was a simple task, which took about an hour and a quarter, and yielded the following result:

Asquith (Liberal).....	9,042
Balfour (Unionist).....	4,478
Lloyd-George (Liberal).....	2,751
Macdonald (Labor).....	2,124
Henderson (Labor).....	1,038
Long (Unionist).....	672
Hugh Cecil (Unionist Free Trader).....	460
Shackleton (Labor).....	398
Burt (Liberal).....	260
Leif Jones (Liberal).....	191
Smith (Unionist).....	164
Joynson-Hicks (Unionist).....	94
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>21,672</b>

The subsequent processes were on the general principle of the elections of the Labor Council elections above described, but were more elaborate and complete. The quota was found by dividing six (instead of five) into the votes cast, and then adding one to the quotient. The surplus votes were not taken at random, but allotted proportionally on a simple mathematical calculation. I will not go into detail, but will conclude by some pertinent general observations made by the monthly magazine, *Representation*, as follows:

"The system of the single transferable vote, though it is in use for parliamentary purposes in Tasmania, is worked by trade unionists in Canada, by miners in Northumberland, and by medical men in London, had never before been tested on so large a scale. The experiment was a complete success; the practicability of the method of counting, when applied to large numbers of electors, was demonstrated, and abundant evidence furnished of the ease with which the elector performs his task. Of

the imaginary constituency of 21,690 voters, only 18 'spoilt' their papers, and of the 18, one at any rate spoilt his vote, not from any difficulty of the system of voting, but because of a settled resolve at all costs to vote for Mr. Victor Grayson, who did not happen to be a candidate. To supporters of the system this was no surprise. No voter of the most ordinary intelligence ever has had any difficulty in performing his part. Indeed, a story is now being told of an enthusiastic supporter of Proportional Representation in South Africa who recently experimented with the single transferable vote at a model election on his own farm with his servants and Kaffirs for voters, and who found that not a single vote had gone astray.

"If the voter had no difficulty, equally the returning officer and his assistants performed their task without a hitch.

"The 21,672 valid votes were all counted and transferred, and the election worked out in the six hours between 6 P.M. and midnight by a party of some 40 voluntary helpers, to whose labors of love it would be hard to give too high praise. The old unreasoning objection that the system is too complicated for human beings to work may thus be dismissed once and for all."

The full story of this remarkable election as told in the December issue of *Representation*, should be read by every one interested in improved electoral methods. It is told in a graphic, simple style, and contains much valuable detail. About four cents in English postage stamps, forwarded to the Proportional Representation Society, at 28 Martin's Lane, Cannon street, London, E. C., will bring it to you; or you may send United States stamps to me, at 10 Harbord street, Toronto, Canada, and I will see that you get a copy.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

# THE NOVELS OF GEORGE MEREDITH\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

**T**HE AUTHOR of this valuable critical work is a member of the faculty of Cornell University, where he is instructor in literature. The present volume is an important contribution to contemporary criticism dealing with the literary work of leading Anglo-Saxons of the last century.

Mr. Bailey is at once critical and sympathetic. He is broadly judicial and has the grasp of a master in treating his subject—something all too rare in the studies of literature by most of our American writers in the present strenuous day, wherein the work of the superficial and uncritical, when it is bright and epigrammatic, frequently shoulders out the more painstaking and authoritative criticisms. It must not be inferred from this, however, that this book is prosy or pedantic. Far from it. The treatment is such as to delight even the general reader, if he has a taste for literary subjects and any knowledge of the fiction of the Victorian era.

After an introduction in which the probable permanence of Meredith's fame is considered and the distinctive periods of his literary career are pointed out, Mr. Bailey passes to the discussion of his writings. The body of the work is mainly concerned with Mr. Meredith's career during the periods which the author aptly divides into those of "The Apprentice," "The Journeyman," and "The Master-Workman."

In his chapter considering Mr. Meredith as an apprentice, we have a brief but illuminating and informing pen-picture of the literary England of the first half of the nineteenth century; or, to be more exact, a description of the poets and novelists of this period. Here also is a brief discriminating examination of Mr. Meredith's early poems; and in passing let us note that though the volume only claims to be a study of Mr. Meredith's novels, many pages are enriched by criticisms of his poetry, with

\*"The Novels of George Meredith: A Study." By Elmer James Bailey. Cloth. Pp. 226. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

numerous charming illustrative selections. *The Shaving of Shagpat* and *Farina* are noticed somewhat at length as being the two principal works of the apprentice period.

In the chapter on the journeyman period, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, *Evan Harrington*, *Sandra Belloni*, *Vittoria* and *Rhoda Fleming* come in for the author's critical consideration. The pages devoted to the first two of these works are of special interest, although the entire treatment of the novels of Mr. Meredith cannot fail to prove a genuine delight to lovers of good literature; for here is seen the careful and firm grasp of one who is not only a master of subject but whose knowledge of the great characters in the contemporary fiction of England is such as to enable him to make the most interesting comparisons and thus assemble a number of old friends to the general reader in such a way as to materially add to his interest in Mr. Meredith's creations. In the following lines we have Mr. Meredith's two great early novels briefly compared and characterized, or at least the dominant note of each clearly sounded in such a way as to afford the reader an idea of the style of our author and the succinct manner in which he summarizes after he has considered his subjects in detail:

"*The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* is a tragedy—a tragedy, indeed, in the Shakespearean manner. This means not simply that the reader is led into the presence of death, but that the heart-racking catastrophe of the end is foreshadowed at the very beginning. The tragic note sounds with no uncertain tone in the earliest pages, and from then on it is persistently repeated with increasing intensity until it becomes the knell tolling the few years of Lucy's troubled life. Not for a moment in reading the book, not even in its humorous scenes, is one allowed to deceive oneself with the hope that in some miraculous way the outcome may be happy. Instead, there seizes upon the reader that kind of frenzy which

lays its grasp upon him as he watches the unrelenting advancement of the plot against Cordelia, or the ravaging progress of the feud which deflowered the houses of Capulet and Montague. Convinced for the time that the woes of Richard and Lucy are real, one feels that one must turn back the wheels of fate, that the inevitable must not be.

"Meredith's second novel, therefore, *Evan Harrington*, stands in almost as great contrast with the book immediately preceding it as that with the writings of its author's apprenticeship. The tragic element is practically eliminated, for although Juliana Bonner's death brings about the union of the man whom she loves with the woman of his choice, her story awakens no more than a quickly-passing impulse of pity. The woes of the unfortunate Susan Wheedle are but faintly outlined, and are included probably for no other reason than to show the kindness of Evan's heart; and finally the unhappy lot of the beautiful and attractive Caroline Strike is perhaps purposely but little more than mentioned, that the story of her temptation and escape may not seriously interfere with the gradual unfolding of Evan's rise to true manhood, or with the mirth-provoking treatment of the complications surrounding the Countess de Saldar. The book, indeed, is pervaded by humor of every sort, the extravagant, the grotesque, the refined, the delicate, the subtle, and the funny, until it would seem that Meredith is on the point of breaking through the bounds of what in the drama would be called legitimate comedy, and of permitting himself to revel for a time in the fields of hilarious farce. But as a matter of fact, he is ever mindful of the demands of true proportion; and consequently, never degenerating into the harlequin, he can force home, despite his fun, the serious lesson of the hollow foolishness which lies in attempting to appear what one is not."

And in the following we have an excellent illustration of a characteristic of the work to which we have referred—Mr. Bailey's comparison of the Meredith characters with those of well-known volumes by leading novelists of the day:

"Different as Meredith's first two novels are in most respects; however, the second is like the first to the extent of presenting three or four characters somewhat suggestive of those found in the writings of other authors. John

Raikes, for instance, it has been said by some critic, might easily have been created by Thackeray; but such a statement shows a strange forgetfulness of the words and ways of Dick Swiveller in *The Old Curiosity Shop*; and certainly the solicitous care and the deferential respect which Evan's old school friend has for his much-worn hat vividly recalls the outward appearance though not the swindling nature of Mr. Tigg, the shabby-genteel gentleman in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The Cogglesby brothers, too, unlike the Cheeryble twins as they are in many respects, must still suggest Nicholas Nickleby's benefactors, in their kindness of heart, their delight in dry jokes, and their sly plans for helping the deserving and circumventing the insincere. The chapters in which these two men carry out a conspiracy to reduce the pride of old Harrington's daughters—a conspiracy only too successful since Andrew found himself caught in his own trap—is like Dickens almost at his best in the humorous; and the first chapter, also, in which the inn-keeper, the butcher, and the confectioner discuss the death of the tailor is reminiscent of Dickens, but of Dickens rarified, sublimated and refined."

In summarizing the chapter dealing with the journeyman period, our author observes:

"To regard *Evan Harrington* and the three novels succeeding it as no better than the silt washed down by the gold-bearing river would be to do them manifest injustice; yet it is little doubtful, that in many respects, each of these stories, when viewed in its entirety, is inferior to *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. That book, far from successful as it was in attracting readers at the time of its appearance, now stands out even among the great novels of Meredith's famous contemporaries as a piece of rare workmanship. Still, the later books, when taken in contrast with the first, exhibit in matters of detail a greater firmness of touch, a more confident breadth of sweep, a surer consciousness of power, indicative of growth in both strength and wisdom. Furthermore, however much or little the influence of other novelists may be truly assumed to have dyed the earlier textures woven in the looms of Meredith's thought, the last fabric which he drew out as a journeyman was beyond all question or suspicion wholly his own. The five years of silence which followed have been mistakenly regarded by some as a period of dissatisfaction and contempt with a world which would not

read his books. Rather should it be looked upon as a time of rest preceding great achievement. At all events, when *The Adventures of Harry Richmond* appeared in 1871, a change had occurred in its author: the journeyman had become a master-workman."

These lines are interesting not only for what they say, but as illustrative of the critical spirit that marks the volume and the fine sense of proportion that continually delights the discriminating reader. The book is full of helpful suggestive hints for the earnest and ambitious young reader, which, however, form a natural and indeed a necessary part of a volume at once comprehensive, critical and philosophical in character. The following lines introducing Mr. Bailey's consideration of Mr. Meredith as the master-workman afford an illustration in point:

"The career of the artisan is largely determined by the continuous coöperation of two forces—power and ambition. Either without the other scarcely ever produces a resultant of any appreciable value, but when the two forces are properly balanced, they are mutually corrective, since the possession of power tends to prevent idle dreaming, and a clearly perceived goal is an incentive to perseverance. Now, not all of those whose fortune it is to become journeymen preserve the balance of inner forces, which leads eventually to master-workmanship. Either there is a lack of true proportion between their ambition and their power, or their vision for some reason becoming dull, they are content to sit down by the highway rather than to follow it to the end. Others, however, press on to complete success. Now and then, a man reconciles himself in the days of his apprenticeship to the hard labor, the disciplinary task, and the irksome command, because he is wise enough to see that endurance of these things is necessary to his training. In the succeeding years, when as journeyman he is to a large extent his own master, but still has to listen to the orders of an employer, he does not fall into discouragement because of harsh and perhaps unjust criticism, nor does he permit himself to rest satisfied with his past accomplishments because they have called out approving or flattering commendations. On the contrary, too self-confident to be over-depressed, and too sane to be unduly elated, he gathers strength from within and from without to strive still for the full realization of his purpose; until

at last having reached the goal, he has the right to say, with that mingled humility and pride which is true greatness,

"I stand on my attainment."

The two long chapters containing the careful studies of Meredith's work after he became in the critic's judgment a master-workman, are exceptionally interesting because of the fine discernment and breadth of thought which mark every page. We have now entered a period of realized ambition. For over two decades Meredith's novels will be richly worth the while. It, too, is a period that is susceptible of division into two parts: the time when his invention allowed itself full play, followed by a period in which his interest "concentrated itself upon problems presented by ill-assorted marriage." Earlier in the work the author has admirably characterized the novels which marked these master-workman days, as follows:

"The third decade, separated from the second by two years of silence, began in 1871 with *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*, and was still further marked by the publication of *Beauchamp's Career* in 1876, *The Egoist* in 1879, and *The Tragic Comedians* in 1880. These novels show almost no traces of any other writer's influence, and may therefore be regarded as belonging to a period of free invention; but if emphasis is laid upon their philosophical content, since they present studies of selfishness or, to use Emerson's term—'selfism,' they may be looked upon as having been produced during the period of attack upon egoism.

"After the publication of *The Tragic Comedians*, Meredith permitted a lustrum to pass before he entered upon the final period of his activity as novelist. Like the novels of the preceding decade, those of this time, *Diana of the Crossways*, published in 1885, *One of Our Conquerors* in 1891, *Lord Ormont and His Aminta* in 1894, and *The Amazing Marriage* in 1895, present no striking instances of outside influence; but since they center themselves around a single problem, the unhappy marriage, they may be said to belong to the period of concentrated interest. Furthermore, since each of the novels in this group is a study of the separation of a husband and a wife through troubles arising from incompatibility of temper, disparity of age, or inequality of rank, and since Meredith apparently approves of the



parting of man and wife under such circumstances, the works of the last decade belong to the period of attack upon conventional ideas of marriage."

In his later criticism he observes:

"The eight novels of the whole period are alike in that they show their author to be completely emancipated from any obvious outside influence; but, none the less, the grouped works of these two decades of later composition are so strongly distinguished from each other in many respects, that either may be made the subject of separate observation.

"The third period of Meredith's literary production, then, may be characterized as 'free' in two senses of the word: free, in that the writer was no longer hampered by the study of models; free, also, from the much higher and more important point-of-view that he showed himself possessed of a range of vision, a power of analysis, and an originality of style, which gave him a unique place among English novelists."

The criticism of each of the great novels, the brief but illuminating characterization of the leading characters, the comparisons of certain personages with notable figures in contemporaneous or preceding master-works, are only second in interest to the author's keen analysis of Mr. Meredith's ethical thought and artistic treatment.

"He is a realist," observes the critic, "in the sternest sense of the term; and his problem is the presentation of man and woman in the making, of man and woman struggling, albeit with many reverses, toward that perfection of soul which Meredith himself believes is the purpose and secret of this world's existence.

"His hope was to make mankind see that passion must be subdued to intellect before there can be any great growth of soul.

"It is of some interest, then, to know that Meredith is an extreme Liberal in politics and is wholly out of sympathy with the existence of an aristocratic class and of an established church. He even goes so far as to speak in approval of women being granted the right of suffrage, thus taking ground in advance of many of his own party."

In his study of *The Egoist* the author makes this illuminating observation touching one characteristic of Mr. Meredith's work, which we cite because it is one of the few striking features of his novels which cannot be ignored

if one would understand his work and also the reason for the extremely divergent and positive opinions in regard to it entertained by able thinkers of recognized ability:

"The story is vouched for by Stevenson, that a sensitive youth went to Meredith with the complaint that he had been held up to ridicule in the person of Sir Willoughby Patterne. 'You are mistaken,' said the great novelist in reply, 'the Egoist is not you, he is all of us.' This fact, that Meredith's readers are almost always driven to self-analysis, is perhaps the chief cause of his being called a pessimist and a cynic. To see our neighbors under the lash contributes mightily to our amusement no doubt, and goes far to awakening a spirit of thankfulness that we are not as others are; but our laughter grows hollow and our satisfaction ceases, when we feel the flick of the whip upon our own shoulders. Yet it is to a full realization of the value of looking upon oneself in a humorous or even a ludicrous light, that Meredith would bring every man. In that, he believes, rests the hope for the future, whether of the person or of the race; for if a man can look upon himself and his deeds with healthy laughter, there is little danger of his becoming sour or morbid; and whatever his failure, he will be able to learn from his mistakes and to determine with renewed strength not to bequeath to posterity a tumbled house.

"The reason, therefore, why *The Egoist* gives us pause is, not that it is unreal, but that it is too real. It is a scourging, a flagellation, a cutting to the quick."

In making a sweeping survey of the fictional work of Mr. Meredith, which concludes his review of the third decade of his literary labors, Mr. Bailey says:

"With the publication of *The Tragic Comedians* in book form, late in 1880, Meredith closed the third decade of his literary career, the period of free range. From many points of view the ten years thus designated may be looked upon as the most important part of his life as author. The several works then produced evinced a sense of proportion, a consciousness of mastery, a disregard of arbitrary methods, which could not be unreservedly predicated of him in 1869 when his work as a journeyman was brought to an end. On the other hand, although it cannot be denied that he remained in full possession of all his powers through that later period which may be termed

the decade of concentrated interest, the very fact that there was a limitation of range made it clear that in all probability the time of expansion was over, and that thereafter whatever energy remained in store would endeavor to put itself forth not in outspreading branch nor in upreaching stem, but rather in leaf and fruit and flower. At all events, the following decade of Meredith's literary career was not noted for the production of any such remarkable story as *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, or of any such unusual study of character as *The Egoist*; but it was marked by the publication of *Diana of the Crossways*, a novel which gained immediate popularity, and by the appearance of three other sustained works of fiction which attracted a respectful audience, if they did not earn undivided admiration. The battle had been long and hard, but few felt safe in denying that Meredith had proved himself a conqueror. Clearly his rightful place was among the leaders, in company with Dickens and Thackeray and George Eliot."

In the early part of the concluding essay, in which the novels of the final period—the time of concentrated thought on the marriage problem—are considered, Mr. Bailey says:

"During the decade beginning in 1835, he felt moved to produce four sustained pieces of fiction which may be said to belong to a period of concentrated interest, inasmuch as each of them dealt with complexities rising out of an unsuitable marriage. In *Diana of the Crossways* is given the story of a woman, who, marrying without love, was afterward separated from her husband and made to take an anomalous and unhappy position before the world; in *One of Our Conquerors* is presented a study of the attitude taken by society towards a man and woman living together in a union unsanctioned by church and state, but regarded, none the less, as sacred by the two chiefly concerned; and in *Lord Ormont and His Aminta* and also in *The Amazing Marriage*, the reader is confronted with the unhappiness which results from a marked discrepancy between husband and wife in matters of rank, age or inclination. With the possible exception of the second, these four stories amply repay those who read simply to be amused, but for others who look upon the novelist as having a mission beyond that of giving mere pleasure, they furnish in addition much food for thought.

"It may be concluded from these facts that

Meredith found in certain phases of the marriage relation some of the gravest problems furnished by modern society. That he looked upon the questions as being more than a mere source of material for the novelist, is certainly shown by the fact that long after he had ceased the formal writing of fiction, he permitted himself to speak upon them at some length."

The author is by no means blind to Mr. Meredith's shortcomings. Here, for example, is an excellent criticism of the novelist's faulty style:

"Meredith, however, seemed often to prefer the involved to the simple, the ornate to the plain; and in *One of Our Conquerors* the tendency certainly became an obsession. The reader is not told in so many words that Radnor kissed his wife, but that 'he performed his never-omitted lover's homage'; Mr. Fenélan did not drink the Old Veuve, but 'crushed a delicious gulp of the wine that foamed along the channel of flavor'; Skepsey, instead of feeling the size and hardness of the butcher's arm, 'performed the national homage to muscle'; and in giving a cordial greeting to Lady Grace, 'Victor's festival-lights were kindled, beholding her; cressets on the window-sill, lamps inside.' Such writing, it cannot be denied, is both bewildering and exasperating to almost every reader; and Meredith, therefore, had no just cause of complaint if his own joy in weaving such fantastic garments for his thought was his chief reward. Certainly after the publication of *One of Our Conquerors*, many of his old readers fell away or at most contented themselves with memories of what he had written before, while the younger generation who, like Sarah Battle, occasionally found time to turn aside from whist-playing and to unbend the mind over a book, took no special pleasure in anything which Meredith had to say."

The closing pages are devoted to a consideration of the probable permanence of Mr. Meredith's fame. Space prevents our quoting more than the following brief fragments of this admirable piece of criticism:

"In general, of course, it is always hazardous to prophesy the permanence of any man's fame; still, from at least one point-of-view, it can be asserted without hesitation that Meredith's name must be remembered as long as English literature shall endure. Unlike most other writers whose real influence has been

felt only by some subsequent generation, Meredith has permeated the work of his contemporaries. By this is meant that he has awakened such general respect as to make him acceptable without envy to the other novelists of at least his later years. They acknowledge his superiority, they look upon him as unapproachable, they call him Master. In evidence of this, one may note the fact that in present discussions of novels the critic nearly always refers to George Meredith as a standard of measurement. Nor, indeed, is that the only use to which the great writer and his novels are put.

“But to not a few of his readers, Meredith seems deserving of much more than the kind of immortality which rests upon the mention of his name by other authors and upon the formative influence obviously exerted by his writings. The knowledge of what must be is greated in the minds of many by faith in what will be: and when that faith is put to trial, they are far from feeling that it is without a substantial basis in reason. Still, if such have learned anything from their reading of the man whom they delight to honor, they hesitate to name his absolute place. Whatever the impulse of the heart, they know that it should be tempered by the working of the brain; and they therefore do not undertake to assert more than that Meredith must be regarded as no unworthy companion of the greatest English novelists. If the sneer of the critic accuses them of having but faint confidence in their belief, they are not betrayed into fruitless wrangling or loud defense. Serenely unmoved, they let Meredith speak for himself. Surely no just man can find fault with the intermingling of honest pride and sincere humility behind that sonnet, to which Meredith, writing in his middle age, gave the name of ‘Internal Harmony.’

“Assured of worthiness we do not dread  
Competitors; we rather give them hail

And greeting in the lists where we may fail:  
Must, if we bear an aim beyond the head!  
My betters are my masters: purely fed  
By their sustainment I likewise shall scale  
Some rocky steps between the mount and vale;  
Meanwhile the mark I have and I will wed.  
So that I draw the breath of finer air,  
Station is naught, nor footways laurel-strewn,  
Nor rivals tightly belted for the race.  
Good speed to them! My place is here or there;  
My pride is that among them I have place:  
And thus I keep this instrument in tune.’

“Truly such calm self-analysis explains the remarkable patience with which Meredith awaits the decision of the wise years. If in the words of Lowell,

“Some innate weakness there must be  
In him who condescends to victory  
Such as the present gives and cannot wait  
Safe in himself as in a fate.’

Meredith through the absence of such weakness, shows himself endowed with noble strength and manly power. A prophet, it has been said, is not without honor save in his own country; and with equal truth, it might have been added, save in his own time. It is the privilege of Meredith’s friends, therefore, to keep silence; for, looking back from the present through the long period of his activity, and realizing once more the calm confidence which enabled him to go on with his work in the face of indifference, opposition and contempt, we well may say:

“He knew to bide his time,  
And can his fame abide.”

The work as a whole is one of the most excellent and informing short volumes of literary criticism we have read in months. It will doubtless tend to create a new interest in George Meredith’s novels on this side of the Atlantic. To us it is the source of genuine pleasure that America is producing young men capable of such fine work in literary criticism as marks this volume.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*



## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

*Some New Literary Valuations.* By Professor William Cleaver Wilkinson. Cloth. Pp. 412. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

**T**HIS volume is one of the few really important works of literary criticism that have appeared on this side of the Atlantic during the past six months. Professor Wilkinson is the author of several notable works in poetry and prose. He holds the chair of Poetry and Criticism in the University of Chicago, and is a man of more than ordinary power and imagination.

The work of a professional critic naturally invites more rigid criticism than that of the busy worker or the prophet burdened with a great message whose moral import overbalances all considerations of literary form. Hence it may not be presumptuous at the outset to point to some shortcomings in the work of Professor Wilkinson. He inclines to verbosity or over-emphasis of his thought—a weakness quite understandable when we remember that he is a teacher, but rather irritating to the general reader who mentally resents the implication of dullness of comprehension. He inclines to too sweeping characterizations, which are usually immediately modified by almost equally strong observations of an entirely different character. One instance of this character will suffice to illustrate this point. In the opening paragraph of his really masterly essay on Tolstoi we find the following:

"The temptation is strong to be extravagant, or at least so to express myself as to seem extravagant, in treating my present subject—However, having passed through several successive stages of opinion, or of impression, respecting his work, I cannot, I think, be premature now in declaring Tolstoi for me one of the very greatest minds to be encountered in literature. Shall I seem immediately to recall this sentence, if I add that the one thing lacking to complete greatness in Tolstoi is final soundness and justness of judgment?"

Here the interest raised in the reader by the opening lines is instantly dashed by the concluding sentence, especially since it is remembered that Tolstoi is preëminently a moral enthusiast or a prophet of social righteousness.

If, therefore, he is wanting in "final soundness and justness of judgment," his work will necessarily be lacking in the chief essential element of serious consideration. We imagine that Professor Wilkinson would strongly resent the suggestion that the message or the ethics of the Great Nazarene as given in the Sermon on the Mount should be lacking in "final soundness and justness of judgment"; yet it is squarely upon these ethics and the frank and unqualified acceptance of the teachings of the Nazarene that Count Tolstoi's teachings rest.

Again, it must be confessed that at times our author seems to be hampered by the restrictive influence of religious prejudice. This is markedly conspicuous in his essay entitled "John Morley as Critic of Voltaire and Diderot," and it seems to us to be also present in his criticism of Matthew Arnold. His work as a critic has also developed, it seems to us, the unfortunate tendency, very common in teachers of literary criticism—that of hunting for the motes and giving them undue emphasis in such a way as to interfere with the proper valuation of the work as a whole.

In spite of these defects, however, the present volume contains so much that is of real value that it merits wide circulation and will materially broaden and enrich the culture of the general reader. The opening and closing essays are of special interest and worth.

The volume contains seven chapters in which the author considers "William Dean Howells as Man of Letters," "Matthew Arnold as Critic and as Poet," "Tennyson as Artist in Lyric Verse," "Edmund Clarence Stedman as Man of Letters," "John Morley as Critic of Voltaire and Diderot," and "Tolstoi."

The essay on Mr. Howells is very charming. The author is a sincere admirer of the distinguished American novelist, but is evidently afraid from time to time that his enthusiasm for Mr. Howells will impair his critical judgment—a fear not evident at other times, we think, especially when he is considering Arnold, Tennyson and Morley.

One at times may be pardoned if he becomes impatient at citations from a writer like Morley, for example, which imply glaring inconsistencies; yet in some at least of the

writer's citations, it is quite conceivable that Mr. Morley had different ideas in his mind when he used expressions that might be construed so as to appear as inconsistent statements. Then again, all persons possessing such luxuriant imagination as John Morley, who have written voluminously and whose minds are sensitive to the sway of others' thoughts or to the intellectual atmosphere that at a given time environs the critic, are liable to reflect opinions shaded with the thought that at the moment appeals strongly to the reason and imagination. This, of course, is unfortunate when the writer is a critic, where the judicial quality is demanded as a master element; but it is a fault that should not be made too much of when considering the work of a master of such consummate ability as Mr. Morley. To us it seems that the fact that Mr. Morley is a positivist and that Professor Wilkinson strongly dissents from the intellectual opinions of both critic and criticized, influences unduly his critical opinion when considering Mr. Morley in this paper.

To our mind the best essay in the volume is that devoted to Tolstoi. If the reader is not discouraged by the first paragraph, which we quote above, he will soon become engrossed in and delighted with the sympathetic and, on the whole, discriminating criticism which follows. Few American writers, we think, have in the compass of a critical essay better estimated Tolstoi as an influence in the world of letters and moral idealism than has Professor Wilkinson in this paper.

*Abraham Lincoln.* By Brand Whitlock. With frontispiece in sepia. Cloth. Pp. 205. Price, 50 cents. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

*Lincoln's Love Story.* By Eleanor Atkinson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 60. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

*The Death of Lincoln.* By Clara E. Laughlin. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THE ABOVE are three valuable additions to the literature dealing with the life, work and death of Abraham Lincoln, America's greatest democratic commoner—the President who, after Thomas Jefferson, more clearly taught and practiced the principles of fundamental democratic government than any of the chief magistrates the nation has known.

Mr. Brand Whitlock's brief biography of Lincoln is the latest issue of the little series of Beacon Biographies, and is, in our judgment, the best brief short life of Lincoln that has yet appeared. Mr. Whitlock is the noble-hearted successor of Samuel M. Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo. He embodies the Lincoln spirit in as great a measure as any man in public life to-day. Hence he is peculiarly well fitted to write understandingly of his subject. Like Lincoln, Mr. Whitlock is a fundamental democrat, and he happily touches upon many things that the recreant present-day Republicans who are seeking to destroy the ideals of Lincoln in the interests of privileged wealth while pretending to revere the memory of the martyred President, would like to have forgotten. Thus, for example, he quotes from Lincoln's address to the electorate when he was running for the Illinois legislature as follows:

"If elected, I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me. While acting as their representative I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is."

In commenting on this, Mr. Whitlock observes:

"Always fundamentally democratic, he was so close to the heart of humanity that intuitively he measured its mighty pulsations, and believed that the public mind was not far from right. Years afterward, expressing his belief in the people's judgment, as the one authority in affairs, he asked, 'Is there any better or equal hope?'"

The biography is written in an engaging style, simple, direct and calculated to hold the reader's interest throughout by the charm of the writer's directness, sincerity and sympathy in dealing with one of the greatest and most truly sincere and simple lives known to history.

In *Lincoln's Love Story* Eleanor Atkinson has given us an exquisite little narrative of the tragic romance that mellowed, softened and deepened Lincoln's life. His love for beautiful Ann Rutledge and his agony of soul after her death is vividly and feelingly presented, as well as the pathetic struggle of the young girl, the battle between her Puritan conscience and the promptings of her heart, which culminated in brain fever that proved fatal. The volume is beautifully illustrated.

In *The Death of Lincoln*, by Clara E. Laughlin, we have the story of Booth's plot, his deed and the penalty, dealt with in a luminous, circumstantial and authoritative manner. The author has drawn facts from a mass of hidden material and the accounts of eye-witnesses among survivors, that have enabled her to throw considerable additional light on one of the most tragic pages of our history—a page around which there has been an amazing amount of uncertainty and mystery, when one considers the nature of the crime and the strenuous efforts made to bring to light all facts bearing upon the case. The author possesses an admirable style and has threaded together the facts and evidence in her possession in such a manner as to make an absorbingly interesting volume. One hundred and thirty odd pages are devoted to appendices of evidential value.

*Profit and Loss in Man.* By Professor Alphonso A. Hopkins, Ph.D. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 377. Price, \$1.20 net; postpaid, \$1.30. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE ADVOCATES of the liquor traffic have been driven back until they have but two arguments behind which they hope to defend themselves, personal liberty and business. The first because of its manifest insincerity and because it proves too much is fast being abandoned by the wiser of the whiskey men. The temperance people must not underestimate the power of this last resort of the saloon. It is not powerful because of any inherent strength, but because it appeals to the spirit of greed and financial gain in men. As the personal liberty plea is false, so is the plea that business will be harmed by the destruction of the liquor traffic false. The only ones who profit financially by the liquor traffic are the dealers; it means serious financial loss to the consumers and the community. The author has a word to say about personal liberty, but his volume for the most part, from the cold, matter-of-fact standpoint of dollars and cents, shows that the liquor traffic not only does not pay expenses but is a thief and a robber. The author has done a good work. He has not exhausted the subject, but he has brought together in a readable and impressive way matter that temperance people are much in need of.

It is very unfortunate that the author can see the overthrow of the liquor traffic only through the agency of the Prohibition party.

This seems most absurd in face of the fact of the great extent of territory which to-day is free from the saloon because of other agencies. It is not true, as the author says, that the people are compelled by local option "to concede that somewhere license may be right, or that somewhere men have right to permit a wrong." The fallacy here is the assumption that every one believes the liquor business a wrong. We wish they did. But they do not; at least, so they talk, and so they vote. And we cannot go back of the vote. That would be un-American. The only thing we can do as loyal Americans is to persuade men to change their votes. The ideal is a saloonless country by way of a state-wide prohibition. But when enough votes cannot be gotten to make a state prohibition it would be the most intolerant and suicidal fanaticism to refuse to make sections of the state prohibition. And when the people of one town vote for no-license they are not conceding that license is right in the next town, or that the people in the next town have a right to do wrong; they are simply submitting to the American principle that the voice of the majority must be final. His arguments showing the saloon to be un-Christian, unconstitutional, and un-American are good, but in our enthusiasm for its overthrow we should be careful lest we become un-American ourselves.

But this blunder, arising from the author's intense earnestness, should not detract from the great good in his book. Especially would we call attention to his statements in regard to the unconstitutionality of the saloon. The liquor men fear it, as is evidenced by their frank refusal to take an appeal from Judge Artman's decision to the Supreme Court. If any one doubts that the saloon is doomed, we advise him to read this book.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking.* By Grenville Kleiser. Cloth. Pp. 422. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

EXCEPTING Professor S. S. Curry's masterly works, we know of no volume that will compare with Professor Kleiser's new book on *How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking* as a practical aid for earnest and thoughtful young men who would become public speakers of commanding influence. To the youth who would ask us how he might in his home best advance in the mastery of ora-

tory or effective public speaking, we should without hesitation advise him to purchase this volume and give from one to three hours a day to a study of its pages for six months' or a year's time, taking lesson by lesson and mastering each; then supplementing these luminous, practical and easily comprehended instructions by faithful practice of the many admirable illustrative selections introduced by the author. To young ministers especially the work will be invaluable, but it will also be of great practical worth to all who would gain fluency in public speaking.

The book is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to "Power and Personality in Speaking," and the second containing more than eighty choice selections for study and practice.

Professor Kleiser observes that his purpose in preparing this volume has been "to give practical suggestions and exercises for building the body, the voice and the vocabulary, for training the memory and imagination, and for the general development of power and personality in the speaker." And all who read the work will be, we think, compelled to admit that the author has succeeded in an eminent degree in the labor undertaken.

In the first division are sixteen chapters in which such subjects as the following are presented in so clear and comprehensive a manner that they can be easily understood by the general reader: "How to Develop Physical Power," "How to Develop the Speaking Voice." This is a luminous chapter in which purity, flexibility, roundness and resonance, brilliancy and volume of tone are considered. "How to Build a Vocabulary," "Power in English Style," "How to Develop the Imagination," "Dramatic Power in Speaking," "How to Train the Memory," "Power of Illustration"; power in conversation, in extemporaneous speaking, in holding an audience, in prayer, in silence and repose; "World's Great Sermons That Develop Power," and "Books That Help to Develop Power."

We take pleasure in heartily recommending this volume to all persons interested in the subject discussed.

*The Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in Their Relation to Criminal Procedure.*

By Maurice Parmelee, M.A. Half-leather. Pp. 41. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IN FORM, this book is a plea for the introduc-

tion of the principles of anthropology and sociology into criminal procedure; in fact, it is an argument that these principles alone should govern criminal procedure. The great difficulty, of which the author seems entirely unconscious, is that the principles of anthropology and sociology are by no means settled, and their results have been of such a character as not to inspire confidence; and in the case of sociology there are sociologists who admit that it has not yet attained the dignity of a science. Thus the title of the book will not help it to get a hearing by well-informed people. Or if one decides to open the book, his confidence is not increased in the author's ability when upon reading a very dogmatic rejection of deduction and metaphysics, he finds that a metaphysical dogma, determinism, is made the underlying principle upon which his entire plea for the introduction of the principles of anthropology and sociology into criminal procedure rests. To be sure, he does not realize this, and this makes it all the more unfortunate. And to make matters worse, he starts off to prove determinism, or the denial of the freedom of the will, by the principles of physiological psychology. "The strongest evidence against the doctrine of free will has been furnished by the modern science of physiological psychology."

With all due respect to the author, one must say, he shows himself to be on very unfamiliar ground here, for a very elementary knowledge of philosophy and psychology should teach him that this is a metaphysical problem, quite beyond the field of physiological psychology. He may be quite sure this is the "strongest evidence"; nevertheless he appeals to the other. Continuing his remarks on the freedom of the will, he says:

"The introduction of such a power would be an exception to the law of the conservation of energy which is the fundamental principle of science, and would therefore destroy the foundation of science."

This shows a very feeble grasp upon one of the fundamental principles that science must assume. Psychic phenomena, including the freedom of the will, is accounted for as follows:

"No one has ever thought of attributing moral liberty to the lowest forms of animal life, such as the protists. The evolution of the highest forms of psychic phenomena from the lowest has been by means of a continuous series of actions and reactions between organic and inorganic matter. At no point in this

evolution is there any evidence that the power of moral liberty has been introduced." And all because of the conservation of energy. But his argument proves too much, for it would also eliminate the mind; unless he means to evolve that, too, by the action and reaction of organic and inorganic matter. If so, then it becomes our duty to call his attention to the fact that a scientist, a physician, has proved that no action or reaction of matter, organic or inorganic, can account for mind; and the same scientist also proves that personality, which the author crudely defines as "the sum of all past sensations," is what develops the brain and gives us the "highest psychic phenomena."\*

Here is another argument: "Thus we see the judgment is a mechanical process admitting no freedom of choice." No, we do not see, but we know that apart from freedom, the judgment has no meaning.

Finally he appeals to facts: "To-day certain crimes in which no moral responsibility is involved, such as involuntary homicide and wounding, are punished." We do not know where the author lives and cannot say what the facts are there, but we do know that the facts of the states in which we have lived are contrary. A few months ago a woman was killed by stepping in front of an automobile in Boston. It was just one of those unfortunate accidents for which no one could be blamed. The one driving the automobile received no punishment other than his own mental distress; and no one thought of punishing him. Nor do we think any judge or jury would have so little sense as to think of punishment in such a case.

All of this manifestation of deficiency in philosophy, psychology and the fundamental principles of science is very unfortunate, because it discounts what the author says in regard to some practical problems in criminology. Among those well worthy the careful attention of those in authority are his discussions of individualization of punishment, the criminal law, and his criticism of the jury system.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*Historic Ghosts and Ghost-Hunters.* By H. Addington Bruce. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.25 net. New York Moffat, Yard & Company.

IN THIS collection of famous events in which incarnate spirits were said to have played a

\*"Brain and Personality," by W. Hanna Thomson.

large part, Mr. Bruce has given us a volume as interesting as romance. Yet he is, it seems to us, so anxious to disprove the theory that the spirits of the dead can and do communicate with their friends in this life, that he at times allows himself to be biased by his preconceived opinions in considering the alleged phenomena.

In his former work, *The Riddle of Personality*, Mr. Bruce has developed at length the theory of telepathy as accounting for all the so-called spiritualistic phenomena; and in the present volume, where the phenomena have not been dismissed as due to purely materialistic causes, the theory of telepathy and the subliminal self has been brought in and most ingeniously used to explain happenings which seemed clearly to indicate to those concerned that the spirits of the dead had returned and communicated with them. Any thinker who originates or becomes a special champion of a theory is liable to give undue emphasis to this theory and to push it to unwarranted lengths when applying it to specific cases—an error which would be avoided by persons of more impartial and judicial temper. One suspects that Mr. Bruce's weakness for his pet theory of telepathy has led him to view some of the occurrences which he describes through the spectacles of the special pleader rather than those of the impartial investigator; and in several instances his explanations seem to us even more remarkable than the wonderful events related.

The volume consists of eleven chapters in which the following historic ghost stories are related in a graphic manner, and explained away to the entire satisfaction of the author, if not to that of the impartial investigator of psychic phenomena: "The Devils of Loudon," "The Drummers of Tedworth," "The Haunting of the Wesleys," "The Visions of Emanuel Swedenborg," "The Cock Lane Ghost," "The Ghost Seen by Lord Brougham," "The Seeress of Prevorst," "The Mysterious Mr. Home," "The Watseka Wonder," "A Medieval Ghost-Hunter," and "Ghost-Hunters of Yesterday and To-day." AMY C. RICH.

*Right and Riches.* By Charles O. McCasland. Cloth. Pp. 350. Price, \$1.50 net. Pasadena, California: The Wilbur Publishing Company.

THE AUTHOR has evidently given much thought to his subject and he has written with a noble purpose. Taking things as they are and allowing Mr. McCasland his definitions



of terms, it is hard to find any flaw in his reasoning. The trouble with the book lies in the fact that it is too technical for the ordinary reader, and scholars may not be willing to acknowledge Mr. McCasland as an authority. Here are some of the author's points as condensed by the publishers:

"Capital is defined as consisting solely of 'Stock' and 'Equipment,' such terms being used in their every-day meaning. Money and credit are excluded.

"Issue is taken with accepted precepts by the statement that capital is improperly termed a product of labor, for the wealth of which it is constituted accrues from the outgrowth of nature and especially from its own reproduction a hundred times as much as from labor. Capital must be treated as starting, not from output, but from the postponement of the enjoyment of wealth and its conversion to reproductive functions.

"The relative importance of Labor is commonly exaggerated. Capital has a hundred-fold the productive effect of Labor. Hence the relatively greater importance of its proper reward. The providers of capital never ask anything but security and a reasonable percentage of interest.

"With proper protection and encouragement Capital would revolutionize the whole process of industry. The degree of a nation's civilization is measured by its use of capital.

"The opportunity and reward of workers depend entirely upon the effective quantity of Capital with which they may cooperate.

"It is the author's contention that the discouragements imposed against the accumulation and conversion of wealth into productive capital, is the vital cause of our industrial trouble.

"It is concluded that Christianity and economics are in accord in their principles and ultimate ideals of brotherhood. That greed and repression is as wholly antagonistic to a bountiful commerce as it is to the golden rule.

"Entire elimination of *hindrance*, even though it involve the extinction of private property, is the ultimate economic ideal, while impossible of complete present demonstration, and it agrees with the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"It is urged in fulfilment of this command that as industrial progress 'unitizes' production into monopolies, the increase of the spirit of fellowship should so unify human purpose that public or common ownership may be

extended until the final absorption by society of all private property.

"Economic science is not subject to questions of policy. It is based upon infallible and unchanging laws, which are as important in the practice of the individual as they are to humanity collectively."

Is it not strange that so many processes of reasoning lead directly or indirectly to some form of Socialism?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The American Executive and Executive Methods.* By John H. Finley and John F. Sanderson. Cloth. Pp. 352. New York: The Century Company.

EIGHT volumes describing comprehensively the manner in which the governmental agencies of the American State are organized and administered make up the so-called American State series, edited by W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University. The book under review is one of this series. It is carefully written and academic in style. It treats of the executive function from the time of the colonial governors down to the present. "The American Executive," says the author, "is an institution of native origin. The American Executive is not the successor of the British King." He then goes on to state what the American executive powers are and how they are administered. Nothing new or startling is developed in the volume. It is instructive though rather dry reading.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Interludes.* By Thomas S. Jones, Jr. Paper. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Pp. 23. Clinton, New York: George William Browning.

THOSE who read and enjoyed Mr. Jones' charming little volume of verse, entitled *From Quiet Valleys*, which was reviewed in the December ARENA, will welcome this little collection of sonnets and lyrics. Most of the poems are pitched in a minor key, but all reveal an intimate spiritual insight and understanding and the same love of nature in her various moods which marked the former work. Mr. Jones is no singer of heroic verse, but he possesses in a large degree the true rhythmic sense. All his lines are musical and many of them sing themselves into the memory. We are not surprised to learn that several of his lyrics have been set to music by appreciative composers.

Of the poems in the present volume we quote the following, entitled, "Joyous-Gard" as perhaps the most perfect thing in the collection:

"Wind-washed and free, full-swept by rain and wave,  
By tang of surf and thunder of the gale,  
Wild be the ride yet safe the barque will sail,  
And past the plunging seas her harbor brave;  
Nor care have I that storms and waters rave,  
I cannot fear since you can never fail—  
Once I have looked upon the burning graül,  
And through your eyes have seen beyond the grave.

"I know at last—the strange, sweet mystery,  
The nameless joy that trembled into tears,  
The hush of wings when you were at my side—  
For now the veil is rent and I can see,  
See the true vision of the future years,  
As in your face the love of Him who died!"

AMY C. RICH.

*Emmanuel.* A picture in colors, from an original concept by Clarence J. Clarke, from an original water-color painting. Price, \$5.00. Detroit, Michigan: Detroit Publishing Company.

THROUGH all the centuries of Christian history symbolical pictures have held a peculiar fascination for large numbers of people. They have served not only to stimulate thought and give wings to the imagination, but also to rivet the mind on noble concepts.

Mr. Clarke's picture is the first work of the kind we have noticed that embodies in symbolism some of the master ideas emphasized by Christian Science. The picture was conceived by Clarence J. Clarke, of Los Angeles, California, and executed by a well-known water-color artist.

In the center of the picture appears an angel of conventional design, brooding over the two hemispheres and holding in one hand the Bible, in the other *Science and Health*. Above the angel, rising out of rainbow-tinted clouds, appear the Christian Science temple and Mother Church of Boston. In the back of the picture is a black background, without form, and void, but out of which rises the world. In front of the angel is a large gold cross, before which are the words, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." The cross rests upon a series of steps on which are found the words "Understanding," "Humanity," "Honesty," "Purity," "Hope," "Faith" and "Love." Below is found the scripture legend "God is all in all." At the top of the picture is seen a dove descending, and here also appear the Bible

words, "Let there be light." On the gold-bordered background are several significant words and scripture references. The picture is entitled "Emmanuel," and underneath this word appears the declaration of Jesus, "Unto you is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God."

*The Cell as the Unit of Life, and Other Lectures.*  
By Allan Macfadyen, M.D., B.Sc. Cloth.  
Pp. 381. Price, \$3.00 net. London: J. & A. Churchill. Philadelphia: P. Blakistons' Sons & Company.

THE LECTURES published in this volume were delivered by the late Dr. Macfadyen at the Royal Institution of London while the distinguished physician occupied the chair of physiology. The volume contains nineteen chapters or lectures, the general subjects treated dealing with "The Cell as the Unit of Life," "Cellular Physiology," "Recent Methods and Results in Biological Inquiry," "Toxins and Antitoxins," and "The Effects of Physical Agents on Bacterial Life."

Dr. Macfadyen was one of the most eminent English authorities on bacteria and all matters relating to toxicology. After receiving high honors in English colleges, he studied extensively on the Continent, after which his special researches and discoveries soon placed him among the leading materialistic physical scientists among English physicians and made him one of the most eminent demonstrators in the departments of bacteriology and toxicology.

His lectures on "The Cell as the Unit of Life"—five in all, and on "Cellular Physiology"—six in number, all of which appear in the present volume, created quite a furore when they were first delivered in London, and were widely discussed throughout medical and scientific publications; while his lectures and researches dealing with toxins and anti-toxins attracted the special attention of working chemists and physicians—of all, indeed, who were interested in general research in these departments of investigation.

To persons interested in these subjects, this volume will appeal as a work of special value and interest. It has been carefully edited by R. T. Hewlett, M.D., F.R.C.P., D.P.H., and will be ranked as one of the most important recent works dealing with interesting problems of modern physical science and medicine from the materialistic viewpoint.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### "David Warfield: The Actor and The Man."

THE ARENA'S notable series of critical dramatic papers is continued in this issue by an exceptionally fascinating and interesting personal study of DAVID WARFIELD, the man and his art, by LAWRENCE HALL. In this remarkable paper the author treats of the dramatic career of Mr. WARFIELD, from the days when he was so popular as a fun-maker in his impersonations of East Side Hebrew life. He shows how he succeeded, and splendidly succeeded, in "The Auctioneer," "The Music Master," and "A Grand Army Man." A brief but lucid criticism of his work in the last two plays is given, with an estimate of Mr. WARFIELD as an actor, and the distinctive characteristics of his art. Next we are told something of the actor's ambitions in regard to his proposed assumption of Shakespearian characters, especially that of SHYLOCK. Here also is found Mr. WARFIELD'S concepts of the demand of the present-day drama, and a beautiful glimpse of the heart side of the actor's life is seen in his tribute to his home city, San Francisco. A charming and intimate sidelight is also turned on the domestic life of the artist as lived in his beautiful and happy home amid the art treasures he loves so well. The paper will be magnificently illustrated. The thousands and tens of thousands of thinking men and women who have smiled and shed tears when witnessing this artist's incomparable interpretations of "The Music Master" and "The Grand Army Man" will wish to possess this sympathetic but intelligently critical study of Mr. WARFIELD and his art.

### "Browning's Theory of Love." By Elmer James Bailey, Ph.M., A.M.

THIS is one of those finished and finely discriminating papers that can come only from the pen of one who is a thorough master of his subject, who possesses a broad view of life and literature, and who is peculiarly gifted with critical discernment or the judicial spirit. In the first part of the paper the author discusses in a fascinating and informing manner the human love motive in BROWNING'S poems, citing a wealth of illustrative lines which make clear the master contention of the paper. Later he critically examines the poet's philosophy in the light of sound ethics. It is a thoroughly delightful contribution that, like Professor HENDERSON'S criticism of BERNARD SHAW, will broaden and deepen the culture of all readers. Mr. BAILEY is the author of an important new work entitled *The Novels of George Meredith: A Study*, recently brought out by the SCRIBNERS. Since 1907 he has been a member of the faculty of Cornell University.

### "Harmonizing Our Dual Government."

NOTHING is more needed at the present time than clear thinking along the lines of the rights, duties and proper provinces of the state and national governments, from the view-point of fundamental

democracy. Since the rise of the plutocracy and its growing dominance in government, there has been a steady attempt on the part of the great army of legal retainers employed by the feudalism of privileged wealth to befog the public mind and to play the state against the national government and the national government against the state, in the interests of predatory wealth. And the fundamental principles involved have been further unhappily confused by the arrogation of unconstitutional powers by the executive department of government during recent years. In Mr. BENNETT'S mastery paper on "Harmonizing Our Dual Government" we have one of the most statesmanlike, wise and sound considerations of this vital question that has yet appeared. The author's brief review of historic conditions attending the writing and ratification of the Constitution is followed by a luminous discussion of the case in relation to present conditions and from the standpoint of fundamental democracy; while the suggested changes will impress thoughtful patriots as being at once wise, sane and eminently practical. It is one of those timely and constructive papers which the present critical hour imperatively demands, and should have the widest possible reading.

### "The Life-Religion."

OUR POPULAR series of papers dealing with the church in the present crisis and prepared by leading representative clergymen of various denominations and by prominent lay thinkers, is continued in this month's issue by a wonderfully luminous and thought-inspiring paper from the pen of Mr. RUFUS W. WEEKS, a prominent business man of the metropolis, entitled "The Life-Religion." In it Mr. WEEKS points out a fact that has been too often overlooked—that the FOUNDER of Christianity laid special emphasis on the life that now is and the duty which devolves on persons claiming to be His followers to practically carry out the ideal of human brotherhood. Happily for America, and indeed for the Christian world, there are everywhere signs of a moral or spiritual awakening on the part of a large element, both in the clergy and the laity. The old perfunctory teachings of creedal and dogmatic theology are recognized as being wholly inadequate to the grave demands of the present. Democracy the world over demands a religion that shall make good in social relations the ethics that underlie Christian theology. The papers in the present series in THE ARENA are luminous contributions to the literature of this social awakening.

### "The Dawn of Constitutional Government in The Orient." By Raimohan Dutt.

THIS is a short paper by an East Indian thinker. After briefly discussing the bloodless revolution in Turkey and pointing out the success of Japan under constitutional government, Mr. DUTT urges the right of India to the enjoyment of representative

government. The author represents the contention of Young India—a contention that has recently grown so insistent as to thoroughly alarm the English government, and which we predict will in less than a decade accord far greater constitutional rights to India than Lord MORLEY even now proposes to give.

“Why Race-Suicide With Advancing Civilization?  
A Reply.”

THOUGH personally we do not agree with the conclusions in the thought-stimulating paper contributed to this issue by Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER, our readers will find in it much that will awaken thought. Personally we do not view life from the materialistic standpoint. We believe life to be an evolution; that the Cosmic Mind finds expression in the constantly advancing stages of existence. The circumstance that life on various stages has given place to a higher order of life in the ascent of the past, and the further circumstance that the materialistic phenomena presented in the vegetable and animal world do not necessarily favor the concept of the persistence of life after the change termed death, and the further fact that nations and civilizations in the past, when dominated by materialistic ideals, have gone down, do not, it seems to us, prove either that the crown and consummation of creation is destined to extinction at the grave, or that national life or civilization is necessarily fronting the tomb. So long as moral idealism is the dominant note in a nation's life or in the life of a civilization, youth, vigor and growth will mark society. It is only when the soul of a nation or a civilization ceases to aspire and retrogrades, loses faith and becomes materialistic, that death strikes its vitals. But to those accepting the materialistic hypothesis, Rabbi SCHINDLER's position is, we think, conclusive.

“Some Modern Educational Readjustments.”

IT AFFORDS US great pleasure to present this month a luminous paper from the pen of one of the most fundamental and brilliant authorities in art and its relation to the world-order and social progress, of our present age. Professor JOHN WARD STIMSON, as many readers of THE ARENA are aware, is the author of that distinctly great volume, *The Gate Beautiful*, in our judgment the most important, philosophically sound and eminently practical work on art that has come from the pen of any American. After graduating from Yale, he spent five years in Paris, pursuing his researches, after which he visited the great art capitals of the world, making a profound study of the philosophy of art. In the present paper he touches all too briefly upon a vital educational movement that though as yet in comparative infancy, is destined, we believe, to become one of the great factors for moral, mental and social emancipation.

“Robert Ingersoll After Nine Years.”

IN THE paper which we present this month on “Robert Ingersoll After Nine Years,” from the scholarly pen of Rev. J. T. SUNDERLAND, A.M., we are able to give our readers what we believe is the fairest and most impartial estimate of Mr. INGERSOLL that has yet been made. Mr. SUNDERLAND is the brilliant author of one of the ablest books that it

has been our fortune to enjoy, dealing with the higher criticism, and entitled *The Origin and Character of the Bible*. He is also the author of *The Spark in the Clod* and other deeply thoughtful works. Though a man of strong religious convictions, his breadth of thought and sympathy with the modern critical or scientific spirit enables him to view the character of Colonel INGERSOLL in a remarkably judicial spirit.

“Jesus, Woman and Divorce.”

WE EARNESTLY urge all readers of THE ARENA to carefully peruse Rev. ROLAND D. SAWYER's deeply suggestive and admirable exposition of the passage in the New Testament upon which the upholders of the present movement to prevent divorce rely for their ammunition. While personally we yield to no one in our reverence for the sanctity of the home and the sacredness of the marriage relation, wherever true marriage obtains, wherever there is the union which alone can constitute true marriage, on the other hand, we personally believe that nothing would be more fatal to morality and the development of the best in the coming generations than the triumph of the reactionaries who are seeking to restrict divorce so that a woman married to a drunkard or to a man whose dissolute life has filled his system with poisons that would be transmitted to the coming generations, should be unable to obtain a divorce. We furthermore believe that wherever the marriage relation obtains after love has given place to hate, the denial of divorce is not only unfortunate for the citizens and the state of to-day, but doubly unfortunate for the oncoming generations, inasmuch as children born under such conditions are almost certain to be the children of hate and discord, destined to curse rather than bless society and themselves.

“Our Over-Developed Sense of Humor.”

IN MRS. TIETJENS' remarkably true and very timely paper on “Our Over-Developed Sense of Humor,” our readers will find one of the most thoughtful brief papers of the present year. The author has placed her finger upon one of the weak and disquieting characteristics of the American people. The tendency to shrink from anything that is unpleasant or deeply serious, or to laugh at sentiments the cultivation of which give to character a richness and worth comparable to the fragrance of the flower, suggests the presence of a serious weakness in our national life, which has been felt and noted by many thoughtful men and women; yet we know of no writer who has so admirably characterized this as has Mrs. TIETJENS in the paper which we publish this month.

“Democracy, The High School and Self-Supporting Students.”

IT AFFORDS US much pleasure to be able to present this month another highly suggestive paper from the always thoughtful pen of Mr. WILLIAM THUM. In this contribution the author, who has a proper sense of the importance of education, on the one hand, and of the needs of fundamental democracy and social progress, on the other, makes some suggestions in regard to the provision of education for poor young men, that are well worth the serious consid-

eration of American youths as well as of all educators who possess the moral enthusiasm and love of their kind which lifts a teacher from the ranks of the mere hireling to those of a prophet of light and leading.

“James Russell Lowell as a Poet of Freedom and Human Rights.”

BELIEVING as we do that there is no kind of literature more important in crucial periods, when the forces of reaction and despotism are subtly advancing in political and social life, than the biographical sketches of the priests and prophets of progress, we this month give a character study of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL as a prophet of freedom. It is hoped that in the splendid thought and moral enthusiasm expressed in the life and words of LOWELL, many of our readers will catch new inspiration and courage for the warfare which the friends of fundamental democracy and social righteousness are waging.

“The Defeat of a Mighty Corporation.”

MR. HENRY FRANK'S brief but timely paper will be read with interest by our army of earnest readers. It deals with one of the most hopeful of the recent popular victories in the courts, and the author also incidentally points out the vital importance of a free press to the preservation of popular rights and free institutions. Mr. FRANK is an old and valued contributor to THE ARENA and is the author of a number of well-known and able volumes, perhaps the

most notable of which are *The Doom of Dogma*, *The Kingdom of Love*, and *The Mastery of Mind*.

“The Central Bank Idea.”

WE DESIRE to call the serious attention of all our readers to ELLIS O. JONES' masterly paper dealing with the central-bank tradition or idea. In this paper the writer gives a number of important historical facts relative to the battle fought by President JACKSON against the dangerous aggressions of the great banking power in his day, about which there is much confusion in the public mind. He also presents the subject of the central bank, which is one of the very important issues before our people in a most luminous and suggestive manner.

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# In Nature's Realm

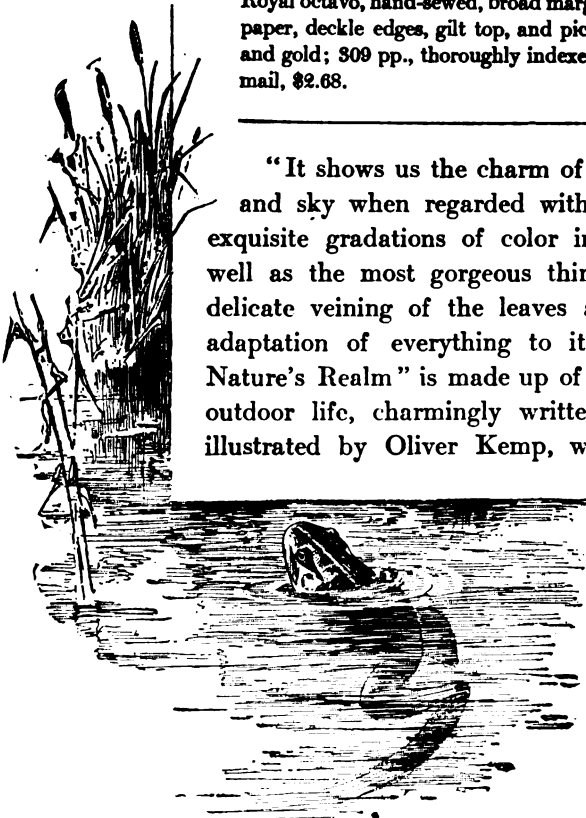
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# LAWSON'S MASTERPIECE

## THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. IV

*The Roosevelt Creed*

By THOMAS W. LAWSON

**F**OR the fourth part of a century The Few had ruled the land and The Many were as slaves, toiling in their sweat, and yielding up their harvests to The Few. They knew the land to be prosperous, prosperous to the limit of God's bounty, and they were told that all this prosperity was theirs. Yet they saw the fruits of this richness possessed by The Few. They were told that they made the laws and administered the laws. Yet they saw that the laws were made and administered for the benefit of The Few. They were told that all were free and all were equal, yet everywhere was the evidence of their bondage. And the people were sorely perplexed. Then God spake and he whom the people had chosen as their ruler was taken from them and in his stead they found another.

Then came the wondrous change. For he whom God had sent struck the scales from their eyes and swept the mist from their understanding, and the people saw themselves and their land in true light. They harkened to him whom God had sent, and as one inspired, he commanded:

**FIRST.** The land shall be ruled by the people and not by The Few, as it has been writ by the fathers of the land.

**SECOND.** The result of the efforts of the people shall be for the people, and not for The Few, who by trickery, and by might bred of trickery, have taken unto themselves the fruits of the people's efforts.

**THIRD.** The people shall make the laws, and they shall administer the laws, and the laws, and the administration of the laws shall be for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of The Few.

**FOURTH.** Justice shall be everywhere, and shall protect the poor and the humble, and shall control the rich and the great.

**FIFTH.** The dominion of Almighty Dollar over the ballot box, the halls of legislation, and the courts of justice, shall be terminated, and its voice shall avail not when the people speak.

**SIXTH.** The instruments which have been created by the laws for the people's benefit shall be the implements of the people, and not the weapons of The Few; what they reap from the prosperity of the people shall belong to the people, and they shall always and everywhere bend to the people's will, in acknowledgment of their servitude to the people's laws.

**SEVENTH.** The transgressor of the laws of the people shall be branded with the scar of his transgression, and the greater the transgression, the deeper shall be the brand.

**EIGHTH.** The dollar kings of the land, at all times, and in all places, and under pain of forfeiture and disgrace, shall stand ready to show honest title to their kingdoms.

**NINTH.** Of all things the most sacred shall be the laws of God and the laws of the people, and they shall be most honored who most cherish and best exemplify these laws.

**TENTH.** In the defense of these commandments death shall be held lightly, and punishment shall be equal and heavy to all who shall disobey them.

# "The Future of Our Country"

For seven years this ruler whom God had sent to the people fought as one inspired, ever and without fear, and for seven years he labored as a God-made giant, that all should obey the commandments.

And as he fought the people were aroused to a sense of their true condition, and to the nobility of their ruler, and to the magnitude of the fight he fought for them, and for their unborn. And they cheered him on, and brought to him their wreaths of laurel, and their prayer for the success of his sacred fight and —

But to every man comes the day and the end, and when that day comes he must say to his God and to his people, "Another must take up the cross and wield the sword."

And when the man whom God had sent to lead the people from their plight saw that his day and his end had come, his eyes swept the land for one who would carry his commandments on into the beyond, and from amongst all the people he chose one, and he said to the people:

"What I have tried to do I know he will try to do," and the people, with faith and without fear, made his choice their choice.

Hark throughout the earth a voice!  
*What he did that will I do, what he tried to do that will I try to do. As he did not falter neither will I falter, and as ye trusted in him and he had faith in me, so, too, may ye trust in me, so help me, Almighty God.*

And time, whirling, swirling, on-rushing time, heard, and ere a sliver of its eternity has passed, its style will have written for all infinity to read:

What Roosevelt began, Taft —

And in the writing will be found the answer to that question of questions of all humanity:

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*(To be continued.)*

(From the March Number.)

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THE PUBLISHER



## WHAT "THE ARENA" STANDS FOR

THE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," THE ARENA demands:

I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.

II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.

III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to their strength.

IV. Voluntary Coöperation.

V. The abolition of child-slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.

VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.

(a) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.

(b) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.

VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.

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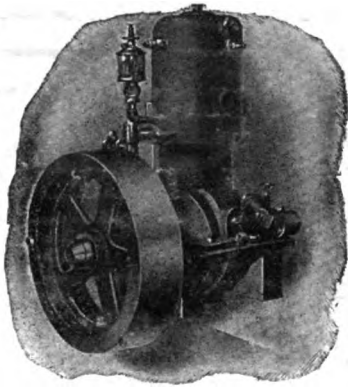
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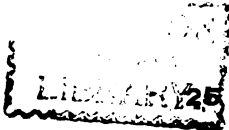
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O. 232

JULY, 1909



25 CENTS

# THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN THE FAR WEST

BY ELSIE WALLACE MOORE.

HOW DENVER SAVED HER JUVENILE COURT

BY WILLIAM MACLEOD RAINE.

ASSUMPTIONS versus FACTS: A Satire

BY CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

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The Making of Public Opinion

By William Kittle



*Psychotherapy means the attempt to help the sick through mental, moral and spiritual methods.—Dr. Richard C. Cabot*

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The subject merits the attention of thoughtful people. It is the most vital topic of the new year.

### Some Opinions of Real Importance

¶ Out of the Scores of Letters we have received we quote from these which are typical

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From PROF. MÜNSTERBERG of *Harvard University*: "I have read the first number of your **Course of Reading in Psychotherapy** with unusual interest, and I congratulate you on your success . . . You have certainly gathered around you the best authorities of the country, and I am especially glad that you gave to the material an attractive form, as it is most desirable that such solid and serious information reaches the wider public. After devoting myself to psychotherapy for twenty years, and after curing many hundreds of patients by psychotherapeutical means, I still feel that we are only in the beginning of real knowledge in that field, and that a co-operation of the best forces is most needed. I welcome thus your efforts heartily."

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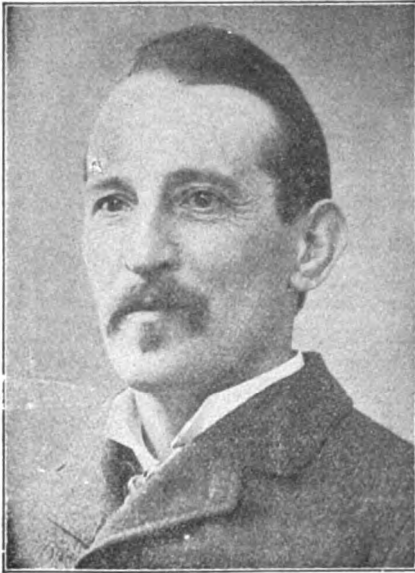
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In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the ægis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

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**I. WHY CHINA SLEEPS. By Lieutenant Layman A. Cotten, U.S.N.**

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**II. DIRECT PRIMARIES versus BOSS RULE. By Isaac M. Brickner.**

Thoughtful and disinterested patriots everywhere are coming to realize the fact that the political boss and the money-controlled machine, supported by special monopoly-seeking interests; are not only inimical to the prosperity and interests of the people, but are absolutely destructive to democratic institutions, while, happily for the Republic, they are also beginning to realize that to meet these new and deadly foes of a popular representative government, certain practical and simple measures have been tried and found as efficient in destroying the power of the corrupt boss and the corrupting influences that sustain him as they are fundamentally sound from the view-point of popular rule. The Initiative, Referendum, Right of Recall and Direct Primaries are measures that are destroying corruption, the power of the boss and the money-controlled machine, and restoring a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" wherever they are honestly introduced. In his illuminating paper Mr. Brickner, a prominent New York attorney, clearly and convincingly points out the importance and feasibility of the Direct Primary. During the course of his argument he not only answers the popular objections advanced by political bosses and privileged interests, but is especially happy in his most convincing reply to President Shuman's arguments against Direct Primaries. This is an article that should be read and widely circulated by earnest-minded patriots.

# "THE ARENA" FOR AUGUST

### III. THE VOICES OF FREEDOM. By Professor Thomas Elmer Will, A.M.

This is an anthological paper giving quotations from the master prophet-poets. At a time like the present, it is of the utmost importance that the mind of the people be kept as much as possible on the utterances and messages of the great apostles of freedom and fraternity,—the men of vision; for their spiritually illuminated words are to the cause of social progress and free institutions what oxygen is to the physical organism.

### IV. A FACTORY WHERE BAD BOYS ARE MADE GOOD. By Saint Nihal Singh. (Illustrated.)

One of the most interesting and helpful papers in the August ARENA will be a magnificently illustrated contribution written expressly for this magazine by the distinguished East Indian Author, Saint Nihal Singh. In it the author describes in a fascinating manner the immensely valuable reformatory work being carried on in one of our important western institutions for the reclamation of the young.

### V. COMPETITION THE SOUL OF TRADE. By William A. Bowen.

This is one of the most masterly magazine articles that has appeared in recent decades. The author considers broadly the individualistic and socialistic theories of government, showing that the irresistible law of development is socialistic, and that all attempts to fight that law are inadequate to meet the evils complained of; that they result in confusion and anarchal conditions and, in his judgment, are prejudicial to society.

### VI. "I CANNOT KEEP SILENT": COUNT TOLSTOI'S GREAT MANIFESTO. Translated expressly for "The Arena" By W. G. Hastings and Felix Newton. With full-page original cartoon by Ryan Walker.

An important feature of the August ARENA will be a verbatim translation of Count Tolstoi's famous manifesto, "I Cannot Keep Silent" one of the most eloquent and notable protests made in the past hundred years. Indeed, the only manifesto of recent decades worthy of a place by its side is the immortal "I Accuse" of Emile Zola, which stirred France to its center, awakening a nation from the deadly inertia into which reaction had thrown her. Count Tolstoi's



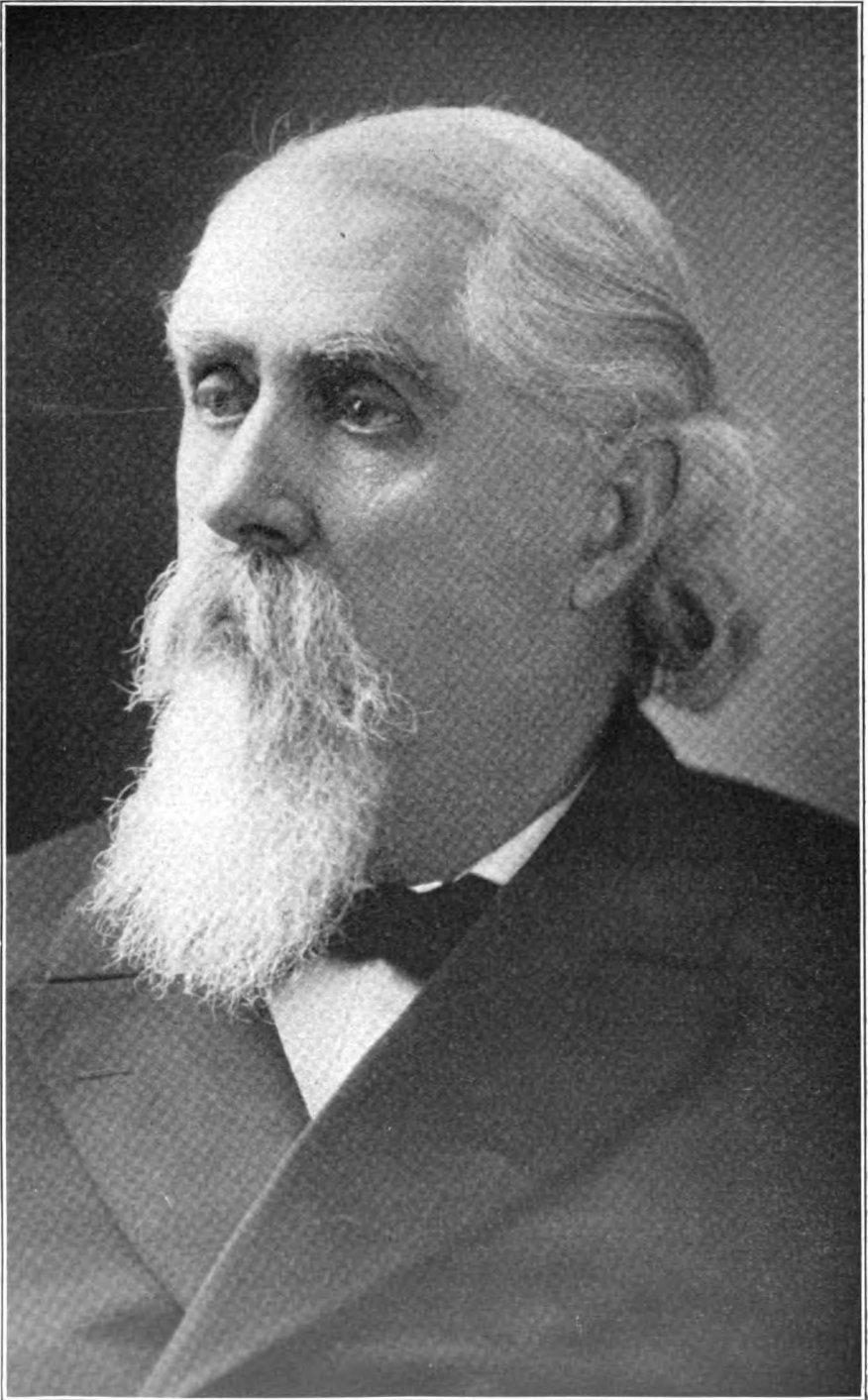
# "THE ARENA" FOR AUGUST

manifesto is, we think, as noble as that of Zola, while it is broader and more fundamental in its spirit. In it Tolstoi arraigns an inhuman and soulless despotism, headed by the autocratic Czar, bulwarked by a cruel, intolerant and reactionary church on the one hand, and a morally insane bureaucracy on the other. It strikes at Church-anity, that world-wide movement which claims to be the embodiment of Christianity while it flouts the teachings of the Founder and proclaims its infidelity at heart by refusing to follow His commandments. This manifesto merits a permanent place in literature. It is one of the protests made from age to age by the greatest apostles of God and prophets of a higher civilization. The recent imprisonment of the publisher of the great and immortal utterances of Tolstoi gives added interest to this manifesto; while for the readers of THE ARENA the interest of the paper is enlivened by a full-page powerful cartoon, drawn expressly for THE ARENA by Ryan Walker, entitled "And This Is Russia!"

## VII. TURGOT: THE STATESMAN WHO MIGHT HAVE AVERTED THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By B. O. Flower.

For many years the Editor of THE ARENA has striven for the maintenance and bulwarking of the fundamental principles of democratic government and for that measure of economic justice necessary to the development of a progressive democracy no less than the happiness and prosperity of all the people; and at the same time he has earnestly striven to achieve this great work by peaceful or evolutionary rather than forcible or revolutionary methods. In his work on *How England Averted a Revolution of Force* Mr. Flower clearly showed how the awakening of the Statesman and governing element in England in 1832 and 1846, by leading to the adoption of a progressive democratic political programme with vital economic concessions, averted a revolution of force. In his paper on Turgot he will show how the great French statesman strove to save, and in all probability would have saved France from the horrors of the Reign of Terror, had the throne and governing classes of France realized as he realized that only a prompt, wise and progressive programme could save the nation from the horrors of civil war. We are approaching a crisis in our nation's history, and Mr. Flower shows the vital importance of patriots awakening to the peril of the present and their uniting to secure the basic principles of free government and that measure of economic justice which is essential to the preservation and development of a democratic republic.





**JUDGE DANIEL W. BOND.**

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

# The Arena

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## HOW DENVER SAVED HER JUVENILE COURT.

BY WILLIAM MACLEOD RAINE.

AT midnight of November 3, 1908, a prominent politician called up on the telephone Judge Ben B. Lindsey of the Juvenile Court.

"It's a miracle—nothing less than a miracle. You're running like wild-fire, Ben. Why, I'd actually believe you were going to be elected if it weren't impossible."

Before morning every politician in town knew that Lindsey had achieved the impossible. With the machines of both parties against him, the substantial business men indifferent and the newspapers unfriendly, in a presidential year, running independently so that every vote for him had to be scratched on a ballot as big as a blanket and passed upon by judges opposed to him, he had beaten the enemy two to one and had demonstrated once more that the bosses rule only so long as the people let them.

Outside of Colorado people had heard incredulously the report that Judge Lindsey was in danger of being ousted from the Court which he has made famous the world over. They could not believe that Denver would be ungrateful or shortsighted enough to let the great work

of her most distinguished citizen be snuffed out because he is *persona non grata* to the corporations. But those of us on the ground knew that the political parties of Denver are privately owned, for which reason we feared the worst. We knew, too, that there has been conducted for several years a systematic campaign of vilification to discredit the Judge at home and abroad, and it was not easy to forecast the effect of this. Lindsey was to be suppressed utterly and the news to be flashed over the wires that his own town had repudiated him once for all. Those were the orders that came down to the ward heelers, and it is safe to say that not one man in a hundred doubted that they would be carried out or anticipated that after the election all Denver would be turned into a big Lindsey ratification meeting. The story of how this happened is one to give heart to all working for civic righteousness.

It may as well be conceded first as last that Judge Lindsey brought upon himself the bitter fight that has been waging against him for several years. If it had not been for his habit

of going to the bottom of things there would have been no opposition to face. Nor can he deny that he has been advised and warned a thousand times what would happen if he did not mend his ways. Early in his work the search for causes took him back to the gamblers, the dive-keepers, the saloons. These were largely the responsible factors for the delinquencies of children and the neglect of them by parents. But when the Judge set to work to pass laws for the protection of his children and to enforce those already existing he came up against the impregnable fact at the bottom of all municipal misrule.

The vicious elements were protected in their lawbreaking by large business interests which needed their political support in the game of "special privilege" they were playing at the people's expense. Again and again the Judge pushed prosecutions home only to find that he could not effectively attack vice without reckoning with the public utility corporations. These were in politics for business reasons only, to escape just taxation, to obtain peculiar immunities and benefits, to rob the people of valuable franchises for next to nothing. Success in these undertakings could be gained only through control of the political machines, which in turn necessitated an alliance offensive and defensive with those sinister elements below the city's deadline that prey upon the weaker portion of the public. Here the will of the people could be nullified and elections won by flagrant frauds. Resulted the usual "deal", by which each party to the transaction got what it wanted. At one end of the social ladder the dive-keepers and the owners of wineroms looted the city of their thousands; at the other end the substantial citizens in charge of the utility corporations sandbagged it for millions. An incident of the transaction was that the latter gentlemen financed both political parties in consideration of an implied quit claim deed of ownership.

This, accepted of common report by

all men, Judge Lindsey worked back to step by step in his experience. The logic of the facts brought him to the parting of the ways. He must either concern himself only with the *effects* of these evils and give himself to saving the individual boy and girl, or he must go back to *causes* and lay the responsibility for their ruin upon the men at the head of the big interests whose unwritten contract with vice restrained officials from doing their duty.

Ben Lindsey did not hesitate. Being absolutely fearless, he made the only choice possible to a man of his quality. In a speech delivered at the Broadway Christian Church in December, 1905, he called E. B. Field, President of the Colorado Telephone Company, W. G. Evans, President of the Denver City Tramway Company, Messrs. Doherty and Frueauff of the Gas & Electric Company, and certain officials of the Denver Union Water Company, to the bar of public opinion and stated that while he made no excuses for the dive keepers and the gamblers who were breaking the law, yet judging by relative responsibility these big business men were worse criminals than they.

These gentlemen from whom he had lifted the mantle of respectability did not get out the big stick at once. They remembered the parable of the sun and the wind and invited the Judge into the sunshine of their favor. Prior to this time E. B. Field had apparently not been aware that there was a Juvenile Court on earth, but now he woke up and took notice. Within a week he asked Lindsey to dine with him at his club and showed a great interest in the work.

"I'll see Will Evans and have him make the county commissioners stop harrassing you," he volunteered after a long talk.

A few days later he sent the Judge his check for \$250, to forward the cause.

From a politician's standpoint this ought of course to have padlocked the Judge of the Juvenile Court. But Lind-

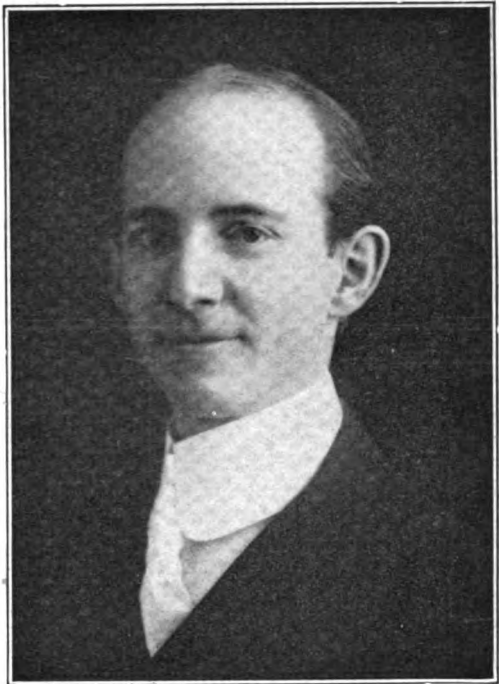
sey is not a politician. He was at that time even innocent enough to hope that Mr. Field, now having his eyes opened to the evils of his system, would cooperate to remedy it.

He soon learned better, and at a conference in Colorado Springs called in May, 1908, to discuss certain social and political evils, such as gambling, divorce, desertion, and intemperance, he again said in effect the same things. Mr. Field heard of it shortly by way of an indignant letter from a stockholder in his company, in which the writer said that if these things were true he was a crook and not to be trusted with the stockholders' money. For some weeks Mr. Field was kept very busy with explanations. He was forced to go to Colorado Springs several times to hold meetings to placate insistent shareholders. When he was at leisure he did not invite Judge Lindsey to dinner again but went after his scalp. His opportunity lay in the fact that the "kid's judge" was to come up for reelection in the fall.

Nor was Field alone among the Denver utility corporation managers in his determination to retire Lindsey to private life. J. L. Doherty, who is at the head of the big gas trust which supplies light to a dozen of the larger Western cities, had even better reasons to dislike the little judge. For in his capacity of judge of the County Court, sitting upon certain election fraud cases, Lindsey had done what no other judge had ever done. He had sent a trust magnate to the common jail for contempt of court because he refused to be sworn. And Mr. Doherty stayed behind the bars four days until the ubiquitous Supreme Court came to his assistance and released him.

"That little watch charm sat up there and sent Doherty to jail. If I was to let him be renominated I'd lose my job," the local manager of the gas company told his friends when he was electioneering against the juvenile judge.

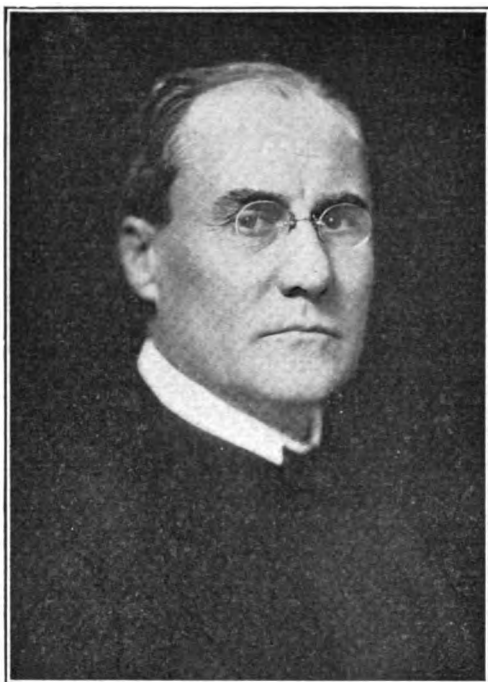
Simon Guggenheim, head of the smelter



HARRY G. FISHER.

trust, had foreclosed, two years ago, his mortgage on the Republican state machinery, just before the recent campaign ousted William G. Evans from possession. For some years Mr. Evans, representing all the public utility companies, had owned both parties in the county and the Republican party throughout the state. By betraying one to the other in the interest of Speer's mayoralty campaign last spring his hold on the Republican organization had been so weakened that Guggenheim and his moneybags were enabled to wrest control from him.

Now Guggenheim too had his little grudge at the founder of the Juvenile Court. There had been a time when he made contributions to the charities connected with the Court, but these ceased when Judge Lindsey, who does not know or care on which side his bread is buttered, publicly traced the connection between a delinquent child whose father had been poisoned by the fumes and gases of the smelter to



GOVERNOR HENRY A. BUCHEL.

the head of the trust for which this man had sacrificed his life, and urged the need of an employers' compensatory law such as Bismarck passed in Germany. It was shortly after this that a friend of Guggenheim called on the Judge and said:

"I was with Simon last night. We were discussing you, and Simon says the trouble with you is that you talk too much. If you will keep your mouth shut and just stay in the Court and hear cases, you can have the Court as long as you want it."

Lindsey replied that as between telling the truth and staying in the Court he would choose to tell the truth. And this was the reason that when the friends of the Judge asked the Republican party to renominate him Simon said, "thumbs down!"

In politics Ben Lindsey is a Democrat, but four years ago when he came up for a renomination the machine turned him down. He had exposed grafting

in the party, and Tom Phillips, the chairman of the executive committee, was one of the men he had convicted. Outraged public opinion secured his nomination by the Republican party in corporation convention assembled. Some young independent Republicans, active among whom were E. P. Costigan, Willis V. Elliott, J. C. Starkweather and W. W. Garwood, forced the nomination through in spite of the machine. To save itself from defeat the Democrats had to endorse the nomination, so that the Judge was elected almost unanimously.

This time the Juvenile Court judge had not a chance before either convention. To a committee of women who visited Mayor Speer the latter said he could do nothing for Lindsey even if he wanted to. He did not mention the name of W. G. Evans. It was not necessary. Exactly the same conditions obtained in the other party. E. E. McLaughlin of the Anti-Saloon League, and John Vivian, the Republican state chairman, went before the executive committee and asked to have Ben Lindsey's name put on the ticket. Some of the committee were for him. Others saw the political expediency of the move. His nomination was promised—and immediately vetoed from above. Seeing how strong the sentiment of the women ran for Lindsey, Justice Goddard, a nominee for reelection to the Supreme Court who was personally not friendly to the Juvenile Judge, and former governor Jesse McDonald, who was later chosen to head the ticket again for the governorship, went before the committee in behalf of the Judge's candidacy and brought back this report:

"If every one of the committee were for Lindsey they could not nominate him."

Again no need to be more explicit. The shadows of Field and Doherty and Guggenheim were over the committee room. Politics like war is a game of the long purse and these gentlemen in the back-ground controlled the situation.

But though it was not necessary to be more explicit Mr. Field chose to be so. He told several persons, among whom was Gilson Gardner, a well-known newspaper correspondent, that his opposition had been effective with both parties to keep Lindsey off the tickets. He added incidentally some illuminating matter on the subject of corporations in politics.

"Our company is in politics by virtue of necessity. It contributes to political parties for political purposes because this is the modern system. We needed men in office who would be our friends against unfair attacks. Our concern has always been above reproach. But we do have friends. We have them in both parties. They come to me and ask advice. They come and ask me to help them lay their plans. They come regardless of their parties, and they hold meetings in my offices. I am not a boss. I have carefully avoided being anything like that. But I can't help it if they come to me and ask advice."

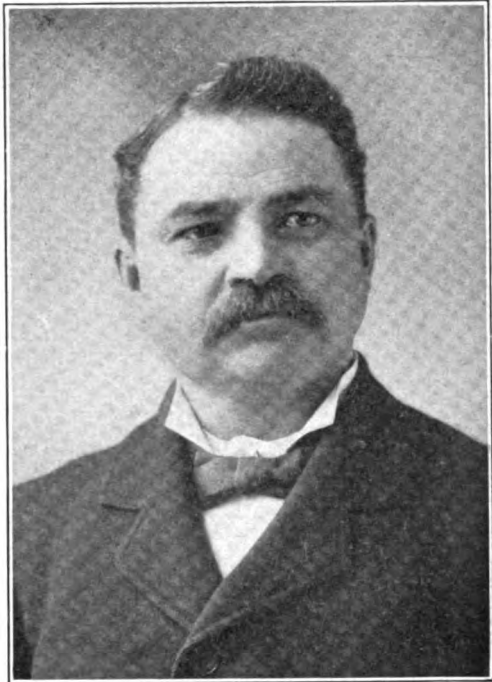
So Mr. Field, who is not a boss, gives gives advice—and contributions—to both parties.

And the Just Judge, having offered himself to the vengeance of those who are not bosses but who give advice—and contributions—was doomed to political extinction.

To many of Lindsey's friends the situation looked hopeless. His unsuccessful race for governor two years before, which had been made to put an issue before the people and with no hope of election, handicapped him now. The reform element, which had always been friendly to him, had no heart for another losing fight. He had no money, no organization, no substantial backing.

Moreover, it could not be denied that he had lost prestige with many good people on account of the bureau of vilification which the enemy had maintained with Governor Henry A. Buchtel as press agent in chief.

There is a curious parallel and contrast between the careers of Lindsey



ALBERT S. FROST,  
Chairman Campaign Committee.

and Buchtel. The latter is and has been for some time Chancellor of Denver University, which institution the Evans family and their friends have always liberally supported. Just as Lindsey has given all his power to building up the Juvenile Court system, so Buchtel has spent his for the growing University. Both have been wonderfully successful. To Buchtel also came the dividing ways, and the issue presented itself in very much the same form as to the Judge. He had to choose whether or not he would be amenable to these same corporate influences. The Governor is a Methodist minister and was then high in the confidence of the Church. He had to make choice of God or Mammon, and it is characteristic of the man that he tried to do both and is still trying it. The authority of the University began to lean corporationward. One instance will serve. A few years ago when the municipal ownership sentiment was running high in Denver Professor Frank H.





E. V. BRAKE,  
Chairman Executive Committee.

H. Roberts of the University was sent to Europe to study that question. It has been charged repeatedly, and I think never denied, that his expenses were borne by W. G. Evans and the people he represents in return for a report adverse to municipal ownership. Since being elected governor as Evans' tool Buchtel has faithfully served his master against the people. In nearly every distinctly moral issue presented to him he has equivocated and signally failed. As Lindsey set his face toward the truth, Buchtel to the contrary weakly followed the corporations and is to-day a discredited leader. The bitterness of his attacks on Lindsey are merely evidence of how far the man has fallen.

A few of Judge Lindsey's friends held firm to the opinion that it was his duty to run independently regardless of his chance to win.

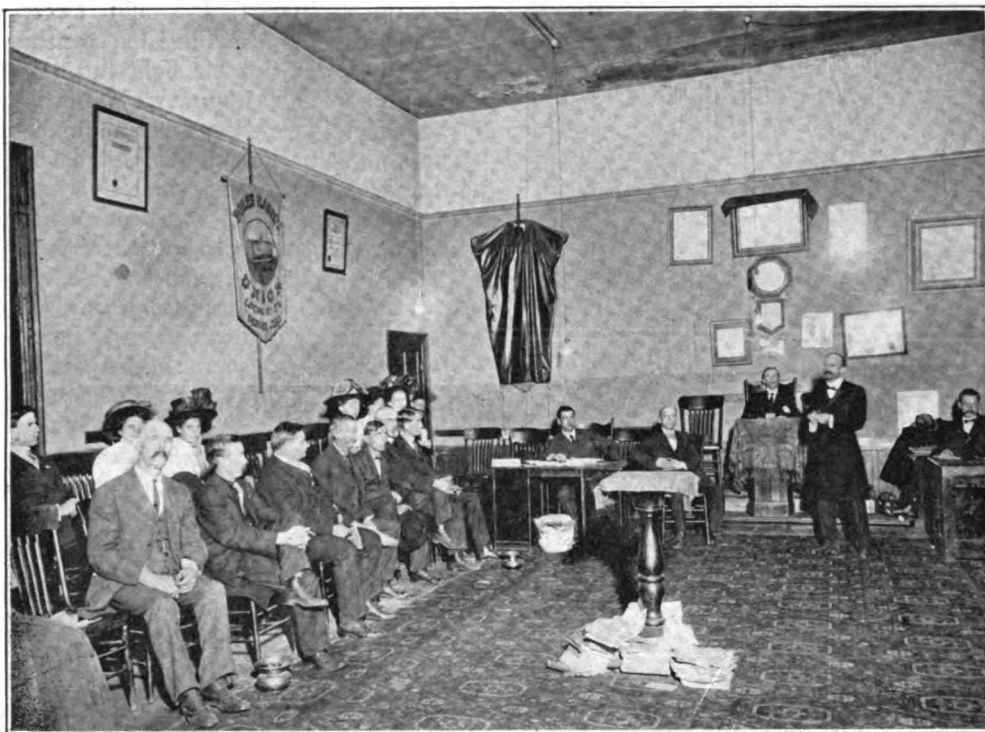
"Put it up to the people and make it their fight," urged B. F. Gurley, editor of the Denver Express.

In this concurred heartily Harry G. Fisher, President of the Christian Citizenship Union, Judge A. S. Frost, and E. E. McLaughlin, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League. The chief drawback was the lack of funds, for though Judge Lindsey has earned considerable money in the past eight years he has given over \$20,000 to charities and now had none to spare.

In the nick of time occurred one of those incidents that readers reject with incredulity when they take place in fiction. A party whom Judge Lindsey had never before seen or heard of called at his chambers and said: "I understand that you need five thousand dollars to finance your campaign. I have lately set aside that sum for philanthropy and have decided to spend it in backing a man with a cause." The only condition made was that under no circumstances should the Judge reveal the identity of the donor. Judge Lindsey pointed out that even with the gift of this money, the chances would be one



E. E. McLAUGHLIN.



JUDGE LINDSEY ADDRESSING A LABOR ASSEMBLY IN THE MINOR HALL AT THEIR REGULAR MONTHLY SESSION.

hundred to one against his success; that all practical politicians considered his hope a forlorn one. The patriotic philanthropist, however, took the high philosophical ground that whether the battle was won or not, the money thus spent would be well spent, because of the appeal that would be made to the higher and nobler side of civic life. Under these conditions, Judge Lindsey took the check in the spirit in which it was offered.

Headquarters were at once engaged and E. V. Brake, a practical politician, put in charge to cooperate with Judge Frost. It was now less than two weeks before election, so that no time was to be lost. Brake employed scores of canvassers, mostly women, Denver University students, and Denver & Rio Grande strikers, and made a systematic canvass of the town's sentiment. This resulted in 15,000 signed pledges to

vote for the Judge and a goodly number to work for his election. Meanwhile two other movements were on foot that were destined to play a large part in the result: one of these secured the support of organized labor, the other of the churches.

It was a happy inspiration that led one of the campaign managers to take down the telephone and call up L. M. French, President of the Trades and Labor Assembly. The labor leader became interested in the campaign and his influence opened to the Judge the doors of the different Unions meeting in secret conclave. Every night the two men went out and spoke to the plumbers, the bricklayers, the teamsters, the plasterers, the carpenters or some other Union. One morning nearly every barber in the city was "boosting" the candidacy of "Little Ben" as he scraped the face of his customers. The Judge



ROGER TAGGART.

had spoken to them the night before. It is estimated that during the ten days of the actual fight he addressed more than five thousand persons connected with organized labor and that of these his plain statement of the real issue won 95 per cent. From these the enthusiasm seeped down to unorganized labor. Women over their washtubs and Greek laborers on the street were talking for Lindsey long before the politicians found it out. The Catholic influence was almost solid for the Judge, thanks largely to brave Father O'Ryan, who came out flat-footed from the pulpit for him. A thousand Russian Jews crowded into a suffocating hall, some of them long-bearded patriarchs in Israel, and others babies in arms, waited patiently till 11 P. M. to hear their friend of the Juvenile Court and after he had talked to them there was an overflow meeting outside nearly as large.

The whole aim of the campaign was to go right to the people, for the only hope of the election lay in a tide of

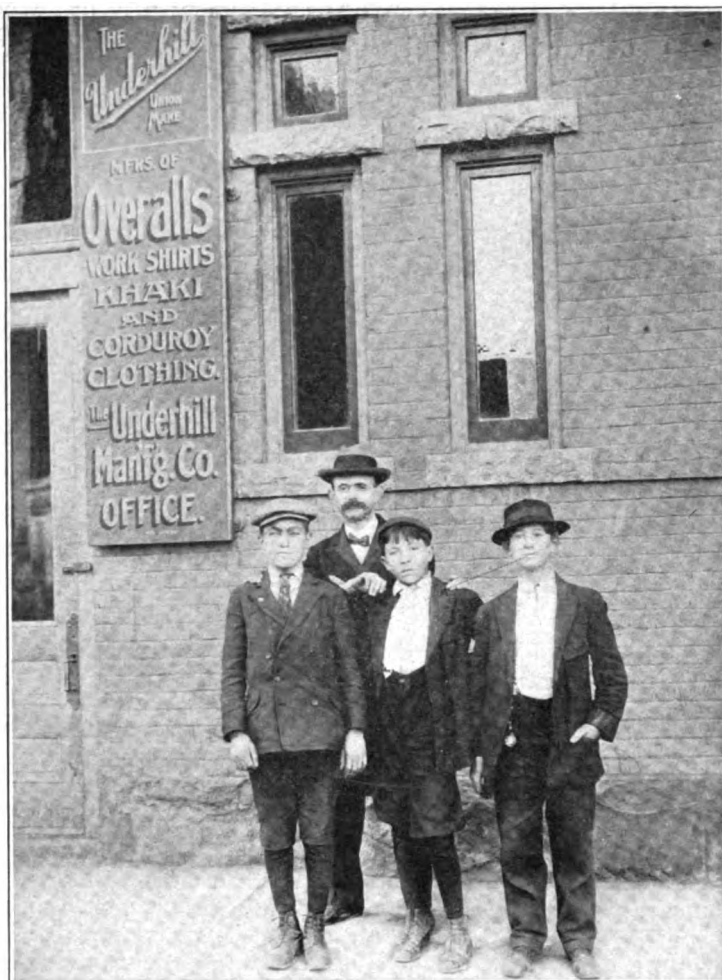
banked-up feeling that would sweep politics aside. Lindsey insisted continually that it was not his fight but that it was one of the innumerable battles of the people for free government.

The voices in the pulpits of most of the larger churches in the city were silent, for in some of the best paying pews sat vested interests, but there were honorable exceptions such as A. H. Fish, who went out speaking for the Judge night after night, Father O'Ryan, Bayley, Craig, Reisner, Fouse, Fish, Peery and Craft; and Harry Fisher and his stalwarts of the Christian Citizenship Union saw that the message reached the pews in the shape of pamphlets which told the story of Lindsey's work. Down in the pews where the plain people sat there was no fear of corporate wrath and on November 3 the Churches went out an almost solid phalanx for the Juvenile Judge.

Meanwhile the politicians laughed. They would neither believe their eyes nor ears. It was absurd to suppose that Lindsey could poll any considerable vote. The big papers of the city sneered or were silent. Only the little Express, with Gurley at its head, pounded the issue home day after day. It was instructive to watch the poolroom odds shift during that whirlwind ten days' campaign. The independent candidacy of the Judge was ignored at first. The betting was even money later that he would not poll 3,000 votes, and from 3,000 it went to 4,000, to 6,000, to 10,000 as the momentum of the movement gained impetus. The night before the election the betting was on whether he would win, but always with the odds strongly against him.

The most unique feature of the campaign was the part taken by the boys. Half a dozen of them, nearly all newsboys or ex-newsboys, took the stump for their friend "de judge". They spoke in parlor meetings, at Churches, before labor organizations, wherever they could get a hearing. One prominent stump

speaker was Roger Taggart, aetat 13. Four little Jewish boys, Isadore Weinstein, fifteen, Maurice Waxman and Abe Zinn, fourteen, and Eli Garson, thirteen, were especially active. Most of these are former delinquents (Roger Taggart is not,) and little Eli, now in the first year of the High School, has graduated from a period at the State Industrial or Reform School at Golden. Read an extract of the speech I heard him deliver eloquently before the Garment Workers during a noon luncheon hour. "Four years ago I had to report to the Juvenile Court. The custom is once in two weeks, but with me it was twice a week. And the Judge finally said, using the street language, 'You're the toughest kid I have got, Eli. I have given you thirteen chances and now I'm going to send you to Golden.' I put up a Jewish yell and bawled around for about half an hour, but he finally convinced me what was right and sent me to the detention home for the night. Next day I went to Golden, but I did not go like the kids used to—handcuffed and shackled with the sheriff beside them, but I went on my word of honor alone and gave myself up to the officials. And now, as you see, I am out. I don't claim to be excellent, but I hope the Judge has made me a little better than



JUDGE LINDSEY AND THREE OF HIS BOY WORKERS  
Eli Gorson, Abe Zinn, and Isadore Weinstein.

when I went in, and I know that on November 3 all the people who are friends of the children of Denver will scratch for Judge Lindsey, and if you don't know how to scratch just think of that little picture on naphtha soap, or some other kind of soap mebbe; it shows the picture of a chicken and says, 'I have never scratched before'. You say the same but add: 'I am going to scratch this time for Judge Lindsey, and I am sure all the people of Denver who sympathize with their children and others will do this little act of scratching Nov. 3.'



LITTLE ELI GORSON TALKING TO THE GARMENT WORKERS AT THE UNDERHILL FACTORY. DURING THE NOON HOUR.

In the background are Judge Lindsey, Rev. A. H. Fish, and President French of the Trades' Assembly.

Not a very effective political speech, you say. Not in cold type perhaps, but if you had heard it fall from the lips of the little boy the Judge saved, the boy he had punished and who was his friend his eyes bright with enthusiasm as he poured his heart out to his hearers, you might pass a different verdict upon it. And when another man of to-morrow, with his feet but lately set in the right way, would get up and recite James Barton Adams' tribute to Lindsey one could hear the rafters ring with applause.

"I ust to be tough as dey make 'em  
Was Jack-on-de-Spot in de Swipe,  
But now I'm as straight as de post of a gate,  
An' dat ain't no smoke from de pipe!  
I'm toeing de mark wid de good 'uns,  
An' you bet my feet never'll budge,  
An' every ol' day, t'ings is comin' my way  
Because I stan' in wit de judge."

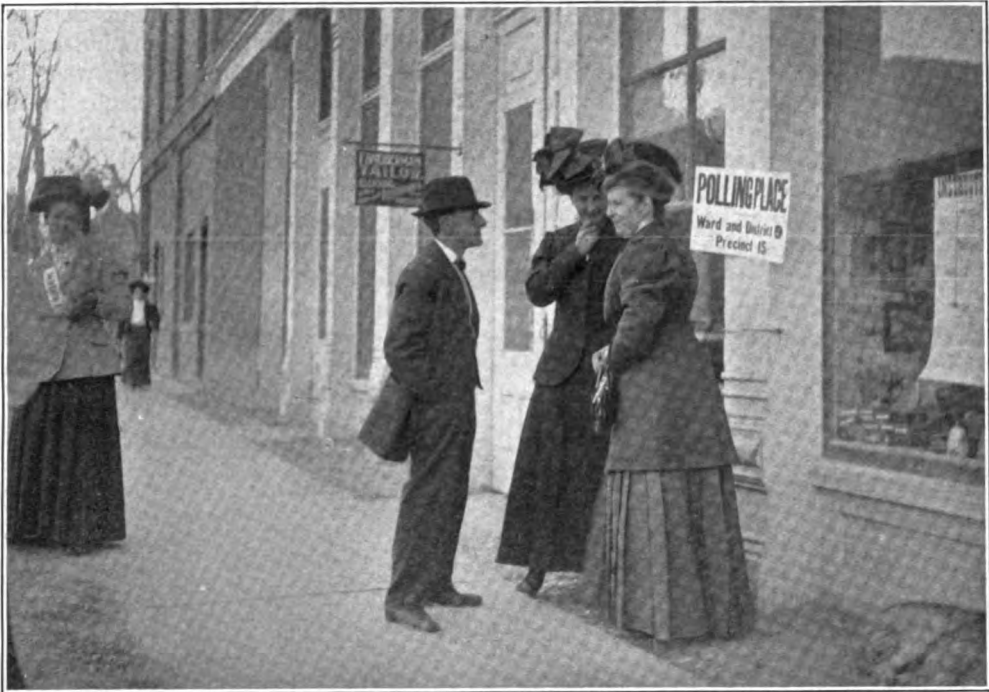
From first to last the Judge's "kids" were very much in evidence during the

campaign. When the other candidates for the place rose to speak they would start shouts of "Lindsey! What's de matter with Lindsey? He's all right all right." They hung on the automobiles of political speakers and shouted themselves hoarse for their favorite.

"What's the matter with you? You haven't got any vote," cried one angry ward boss to one troublesome urchin.

"I ain't, ain't I? What about me dad and me mother and me sister and her man and his sister and *her* man? I got six votes, Mister."

One incident of the battle serves to illustrate the strength of his boys' feeling for their judge. The lad in charge of the distribution of one of the big papers was offered \$100 to organize a marching club of the newsboys against Lindsey. That hundred dollar bill must have looked to him as great as a million would



PRESIDENT FROST OF THE TRADES ASSEMBLY CONSULTING WITH LINDSEY WORKERS ON ELECTION DAY.

to one in other circumstances, but he turned the offer down disdainfully.

"Nothin' doin'! T'row down de Judge. Nit!"

Three days before the election former Senator Patterson's papers the News and the Times swung into line for Lindsey. It was now apparent that the sentiment of the city was strongly for him and that he would be defeated only by the difficulty of scratching the cumbersome ballot. The opposition was now thoroughly awake. It made a change of front and announced that Lindsey was too big for the city and belonged to the nation. Since the Juvenile work had taken on a national significance he must be allowed to go out and take charge of it. Especially it emphasized the danger of losing the whole ballot by trying to scratch for Lindsey.

The Lindsey workers did not allow anybody to forget to scratch. Over the hot cakes the little fellows wanted

to know of their fathers on election morning.

"You're solid for the Judge, ain't you, dad?"

Scores of them "played hookey" so as to work more effectively. When I went to vote one 12-year-old, wearing a piece of paper with the word "Lindsey" inked on it in lieu of a badge, bawled at me: "Don't forgit to vote for the Judge, Mister."

Volunteer women were there to remind voters to "Scratch for Lindsey", which had become the slogan of the day. There were some club women at the polls looking out for his interests, but most of those in evidence looked like working women. It was the Maggie Flahertys and the Mamie O'Connors that stood the staunchest for the Judge. At some of the polling places the Lindsey workers were discriminated against, but the strong public sentiment in his favor made for justice. A good many of the machine

workers were at heart friendly to his candidacy.

The results showed that Lindsey polled about 33,000 votes, about a thousand less than both the machine candidates. In addition to which he lost several thousand on account of imperfect marking. In the Italian district foreigners presented slips bearing the words:

"I want to vote for Judge Lindsey for Judge of the Juvenile Court."

These were assisted to vote by the judges of election. They were more fortunate than a Russian Jew who thought he was complying with the law when he filled in the blank at the head of his ticket so as to read:

"I want to vote a straight Solomon Levinitsky ticket for Judge Lindsey."

One peculiarity of the vote was that it ran approximately the same in the Jewish, the Italian, and the other foreign precincts as it did on Capitol Hill and the better residence sections. Out of sixteen wards Judge Lindsey lost only three, and these by small pluralities. All of these wards are the ones controlled by corruption forces.

So Denver saved her Juvenile Court from the hand of the spoilers and vindicated herself to the country at large.

WILLIAM MACLEOD RAINE'

*Denver, Colorado.*

## THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN THE FAR WEST.

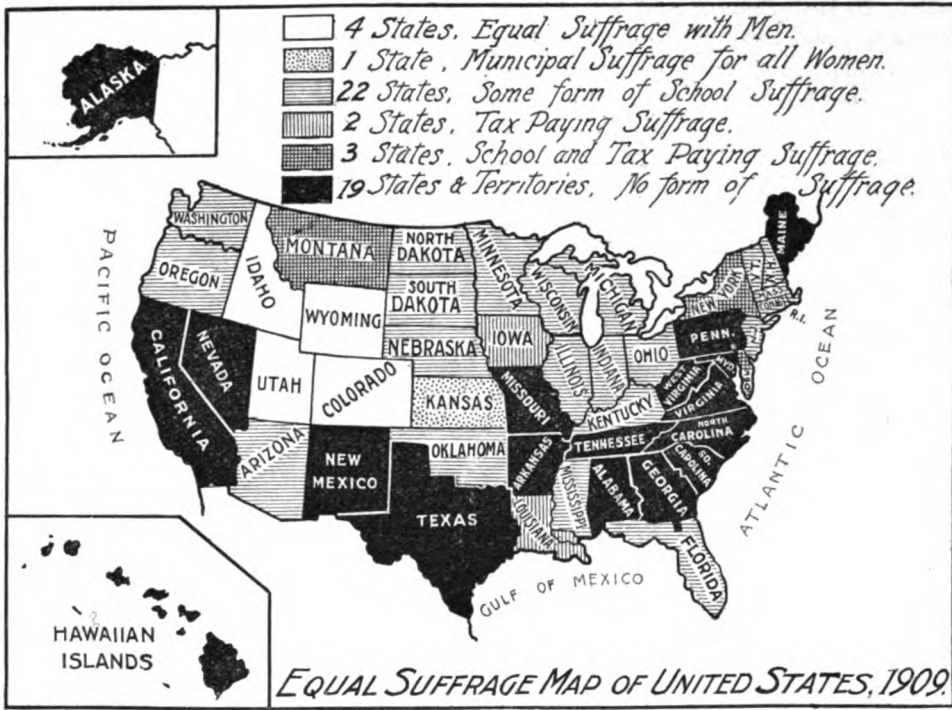
BY ELSIE WALLACE MOORE.

SO MUCH has been said during the past few years about woman's enfranchisement, that one is hardly able to offer additional arguments either pro or con. The numerous essays which have appeared in popular magazines and periodicals, have generally dealt with the subject from the theoretical or abstract standpoint. The movement, however, has now reached a stage when we may deal with conditions and set aside theories, and it is the purpose of this article to present facts about one great section of our country, known as the Pacific Coast States, most progressive among which is Oregon.

At the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association held in Convention hall in the city of Portland last November, an interesting resolution was passed which included the following facts compiled from historic records of all countries by Alice Stone Blackwell:

"Seventy years ago women could not

vote anywhere except to a very limited extent in Sweden and a few other places in the Old World. In 1838 Kentucky gave suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850 Ontario gave it to all women. In 1861 Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867 New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869 England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. In that same year Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women. In 1871 West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota; in 1873 by Colorado; in 1877 by New Zealand; in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon; in 1879 by Massachusetts; in 1880 by New York and Vermont. In 1880 South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. In 1881 municipal suffrage was extended to single women and widows in Scotland. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883. Muni-



pal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886; in 1887 municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey.

“In 1887 Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to tax-paying citizens. In 1888 England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889 county suffrage was given women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois. In 1893 school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894 school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa and parish and district suffrage in England, to women, both married and single. In 1885 full suffrage was granted in South Australia to all women. In

1896 full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho. In 1898 Ireland’s women were given rights to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the Tribunal of Commerce, and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to taxpayers. In 1900 Wisconsin gave women school suffrage, and West Australia granted full suffrage to all women in 1900. In 1901 New York gave tax-paying women in all towns and villages of the state, the right to vote on questions of local taxation; Norway gave them municipal suffrage. In 1902 full national suffrage was granted to all women of Federated Australia, and state suffrage to the women of South Wales. In 1903 bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas, and Tasmania gave women full suffrage. In 1905 Queensland gave women full suf-



frage. In 1906 Finland gave full suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices, from members of Parliament down. In 1907 Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage; Sweden made women eligible to municipal office; Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England with only fifteen dissenting votes out of the 676 members the House of Commons made women eligible mayors, aldermen and county and town councilors."

Nineteen hundred and eight witnessed further steps when Denmark gave women the right to vote for all officers except members of Parliament, when Michigan adopted a new constitution containing a clause granting suffrage to all tax-paying women; and when Chicago conceded the insertion of a municipal-suffrage clause in the proposed new city charter.

The significance of these data is evident to even the most cursory reader, and their relation to the conditions on the Pacific coast is two-fold. First, it will be noted that most of the countries and states in which women possess full suffrage have had to face commercial, industrial, educational and political problems similar to those on the Pacific coast, and therefore may fittingly serve as examples in the *modus operandi*, and then these facts stand as testimony to the incredulous world, that more far-sighted men than many of the male voters of the United States have so far proven themselves to be, have seen the practical expediency of a woman's ballot.

#### OREGON.

In 1906 in Oregon, out of a total vote cast of 96,715 (to which Portland contributed 7.11 per cent. of the total), the suffrage amendment was voted yeas, 36,580; nays, 46,785; the remaining votes did not designate either way. At the last election in June, 1908, when the votes cast numbered 111,029, the suffrage amendment was

voted yeas 36,858, nays 58,670. Immediately after this second defeat, initiative petitions leading to a new amendment were started, this time with all due respect to the New England conservatism of many of the voters of the state. The women of Oregon are now asking for a constitutional amendment, "providing that no citizen who is a taxpayer shall be denied the elective franchise on account of sex." And whether it is because Oregon's men prefer loosening their autocratic grip gradually, or for some other reason, this last initiative petition has met with such strong approval, that the men of the state assisting the women, procured 10,000 certified signatures in five weeks, while it has previously required as many months to obtain the same number, when the petition was for full suffrage. Perhaps this is due to certain sociological facts which differentiate Oregon from other Western states, namely, that out of its 180,551 women, of which 177,099 are white, 15.6 per cent. of them only are breadwinners, and only 26,650 are working in the city of Portland, the one big city in the state. It is interesting to note that most of these city workers are domestic servants, dressmakers and saleswomen, there being fewer than 600 stenographers and typewriters, and fewer than 300 book-keepers. There are no great number of mill or factory hands, about 500 in all. These statistics are from the 1900 census, and I am authoritatively informed that in spite of the great increase in population in Oregon since 1900, the proportion of women breadwinners has remained comparatively unchanged. This leaves a great many women of leisure in Oregon, which fall into three groups so far as the suffrage question is concerned: Those who have never thought about the matter, nor about anything else of great importance so far as that is concerned; those who actively oppose it, and about 40,000 who are heartily in favor of it and are working for it. Those who oppose it have their nucleus in Portland proper, under the

name of "Anti-Suffrage Society" which, daringly enough, claims to its honor the defeat of the bill at the polls in June, 1908. Whether this is so or not, it is revolting to think that *Western* women could not exercise more ingenuity than to copy the methods of some of New York's smart set, who, backed by one of the most destructive corporate interests which is threatening our country to-day, were roused from indifference to opposition for selfish, ulterior reasons. These anti-suffragists have nothing to their credit, not even a political sense, those of Portland simply making one more display of their stupidity by claiming that they caused the defeat of the June bill, when everybody knows that it was lost in two down-town wards of the city proper by the clever cajoling of city bosses backed by a few capitalists who had interests of one sort or another in the tenderloin districts.

The pending constitutional amendment, if not made unnecessary by legislative enactment in 1909 will be voted upon in 1910. A taxpayer's suffrage naturally appeals to many of the leisure class, and it is the additional support which will come from this quarter which already practically assures the success of the pending bill. And once having passed, it will not only mean a taxpayer's suffrage, it will also mean 15,000 women voters favoring full suffrage. And with this addition and such persistent workers as Mrs. Henry Waldo Coe, Sarah A. Evans, Cathrine A. Coburn, Eva Emory Dye and others, but above all Abigail Scott Duniway, who for forty years has given her brains and strength unselfishly and unrequitedly to the cause, and who has materially helped to bring about many of the existing laws protecting and raising the standard of womanhood, we may look for a complete victory in the immediate future.

These 40,000 suffragists of Oregon represent all that is most mature and worth while in the way of character and brains. No other Pacific coast state can claim in its suffrage ranks as many conservative

women. Oregon to-day is politically one of the cleanest, if not the cleanest, state in the Union, and has a right to be proud of its legislature; it will have a right to be prouder still when its women are freed.

## WASHINGTON.

Second in importance of the Pacific coast states is Washington, which has the most thorough state organization of any Western state, brought about under the able leadership of Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe and others assisting her. One thing in particular is to the credit of Washington: the splendid coöperation of its college women with the state workers, the former under the guidance of Miss Adella Parker. In addition to the almost unanimous support of the college women of the state, the suffrage workers are able to look to the working women for encouragement. It is not surprising to learn that most of the 5,000 domestic servants in the state are numbered among these. They are principally intelligent and independent Swedes and Danes who have enjoyed considerable political freedom in their home countries. Everywhere labor-women's clubs are in evidence side by side with the many labor-men's organizations, for Washington next to Montana is his greatest stronghold. These laboring women include the workers in the textile mills on the Puget sound and other factory hands about Seattle. Washington, which once used to number more women farmers and housekeepers than it did office-workers and saleswomen, has reversed things. Now the greatest number of women workers seem to be teachers, book-keepers and stenographers. This industrialization of an agricultural state brings with it an advantage for the woman's suffrage cause, inasmuch as factory and mill hands and those engaged in other higher forms of labor desire suffrage because they know that only by and through the ballot can they procure fair reward for their work. And almost all laboring men are anxious to assist them, for they feel that a labor woman



MRS. EMMA SMITH DEVOE,  
President Washington State Suffrage Association.

without a vote is a millstone about their necks.

Besides the support and assistance from the college women and laboring classes, Washington's suffragists have one other thing in their favor: the fact that in 1883 women were granted suffrage by the territorial legislature of Washington and disfranchised in 1887 by an illegal decision made by unscrupulous judges at the instigation of boss politicians. Add to this the financial support warranted the state organization by its vice-president, Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton, of Spokane, who, having once been a citizen of Idaho, greatly resents a curtailment of her liberties, and we see in Washington every reason to hope for triumph. If the suffragists have not before tried to get a bill through the state legislature, the reader may rest assured that it is because they foresaw the utter uselessness of going against a wall of corrupt ward-bosses and round-house politicians, and that they have simply been abiding their time wait-

ing for the direct primary to go into effect. With full intentions of procuring recognition they are now maintaining headquarters at Olympia, the capital, and endeavoring to familiarize the legislators with their demands.

Those readers who still cherish the idea that the question of woman's enfranchisement is not rapidly becoming a national issue in this country, will perhaps be surprised to learn that these active women of Washington who procured for Seattle the next annual convention of the National Suffrage Association, have made arrangements for a thing never before heard of in the history of women, a special train to convey the Association's leading members across the state of Washington, with stopping privileges at every town or hamlet, so that suffrage speeches may be delivered from the back platform of the train.

#### CALIFORNIA.

Here the 1,485,053 inhabitants have assembled from all parts of our country, Asia and Europe. In Southern California we find a predominating number of Middle-Westerners. In the north a population so cosmopolitan that it is hard to ascribe prominence to any one race. In 1900 out of the 820,531 males, 755,147 of which were whites, 42,000 were Chinese. The whites included many Portuguese, Italians, French, Germans and Greeks, so many foreigners, in fact, that ten per cent. of the white voters were illiterate. Since 1900 the influx of Japanese, persecuted Russian Jews and maltreated Hindoos is of great significance in political affairs, for most of them are males who become the tools of corrupt bosses as soon as they attain citizenship.

California has no startling progress to record, for she is one of the twenty-one black states of the Union, where women possess no form of enfranchisement whatever. Here we might expect to find better laws for women and different conditions, for this state has long been a center of learning, boasting of two great universities and innumerable smaller col-

leges and schools. In California the extraordinary state of things political is due to the fact that politics have been absolutely controlled by the leading corporations of the state which so far have been able to prevent any reform legislation. But the death knell of corporation-rule has been sounded, for the legislature now in session is committed to the enactment of a direct primary, which, if obtained in not too mutilated form, will mean the beginning of a new era in the history of the state. In spite of the existing discouraging conditions a state suffrage organization has been maintained for twelve long years, whose president, Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, one of San Francisco's pioneers, has been constant in the fight ever since its inception, along with Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, Mrs. Rebecca Spring and others. California's women have been obliged to work along different lines from those used in Oregon and Washington, because they have been bound hand and foot, and it is owing to this handicap no doubt, that the Suffrage Association has not worked as one harmonious whole, and that the interest in the cause seems to be localized rather than general. The men and women of the great rural districts are not bringing to the cities the same sort of stimulus that they are in the two other states. The South is independent of the North, and each is endeavoring to work out its own salvation. Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, the most fearless and efficient of the younger women who have recently come to the front, along with Mrs. Helen Moore, both of San Francisco, have undertaken the tremendous task of handling the legislature, being confident that this is the quickest way in which to win out. The majority of the women of the South are bent on arousing the people's sentiment because they place more hope in the general public than in machine politicians, who have all they can do to maintain their present authority and therefore are in no wise desirous of creating thousands of uncertain votes. Many have been the

efforts of such women as Mrs. C. M. Severance, Lulu Pile Little, Mary E. Kinney and Bertha Hirsh Baruch, who as leaders of the Southern organization have fought the good fight. It takes time to rouse the American conscience, and none of the faithful ones need despair, for since the revelation of the scandals of Reuf and Schmidt in San Francisco, great strides have been made in all directions. The South and the North must unite more closely now and pull together, for it is apparent that both methods are essential. The legislature must be won over and the people must bring pressure upon their representatives to hasten the work. Neither the thousands of college women nor the 85,790 breadwinners seem as yet to realize the great moral interest they owe the commonwealth. At all events they have not begun to make themselves felt in California the way they have in Washington. The greatest hope for California lies in its brilliant and patriotic club women. There are over 14,000 of these recruited from all classes of society. Many of the clubs stand for enfranchisement, and now the individual members are rapidly coming to see the inestimable service they owe their state, their cities and their homes.

So long as machine politics and perverted corporation-rule are opposed to suffrage, in spite of the gallant workers at Sacramento, and in spite of the intelligence of the citizens it will be impossible to do anything. If a suffrage bill should be passed it would be by accident, and not because it were a political expediency; but accidents never occur in a California legislature. The direct primary once having been put into effect, the voters of California will be given a chance to display their intelligence or near-sightedness, and we have every reason to believe that they will make a proud showing of the former, judging from what occurred in 1896 when the Suffrage Bill would have carried had it not been snowed under in San Francisco by 16,000 machine-made votes.



MRS. ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY,  
President Oregon State Suffrage Association.

The women of Oregon, Washington and California have interests more or less similar to those of Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands, as well as the four states already free, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Idaho. Because of this fact, it has been deemed possible to form a western organization which would be particularly adapted to western conditions, western prejudices and western men. With this in view a call has gone out to the aforementioned states and territories, to be represented at a meeting to be held at Seattle, at the end of June, 1909. The leaders in this proposed western organization are most of them leaders in the several state organizations and of the National Association, and although the Pacific Conference intends to adopt some original western methods in obtaining results, it will be fortunate in receiving all the assistance that is possible to be rendered by the national and state organizations. One of the important innovations

is to be the complete elimination of membership dues; in the place of dues, voluntary money subscriptions will be substituted, after the manner of the men's national political parties, and the organization scheme of these same parties will be followed down to precinct chairman. Only those persons who have lived in the West, and particularly on the Pacific coast, are able to estimate the value and significance of this proposed conference, for while the prevailing conditions in these Western states differ in effect, in cause they revert to the same thing, woman's lack of experience. While men are about to reach the *over-organization* stage in affairs of business and politics, women have not yet begun to enter the *organization stage*. Woman's inability to procure experience has been the cause of this delay, and her lack of education in the beginning has in turn been responsible for her inability. But there are one-third more educated women than men in this country to-day. It is therefore consistent with reason to suppose that if an organization such as the Republican party maintains, is able to wield as much power as it does, the members of this party including more of the ignorant men of the country than any other political party in the United States, then a similar organization of all the women in the country simply on the basis of womanhood would be as strong, even taking into consideration the fact that there are in the United States 1,800,000 less women than men.

Organization among Suffragists has been attempted, it is true, and with considerable success, but it has never been perfected, for I take an organization of this character to be a means wherewith to secure relations between various elements of society and their coöperation in the cause, at the same time granting to these different elements, freedom in the choice of methods. This is what men have done in similar associations and this is why they have succeeded. On the other hand, a greater number of them are

either more sheepish than women, and more willing to follow one leader, or they have all evinced their ability to rule by their desire to obey; let us hope it is the latter. For example: Men have monopolized certain commercial and industrial products, but they have not in a body tried to monopolize an idea or ideal. Imagine if you can one man trying to compel another to join the ranks of an organization because the latter as a mere individual chose to voice the same ideals or opinions for which a particular organization stood. Or fancy if you are able a great organization of men splitting up into a dozen different little groups each with a leader, because these leaders expressly refused to come to terms over some minor matters, and rather than give in, preferred jeopardizing the great principles agreeable to all. Men do not split their forces thus and waste their energies on trivialities to the same extent that women do, because they have learned better.

Another weakness of the progressive woman is her utter inability to take matters as she finds them. She is too eager to adjust things to her way of thinking (the right way perhaps); instead she should train her thoughts to meet conditions as they are. Even if politics are foul, why bump her head against a stone wall by slurring the county boss and his clique when she should be summoning into use all the tact and wisdom she possesses to procure his influence. If she wants to help in municipal affairs she must have her weapon first, the ballot. And would the county boss malign her if he were desirous of her coöperation in a matter dear to him? But women are learning the game of politics very rapidly, for unfortunately they must play politics to obtain liberty, if men have not enough manhood to meet woman's issue squarely, because of its merits.

Next to tactlessness her greatest obstacle is the "personal element." It has been said that politicians object to suffrage because women refuse to vote



MRS. LILLIAN HARRIS COFFIN,  
Of San Francisco.

for parties. I think women will refuse to vote for a bad man of a party, but if clean men are on the party ticket they will vote it fairly straight. If they do not do so at once they will soon learn that it is easier to hold a party responsible for good or bad service than an individual.

Few women are able to dismiss matters of personality and regard a man or woman from the point-of-view of his or her specific utility for a certain thing. The fact that Mrs. Jones' daughters are on the vaudeville stage should not interfere with the choice of her for leader, if in essentials Mrs. Jones is best suited to the task. Women heed too much what the world is going to whisper. As honest women fighting for a great cause they should cast aside that old-fashioned, conventional way of judging each other instead of estimating a creature at his real worth. But they are learning, and it is indicative of the beginning of a social and moral regeneration to see the wealthy women and their poorer sisters defend each other in the



MRS. MARY S. SPERRY,  
President California State Suffrage Association.

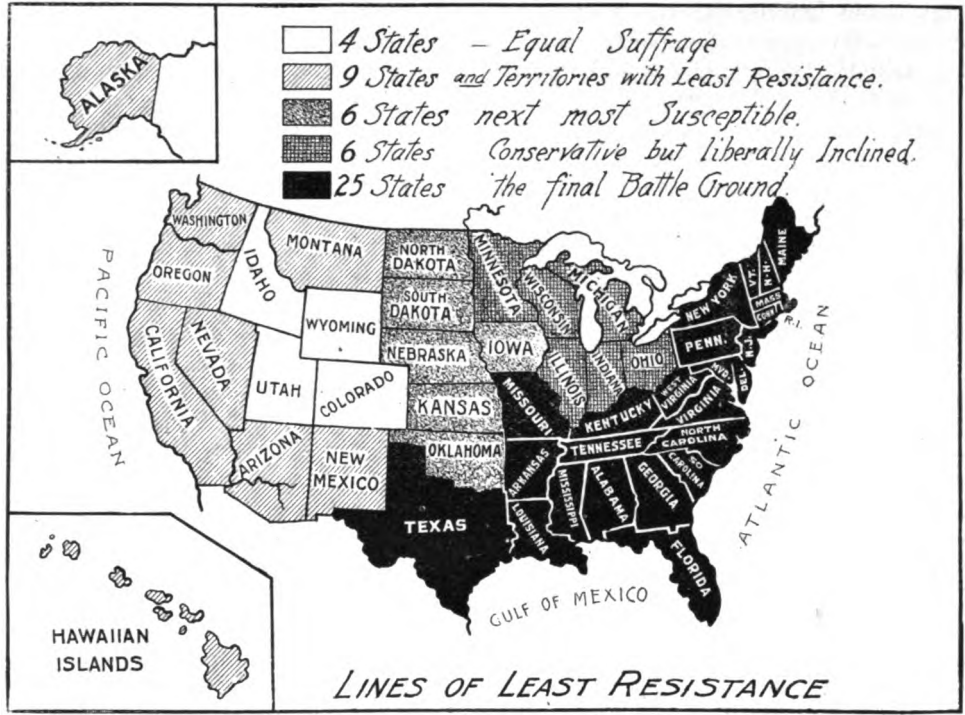
presence of a large audience after the manner done at Carnegie hall, New York, some weeks ago. Suffrage clubs in the far West, for these years, have been reaching but one kind of women, and I believe this is essentially true of similar organizations over the country. Whether it is because the women of the great middle class are not readily inspired with ambitions for a more truthful and more useful life that they are able to move along cow-like, or whether our overlaid society matrons have not been able to amuse themselves with things which really are amusing, it matters little; the important thing is not why these different elements do not respond to the call, but how they can most rapidly be reached. For enfranchisement is as vitally important to them as to the women who have been pleading for it so long. The most significant step in the right direction known to the writer was a recent luncheon tendered the state representatives of Los Angeles county, by women of Los Angeles

proper, where the latter class of society were conspicuous by their presence as hostesses who joined in a common demand for enfranchisement.

Not until women agree to eliminate all desire for personal aggrandizement through office in suffrage organizations, not until they are willing to make the best of conditions as they find them, to use tact, and debar unnecessary personalities, not until class distinctions are set aside and women learn to think of each other as "women" irrespective of pocketbooks and social prestige, can they hope for momentous success. The ultimate significance of the ballot lies not in increased wages, not in shorter hours, nor child-labor laws, nor revised divorce laws, nor any other legislation of whatever nature: it lies in the character-building which all this sort of legislation will help to promote. President Roosevelt in one of his recent public statements remarked that he had not noted any material change for the better in the politics of the four states where women had the ballot. Perhaps he has not observed closely enough to see changes in politics, though many have occurred, but surely he could not have overlooked the difference between the women of a free state whose broadening characters are bound to leave their imprint on the statutes of those states, and those who have not yet revolted against the meanness and littleness of a submissive existence. And why should women be expected to be as efficient in things political in ten years when it has taken men at least seven times ten centuries to reach the status, far from perfect, which they hold to-day.

Many of the delays so far encountered have been of more value to womankind than a speedy acquisition of liberty. The turning-point, however, has arrived, and the change is coming quicker than most persons imagine. The great rank and file of the people of the United States is not aware of the transformation taking place. We are changing from a people with a spasmodic morality, to a nation

The Suffrage Question in The Far West.



which desires some permanent standard of morals. There was a time, not long ago, when we fell into abject indifference as soon as legal forces ceased to hold the mirror up to nature. This is no longer the case; we are restlessly demanding honesty and decency in the home, in business and in politics. This change I believe to be largely due to the influence of women in American colleges and universities; to the influence of the great educators at the heads of these institutions which yearly send forth thousands of young men and women imbued with high moral conceptions. To these young disturbers of time-worn customs we should look for assistance in readjusting affairs. It is therefore gratifying to note that the whole Woman Suffrage movement throughout the land seems to have gained a new vigor and a stronger impetus by the recent organization of a College Woman's Suffrage League which is fortunate to have as its executive President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, and as vice-president Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of

Boston, a very able organizer. This league is affiliated with the National Association of America. Inasmuch as this woman's movement is primarily patriotic and intellectual, it is a personal disgrace and a reflection on the *alma mater* for any college woman to face the issue with a bovine placidity. For history has taught her that chivalry is mere mockery when unaccompanied by a consciousness of equality, and she should not be able to face with indifference a thing which is acknowledged to be right theoretically and proven to be of great value practically. If her education has been of any value whatever, it will express itself in her sense of right and good, and it is only at the great risk of desecrating her hard-won laurels that she may remain apathetic.

The whole question of Woman's Suffrage being one based on education, it is natural to suppose that all intelligent persons, irrespective of sex, would champion the cause and bring it to a speedy victory. But some of the prejudices and



conventions holding the American nation in subjection are so deep-seated, that it may take the training of a generation still unborn to thoroughly uproot them. And while we are endeavoring to arouse the thousands of well-meaning but lethargic citizens whose highest aspirations seem expressed in enthusiasm for the mediocre, and who labor under the false delusion that the world is jogging along quite well enough as things now stand, we must not overlook their offspring whose minds are still plastic. In the school-room, boy and girl, both minors, are seated side by side on an equal political footing, and the youthful mind which is generally fair and square in its nudity, will of its own accord champion the right. From the midst of our public school shall arise perhaps a mind creature, who some day will rule our fair land; and anyway, were we to obtain universal suffrage to-morrow, the benefits of a true democracy would accrue only for him. The most deplorable thing about our free educational system is the fact that children, and even young men and women of our high schools barely know how and why they have been able to obtain their education. If only a part of the mental energy expended by our young Americans in intellectual dissipations, fostered in our public schools, was turned into civic channels, *our* problem would solve itself. The efforts of Miss Jane Bromley in the Toledo public schools cannot be too highly commended.

The board of education of every state in the Union should look into this matter, for in the schools of our nation should the seed of true freedom and intelligent government be sown. And if we wish to rear useful and intelligent citizens let the curious young men and women in our public libraries be attracted to books glowing with patriotism placed upon the open shelf where generally is found all that is newest and least digestible. Let us have more books on suffrage in our libraries, more current information in

whatever form it appears. No one remains quite indifferent after gaining information for or against a cause. And then above all let us win over the great newspapers of the country, not for the purpose of inserting columns of praise about our own work, but for the sake of inspiring some masterful editorials like those which appeared about slavery in the eighteen-sixties.

Whatever view the Westerner may take of the Woman Suffrage cause, he cannot deny that it is rapidly becoming an important issue. It seems but yesterday that the first white folk crossed the great plains and landed on the banks of the Willamette; and yet how long has been the struggle and the wait of these worthy, Western women. But they should comfort themselves with the knowledge that securing universal suffrage in the United States is like securing it in fifty independent countries, and the process in each state is more complicated than in any kingdom of the world. Our four *free* states are populated by the most broad-minded, energetic, ambitious and generous men and women from all the Eastern states and particularly the Middle-Western states. This same sort of men forms the population of the Pacific coast states and those states immediately adjacent on the east. Here, where there are better schools, and more of them per capita than in any eastern section, where the per cent. of illiterates is smaller than in any other group of states in the Union, one feels reassured in saying that public sentiment will very soon become a dominant force in our favor. The great grain belt bordering on the western plains will be the next section procuring suffrage for its women; and eastward bound the wave of liberty will sweep, crossing the Middle West and the Great Lakes until it strikes the eastern and southern coasts where people are still provincial and men are most selfish and autocratic. Even here women shall soon be freed.

ELSIE WALLACE MOORE.

## AN APOSTLE OF LIGHT.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

**T**H**ERE** exists in France to-day a coterie of writers, teachers and statesmen which like leaven in the lump, gradually is extending its influence and working out the reformation and rejuvenation of the Republic.

One of the most interesting among these "master builders" of the France of the future, is Monsieur Charles Seignobos—"Professeur Titulaire" of history at the Sorbonne. Though only fifty-three years of age, Professor Seignobos already is regarded as a moral and intellectual leader by a host of young writers, teachers and politicians in all parts of the world. Like most famous Frenchmen, and a number of great men of other nationalities, he is small in stature, being a little under five feet five inches high, but what he lacks in size he makes up in the quality and power of his personality. Upon my first visit to him, I recognized that he was a brilliant man, later it became apparent that he was much more than that, and finally, as I learned to know him better, I discovered that in spite of his brusquerie and impetuosity he was also one of the most lovable of men.

In some ages a man like M. Seignobos might have gone into the army, and in others into the church, but it is typical of the peculiar present-day conditions of modern France that this man who is the spiritual and intellectual descendant\* of all that was most heroic, self-sacrificing and efficient in the France of Louis XIV., felt drawn irresistibly toward a professional career.

During the lifetime of the present Republic, the French army has been

\*His ancestors for centuries back have been Huguenots, and one of his great uncles dragged out the last twenty years of his life in a dungeon, for the crime of having concealed in his house a persecuted Protestant pastor in the year 1845.

relegated to a position of secondary importance in the national life. To a man of insight, whose view has not been distorted by an unreasoning passion for vengeance against Germany, it has become steadily more apparent that in the last analysis, the salvation of France does not depend primarily upon the strength of her military organization. Moreover, since the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the country has passed definitely out of the hands of the priests, who so long have shown themselves incapable of supplying satisfactory spiritual nourishment to the great majority of better-educated Frenchmen, the call of the church has met with little response from idealists who have wanted their lives to count for as much as possible in the world-wide and age-long contest between progress and reaction.

Politics has made a strong appeal to a number of brilliant and sincere modern knights errant, such as Clemenceau, Briand and Jaurès, but while Professor Seignobos has felt keenly the power of this appeal, he nevertheless has recognized that what France needs most is light, rather than heat, guidance rather than organization, and that the temporary patchwork of political reform is vastly less important than that solid scientific understanding of all the factors in the situation, which alone can serve as a permanent foundation for a successful altruistic democracy. He believes that the only power able to combat successfully the forces of superstitious intolerance and political, intellectual and spiritual tyranny is the power of the university and the school. Consequently, into the great work of education he has thrown himself with the ardor of a soldier and the devotion of an apostle. It is owing to the

efforts of just such men as he, that there has been reared up in Catholic France a generation of teachers who when the education of the country was taken out of the hands of the priests, monks and nuns, were found capable of carrying to a successful issue the great work of providing the country with an adequate system of secular education.

American newspapers and magazines furnish their readers with a certain amount of information concerning the political, industrial and artistic progress of France, but up to the present time they have published extremely little about the extraordinary transformation which has taken place during the latter half of the nineteenth century in its educational system. At the birth of the present French Republic, the government was confronted by two apparently insoluble problems; the first, that of transforming a mass of inadequately educated church, school graduates into a corps of lay teachers, capable not only of instilling into the minds and hearts of the young, scientifically true conceptions of history, science and philosophy, but also of imbuing them with that priceless spirit of intellectual liberty and tolerance which the Roman church for centuries has been striving to smother and stamp out; and the second, that of forming a stable and satisfactory republic out of a nation split up into innumerable heterogeneous and warring factions, such as the Bonapartists, Orleanists, Royalists, Clericals, Anti-Semites, Nationalists, Radicals, Radical Socialists, Guesdists and Blanquists, and composed largely of citizens devoid of the tolerance, patience and confidence in free institutions which are essential to the success of a democratic form of government. These problems which had proved completely baffling to the statesmen of the first and second republics, probably would have proven equally so to the statesmen of the present régime, had they not been assisted in their task by a corps of able, devoted and enthusiastic educators. All that politicians or statesmen

can do is to give expression in the laws and institutions of a country, to the intellectual and spiritual progress which already has been made by the individual citizens of that country. But the work of the educator, in that it forms and reforms the individual units of society, is creative and fundamental. Hence it is that the growing stability and power of the present French Republic is due more largely than is generally understood, to the patience, devotion and genius of such men as Ferry, Pecaot, Buisson, Seailles, Seignobos and their numerous educational co-workers.

The last step in the educational reformation which has been going on for so long in France, was the recent law separating church and state. Formerly, in every town and village in the country, the priest, no matter how unpatriotic or bigoted he might be, was still the official representative, not only of the church, but also of the nation. As a paid public functionary he had a position of great influence and dignity. But a change has been wrought, and while the priest still represents the Church of Rome, it is, on the contrary, the schoolmaster who now in every commune stands as the recognized representative of the French nation. The position and influence of the school-teachers of France, henceforth, will be in their own hands. If they rise to their opportunities, they can make of the work of teaching the most important of all the professions, and of the French people one of the leaders among the nations of the world.

Professor Seignobos is chiefly known in America by his *Political History of Europe Since 1814*, a work which was translated by Professor S. M. Macvane of Harvard, a few years ago and which almost immediately acquired the wide popularity it so richly merited. But while he has chosen the nineteenth century as his special field, Professor Seignobos has an encyclopedic and microscopic knowledge of the history of all ages and of nearly all peoples. His *Histoire*



**CHARLES SEIGNOBOS**

*Narrative et Descriptive des Anciens Peuples de l'Orient, Le Régime Feodal en Bourgogne, Histoire de la Grece, Histoire du Peuple Romain* in three volumes, and his *Histoire de Civilization* in two volumes are evidences of his unflagging industry and insatiable mental curiosity. For the past year or two he has been engaged on a continuation of the monumental history of France which Professor Lavissee has brought down to the end of the eighteenth century.

Another example of the versatility of the man is to be found in his recent series of ancient, mediæval and modern school histories, in seven volumes, which appeared a few years ago under the general title of *Cours d'Histoire*. I asked him why he had turned aside from his original research work to engage in this species of compilation which already had been done so many times before, and which so many historians were qualified to do again. The answer he gave was characteristic of the man and of his conception of his mission. "Nothing is more important," he said, "than that children from the start should be given the best and truest presentation of history that can be written. A child's first impressions are its most lasting ones, and no work has ever given me more pleasure than this attempt to aid in starting the school-children of France along the straight and narrow path of historical verity."

#### HOME LIFE.

M. Seignobos has never been married, but his home, a few doors from that of ex-President Loubet, in the heart of the Latin quarter, is presided over by Madame Marillier, a great grand-daughter of Madame Roland, and one of the most charming and youthful of women, in spite of her seventy-one years. After the little Wednesday night dinners to which he always invites a few kindred spirits among the "intellectuals" in Paris, a number of other interesting people—writers, artists, explorers and politicians invariably drop in to imbibe a cup of ten

o'clock tea and to indulge in that art which is almost extinct elsewhere, and is becoming more rare even in France—the stimulating if evanescent art of conversation. I was interested to hear a Chicago university professor remark a few months ago, that this Salon of Professor Seignobos and Madame Marillier was practically the only real "Salon" left in Paris, and I was even more interested in M. Seignobos' reply when I repeated this remark to him. "Ours is not," he said, "a typical French Salon. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a salon was chiefly a place where people congregated to see and be seen, to hear and to say clever things. The people who met at these places did not necessarily have anything in common except their vanity—which is the dominant sentiment in French polite society. We have merely a reunion of friends who come together, for the purpose not of impressing each other, but of exchanging ideas, stimulating their ethical passions and gratifying their æsthetic and social instincts."

The dinner preceding the *soirée* while entirely unpretentious is fit for an epicure. The better class of Frenchmen spend very little money on creature comforts and yet so economically and artistically do they plan this expenditure that they get more genuine satisfaction from it than do most Americans whose expenses are three or four times as large.

Later on in the evening, when the coffee and tea have worked their work of stimulating to its highest pitch that extremely susceptible substance, the French brain, the Professor often is to be seen standing in a corner—(literally, not figuratively, for I have never seen him cornered in an argument)—squaring himself against the wall, while around him an excited group is conversing, disputing and laughing, all at once. Sometimes his voice rises higher and higher in the excitement of debate until it almost reaches a shout—when Madame Marillier, quite accustomed to these scenes, though never entirely reconciled to their

noisy climaxes, looks over and in a deprecatory way says, "Charles, Charles, what is it now?"

A POLITICO-RELIGIOUS DINNER DISCUSSION.

On the principle that it is as necessary to the success of an entertainment to select the guests skilfully as to choose the proper combinations in food, we arranged a little dinner one night with M. Seignobos and M. Paul Sabatier, author of the *Life of Saint Francis* as the conversational "pieces de resistance." Of course, Madame Marillier was there—the "little mother" as she is lovingly called by a host of friends—gracious and gentle, like wine of some rare vintage mellowed with the years and bringing to this feast of the present a certain fine flavor and fragrance out of the past. We also invited a young Belgian artist, an enthusiast fresh from a triumph in the Salon; an American beauty from New York, a cross between a Botticelli and a Gibson girl, added for purely decorative purposes; an unobtrusive man of scholarly tastes with a gift for quiet appreciation of others; Professor de L—— from the Lycee with his spirituelle young American wife; and Dr. K——, a well-known orthodox clergyman, who was asked to add a little dash of ginger or rather of hell-fire to the conversation.

At dinner, as we had hoped, M. Seignobos and M. Sabatier took charge of the table talk which turned upon the then paramount question in France, the separation of church and state. M. Seignobos represents the best elements of French agnosticism, while M. Sabatier stands for the liberal element in both Protestantism and Catholicism. Sparks flew in every direction, and even Dr. K—— by his self-satisfied way of giving utterance to worn-out religious formulæ, all unwittingly arose to the occasion, and played the part which had been assigned to him.

The faces of M. Seignobos and M. Sabatier as they talked, were as expressive as their words, while their shoulders,

after the manner of the French, were almost as eloquent as their tongues. I was impressed afresh with M. Sabatier's lion-like head and strangely luminous eyes. Although sure of his own ground, he shows always such an exquisite deference for others that one is apt involuntarily to throw up one's hands, unable to resist the charm of his rarely winning personality.

With M. Seignobos, however, it is different; he does not take you instantly by storm; rather his brusque manner, his abrupt way of riding rough-shod over your opinions and prejudices en route to the conclusion of his argument, which he often thunders out in a voice raised above all disputing voices, is apt at first to rouse one's opposition and to put one on the defensive. His most striking mental characteristics are a wonderful lucidity of both thought and expression, a scientific precision of reasoning that goes straight as a cannon-ball, and is as merciless to anything in its path. His conversation at times is like a two-edged sword. He reminds one of some medieval knight slashing a way for himself across the enemy's camp—a veritable conversational d'Artagnan.

M. Sabatier was leaving for Rome that night, so excused himself at once after dinner. When he had gone, the conversation became more general, though it still followed for a time the line of religious discussion the dinner talk had given it. The fact was significant to me that among these Frenchmen, only one of whom was an avowed Christian, and most of whom were agnostics, the question of religion should yet have been the one which called out the expression of their deepest feelings. As M. Sabatier once said, a remark which has been so widely quoted because it is so universally true—"Man is incurably religious." What better witness to the truth of that statement, I thought, than was to be found in this evening's religious discussion by these free-thinking Frenchmen.

In a five-minutes' monologue, which took the form of an answer to a question

from the American beauty, M. Seignobos traced the entire history of Christendom, from its beginning until now. As in a lightning flash, epoch after epoch passed before us, while with the sure instinct of a master, he noted as well the determining factors in the history of other world-religions—the Mohammedan, the Egyptian, the Buddhist and the Confucian—all passing before us with kaleidoscopic swiftness and clearness.

Dr. K—— in his conversation with M. Seignobos made the very orthodox mistake of not attempting to find common ground and lost no opportunity to quibble over terms. This attitude so irritated M. Seignobos that at times he made some rather exaggerated statements, apparently in the vain effort to shake the man out of his sanctimonious self-satisfaction, and cause him, if possible, to look facts straight in the face without the interposition of the theological dogmas of his particular church.

"The Christian religion," he thundered, "was founded on fear and the devil." Dr. K—— threw up his hands in dumb horror, too indignant for response, but the American wife of the Lycee professor, nettled by this outburst, sprang into the breach—"I can't agree with you in that," she said. "It's not the devil driving from below, it's the God drawing from above that makes real Christians, that impels rather than compels men to follow their highest. It's the very same spirit that is working in you, 'the anonymous God,' as Wagner puts it, who is inspiring you to devote your life to your ideals,"—then, turning to Madame Marillier, she added, "Why is it, I wonder, that in France to-day there are so many men like that—all unconscious of the God within them who is yet their secret strength."

"When religion becomes a state affair," continued M. Seignobos, "it is always a failure. There is no life in it, it is dead. These dead religions do not appeal to me except as historical specimens. It is life that interests me."

"You say that life appeals to you—

what about the soul-life? the life of St. Francis, for instance?" I asked tentatively, hoping to get at his real belief, and thinking instinctively of M. Sabatier and his wonderful delineation of the spirit of the "little, poor man of Assisi."

"Few things interest me more," responded M. Seignobos quickly; "that is just my point, St. Francis' religion was not a religion of external authority any more than that which Madame deL—— champions. It was vital because it was an inside affair."

"You have defined Christianity exactly," exclaimed Madame deL——, "and almost in the words of its Founder—'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.' Real religion can never be imposed from without. Only shams are put on and off like overcoats."

"I agree with you," he replied, "far be it from me to offer any objection to that brand of Christianity; but," he added quickly, "the orthodox churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, will not, I fear, tolerate your broad conception of religion. Unless you subscribe to the absolute authority of a book or of a Pope, they will not accept you."

It was Madame deL——'s chance now to take definite issue with Dr. K——'s attitude, which had exasperated her no less than it had M. Seignobos, probably because of the bigoted and unsuccessful way in which he had attempted to defend what she felt so passionately was, after all, their common faith. "What does it matter if the churches refuse me, if only God accepts?" she answered with an exultant ring in her voice that made M. Seignobos clap his hands. "*Tout a fait* American that"—he said, laughing—"another declaration of independence. But," he continued, "there are in the Protestant as well as in the Roman Catholic church, two essentially different categories of believers—those whose religious life is real, personal and vital and those whose so-called religious life is based on a belief in the external authority of a book or a church organization.

To-day, as in former centuries, the Catholic hierarchy is bitterly fighting every manifestation within its reach of a belief in the *inner* authority of the spirit of God. When it dared to use more effective weapons than it does to-day, it mangled and burned men, women and children by the tens of thousands. To be sure, in the cases of St. Francis and St. Catherine and a few others whose heresies were more spiritual than intellectual, a wilier and less bloody scheme was carried out. Their ideas and ideals were laughed out of court and quietly repressed, while the shining example of their lives was held up before the world as a sample product of the hypocritical ecclesiasticism, which they had worn themselves out trying vainly to reform. It is against this organized embodiment of tyranny and deceit, which too long has been allowed to masquerade as the incarnation of love and truth—that the agnostics and liberal Protestants of France now for over a century have been carrying on a successful crusade. On both sides, this contest has been recognized as a fight to a finish. There can be no such thing as compromise, since there is no possible middle ground between tyranny and liberty.”

“But,” I interrupted, “the Catholic church in America is more tolerant and liberal than in Continental Europe.”

“Yes, yes,” he continued, “wherever it is unable to control the machinery of government, it is vociferous in its advocacy of religious liberty—*liberty to use in striving for the re-establishment of the tyranny of its ecclesiastical authority*, but to-day, as in former ages, wherever it completely dominates a country, *its real nature* reasserts itself and it becomes again a tyranny knowing no restraint save that imposed by the dictates of expediency.”

“Most Americans sympathize with you,” I replied, “in your fight for intellectual and religious liberty, but a number of us find it impossible to sympathize with some of the methods you employ.”

“That is largely because you do not understand the nature of our struggle,” he responded. “Of course, we are hu-

man, and necessarily have made and will continue to make mistakes, but before judging us by American standards, remember that here on the soil where the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place, we are fighting the same organization which ordered and executed that massacre, and which, moreover, *in our own day and generation* has been and is continuously defying the law, hatching conspiracy and plotting treason against the Republic, and which never for one moment has hesitated to prostitute the real religious interests of the country to the selfish purposes of a gang of royal pretenders and political adventurers intent upon reestablishing at a stroke, the political tyranny of a king and the spiritual tyranny of the Church of Rome.”

At this point the artist seized a patiently-waited-for opportunity to break into the conversation. “It seems to me,” he exclaimed, “that people in general fall by nature into one or the other of the two classes you mentioned a moment ago—those who in the very nature of things, must see for themselves and have their opinions first-hand, and those who have all their convictions handed down to them ready-made. For example, we all know the two types of sightseers that one meets in every picture-gallery in Europe: those who follow blindly in the footsteps of Baedaker, go into ‘mechanical raptures over known masterpieces,’ without ever attempting to consider a picture on its own merits.” “Yes, we all know that type,” M. Seignobos groaned, while the American beauty had the constrained look of one who is being photographed. “And that other type,” the artist continued, “of those few who by using their own initiative and their own esthetic sense get the zest and thrill of a vital personal experience.”

“And does n’t this analogy make clear,” interposed Madame deL—, “that the real line of cleavage is not between Christian and agnostic, but between the bigot, whether he be Christian or agnostic on the one hand, and on the other, the sincere seeker after truth?”



"In other words," replied M. Seignobos "we are all agreed that 'nothing is intolerable except intolerance.'"

"Really, we have so many ideals in common that the gulf which divides us is n't so ominous as it sometimes seems—is it?" she demanded, with a smile that included M. Seignobos and Dr. K—— in its appeal.

"Certainly not," responded M. Seignobos, turning genially toward Dr. K——. "My house in l'Ardiche is occupied and has been for many years free of rent, by one of your colleagues, the pastor of the Protestant church there. Perhaps you know him," he continued cordially, "the Pastor R——, '*un tres brave homme.*'"

The whole atmosphere of the place seemed to change suddenly from a condition of intense heat to one of congenial warmth and good-cheer, as when in an overheated room a window is suddenly thrown open. So it seemed to me the courageous spirit of independence and deep spirituality of Madame deL—— had come in upon the heat of debate, introducing into this highly-charged French atmosphere a whiff of that free invigorating air from across the sea, which is the purifying breath of our national life. Even the American beauty felt the sudden change in the psychic atmosphere. "Then you are no atheist, after all," she breathed, evidently much relieved at her discovery, while all joined in the laugh that followed M. Seignobos' witty disclaimer.

Although Dr. K—— smiled at the time, later on his old prejudices reasserted themselves and as he was leaving he remarked with a note of genuine sadness in his voice: "What a pity it is that so brilliant a mind should be so woefully perverted."

As Professor deL—— and his wife had come into the vestibule in time to catch this parting shot, I gave them the benefit of the response which I had with difficulty refrained from making to Dr. K——. "Is n't it a shame," I said, paraphrasing the doctor's remark, "that so good a man should be so narrow—so

incapable of rating at its true religious value, the spirit of devotion to his ideals of this high-minded student, whose scientific temperament and historical training make impossible for him the acceptance of any superimposed dogmatic system of belief, and whose intellect, developed at the expense of his emotions, unfortunately prevents him from accepting anything on faith, in heaven above or on the earth beneath."

Professor deL——, who during the evening had let his wife do most of the talking for the family, now roused himself. "It's a curious fact," he said, "and one which Dr. K—— and many others might be inclined to dispute; but among the French agnostics whom I happen to know, such as Clemenceau, Jaurès, Anatole France, Seailles and others, men who are considered by many Americans as the open and blatant enemies of all things religious and spiritual, hardly one is to be found who would not agree with M. Seignobos in welcoming with open mind every manifestation of real goodness and of vital spirituality."

"The heart of the man is pure gold," interrupted his wife. "To-night, when he was arguing so fiercely with Dr. K——, Madame Marillier said to me, 'His bark is so much worse than his bite. In all these long years of our acquaintance, since he was my dead son's best friend at the university, I have never known of his doing an unkind act, and I am sure he is incapable of thinking a mean thought.'"

"Do you know," I replied, "the picture of him to-night, helping Madame Marillier down the steps, tucking her arm under his so gently, and saying in his big gruff voice, 'Take care, Little Mother, do n't slip,' was typical of me of the work he is trying to do for France to-day. These are the words he is speaking to the Mother Republic, whose steps, he with others, is trying to guide past the pitfalls and traps that are set by her enemies—into a path that is safe for her feet."

CARL S. VROOMAN.

*Bloomington, Illinois.*

# THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION.

BY WILLIAM KITTLE.

**D**URING the last decade, public opinion has been made for and against three great special interests in the United States: the railway companies, the city utility companies and a few industrial corporations like the Beef Trust and the Standard Oil Company. These interests necessarily seek to obtain new or to retain old special privileges. The railway companies resist any important regulation of rates or service. The city utility companies seek the most favorable and profitable franchises. Some of the industrial corporations have established monopolies injurious to the public. It has become of increasing importance to these vast special interests and to the greater interest of the public as well, to form public opinion on one side or the other.

The public has little to fear from the open advocacy of special privileges by persons whose motives and interests are well known. Every interest has the right to the clearest and strongest presentation of its case. Free discussion is in the interest of the people. But the secret purchase or control of a newspaper or magazine, the employment of a venal news bureau which works in the dark, or the hiring of a public official to make public opinion for any special privilege is more than ordinary political corruption, like bribery; it is treason to the very spirit of self-government, for it corrupts the foundation of that kind of government, —enlightened public opinion.

## I. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

The Associated Press is the most powerful public opinion forming agency in the United States. It comprises a membership of seven hundred leading daily newspapers whose total circulation is 16,000,000 issues. It furnishes more

than half the news published by these papers. If the rule by newspaper men is true that each paper is read by three persons, the dispatches of the Associated Press are read every day by more than one half the total population of the United States. By its close business relations with the three great foreign news collecting agencies, it gathers into one continuous stream the volume of current events and movements of the world. It reports accidents and crimes; political, social and religious movements and the enactment of laws; wars and revolutions; facts and inferences with reference to aristocracy and special privilege, or to the trend toward democracy and public interests. The news thus furnished makes public opinion. The dispatches sent during the night for the morning papers of a continent form the opinions of millions of readers for the day. The dispatches for the evening papers modify or strengthen such opinions. Week after week and month after month is public opinion thus formed.

## HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

The Associated Press was organized into its present form in 1900. Previous to that date, in the eighties, there was a news collecting agency owned by seven New York papers and closely associated with the Reuter News Agency of Europe. Subsidiary agencies arose like the New England Associated Press and the Western Associated Press which bought from and furnished news to the New York agency. Neither controlled in any way the New York agency. The Western Associated Press revolted against this arrangement, and as a result of a short contest, was admitted into a partnership in the management of the business. This new partnership now entered into

an offensive and defensive alliance with the Western Union Telegraph Co., "by the terms of which," in the language of Melville Stone, the present general manager of the Associated Press, "the Association was given special advantages and it in turn refused to patronize any rival telegraph company." After such an alliance, how could the Associated Press be expected to form public opinion against special privilege? It will be remembered that the Standard Oil Co. pursued the same tactics by securing rebates from the railroad companies. Not long after the alliance with the Western Union Telegraph Co., the United Press Association arose in the east and entered into a secret agreement with the chief manager of the Associated Press in New York that the two should work in harmony. When this secret agreement was disclosed in 1892, the Western Associated Press terminated its ten year agreement with the New York managers and a contest of four years ensued between the eastern and western agencies for supremacy. The papers east of the Allegheny Mountains and those of the South joined the United Press. But the Reuter Agency of Europe entered into an alliance with the Western Associated Press which triumphed over its eastern rival in 1897. Owing to serious litigation in Illinois where it was incorporated, and to the preponderance of its interests in the east, it was incorporated in New York, May 22, 1900, and the headquarters permanently established in New York City.

#### ORGANIZATION.

There are four great news collecting agencies in the world and for the territory indicated, as follows:

(1) The Associated Press. For the United States, the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Central America and the Islands of the Caribbean Sea.

(2) The Reuter Telegram Co., Ltd. of London. For Great Britain and all

her Colonies, China, Japan and Egypt.

(3) The Continental Telegraphen Compagnie of Berlin, commonly called the Wolff Agency. For the Teutonic, Slav and Scandinavian countries.

(4) The Agence Havas, of Paris. For France, Italy, Spain, Mexico and the South American countries.

Each of these companies has representatives in the offices of the other three and each receives the news collected by the others. But in addition to this, the Associated Press has its own news bureaus in all the leading capitals of Europe.

The following indicates the supervision and management of the Associated Press as a working organization:

General Manager, Melville E. Stone, New York City.

Assistant General Manager, Charles S. Diehl, Chicago.

Superintendent of the Eastern Division, at New York City.

Superintendent of the Southern Division, at Washington.

Superintendent of the Central Division, at Chicago.

Superintendent of the Western Division, at San Francisco.

Superintendent of Foreign Service, at London.

Each division is covered by a trained body of men who are more than mere reporters. They have become experts in the selection, rejection and presentation of news. Some of them are writers of ability. All are responsible to a single head,—the general manager. The intercommunication of the system is well nigh complete. It can operate at any given hour as a unit. It leases from nine telegraph and telephone companies 40,000 miles of wire and its total current annual expenses amount to more than \$2,500,000.

Whenever the unusual or the extraordinary happens,—like the outbreak of a war, the assassination of a ruler, or the assembling of a national convention, the Associated Press organizes a regular

campaign for the collection and transmission of every detail of the news. Mr. Stone has graphically described one of these special fields of work:

"The national conventions are our first care. Preparations begin months before they assemble. Rooms are engaged at all the leading hotels, so that the Associated Press men may be in touch with every delegation. The plans of the convention hall are examined, and arrangements are made for operating-room and seats. The wires of the association are carried into the building, and a work-room is usually located beneath the platform of the presiding officer. A private passage is cut, communicating this work-room with the reporters' chairs which are placed directly in front of the stand occupied by speakers, and inclosed by a rail to prevent interference from the surging masses certain to congregate in the neighborhood. A week before the convention opens, a number of Associated Press men are on the ground to report the assembling of the delegates, to sound them as to their plans and preferences, and to indicate the trend of the gathering in their dispatches as well as they may. The men who report these conventions are drawn from all the principal offices of the Associated Press. Coming from different parts of the country, they are personally acquainted with a large majority of the delegates."

THE BOARD OF FIFTEEN DIRECTORS.

According to the eight annual report in 1908, the following are the names of the fifteen directors of the Associated Press and of the daily papers which they edit, own or control:

- Frank B. Noyes, Chicago Record-Herald
- Victor F. Lawson, Chicago Daily News
- Albert J. Barr, Pittsburg Post
- W. L. McLean, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin
- Thomas G. Rapier, New Orleans Picayune
- Charles H. Grasty, Baltimore News
- Clark Howell, Atlanta Constitution
- Charles W. Knapp, St. Louis Republic
- George Thompson, New York Staats-Zeitung
- Herman Ridder, New York Staats-Zeitung
- Harvey W. Scott, Portland Oregonian
- M. H. de Young, San Francisco Chronicle
- William R. Nelson, Kansas City Star-Times
- Adolph S. Ochs, New York Times
- Charles H. Taylor, Boston Globe

The annual published reports show that the first named twelve directors have held office continually from 1900 to 1908. The general manager, and the assistant general manager have also held their positions during all of this period. William R. Nelson came on the board in 1902; Adolph S. Ochs in 1905, and Charles H. Taylor in 1906. Five directors are elected each year for a term of three years at the regular annual meeting of the members of the association. But instead of 700 votes, the number of newspapers in the association, the report of 1908, shows that 775 votes were present in person and 2531 were present by proxy. At that meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, 3,316 votes were cast for each of the five directors and there were no other nominations. The By-laws provide that the association may borrow \$150,000 on bonds which may be issued to the members. It is stipulated in the By-laws,—“If the registered owner waives the interest, he can cast one vote for each \$25 of such bonds, provided no bondholder shall have the right to vote upon more than \$1,000 of said bonds.” The report of 1908 shows that first mortgage bonds were outstanding amounting to \$122,250. This represented a voting strength of 4,890 which added to the 775 votes present made a total of 5,665. The Secretary reported the full voting strength as 5,444. The Board of Directors is vested with the power of issuing these bonds and hence of controlling the election of the officers and the policy of the association. The published record does not disclose the owners of the bonds and the number of votes cast by each member. But it is plain that a membership representing most of the 700 newspapers in the association have less than one seventh of the total voting strength at the annual election of officers.

New members are admitted to the association by the Board of Directors or at the annual meeting by the members of the association. But this is carefully

guarded and applicants are frequently rejected. Current expenses are met by assessments on the members according to the service rendered.

#### IS THE ASSOCIATED PRESS A MONOPOLY ?

In February, 1900, the supreme court of Illinois held that the Associated Press was an illegal monopoly; that the clause in its contracts which sought to restrain members from obtaining news from other sources was an attempt at restriction upon trade and business; that the By-law of the association authorizing such contracts was in restraint of competition and that its tendency was to create a monopoly. The court declared the contract in the case and the By-law authorizing it, null and void. In December, 1900, the supreme court of Missouri handed down a decision adverse to the St. Louis Star which had sought to compel the Associated Press to sell news at reasonable rates. The court said: "Nor is there any more property in news, to-wit, 'information', 'intelligence', 'knowledge', than there is in the 'viewless winds'. The court held in substance that the Associated Press was not a monopoly.

Melville E. Stone claims that it is not a monopoly; that there are rival agencies in the field, and that the nature of the business excludes it from the class of monopolies. He emphasizes the coöperative nature of the work. He says:

"It is purely mutual in its character, and in this respect is unique. All of the other news-supplying agencies of the world are proprietary concerns. It issues no stock, makes no profit, and declares no dividend. It does not sell news to any one. It is a clearing-house for the interchange of news among its members only."

Article 1 of the By-laws provides that it is a "mutual and coöperative organization. The corporation is not to make a profit; not to make or declare dividends, and is not to engage in the busi-

ness of selling intelligence nor traffic in the same."

But the Associated Press comprises more than 700 of the greatest daily papers of the United States. It collects and practically sells news daily to nearly 50,000,000 readers. As a system against its customers, the public, and against its competitors, the 21,000 newspapers, it is a monopoly. It employs a small army of trained telegraph operators, reporters and writers, at an annual cost of \$2,500,000. The coöperative feature is mainly nominal because most of the members owning newspapers have no voice in the direction of affairs. They simply buy the news. Instead of coöperation in the scheme, each paper becomes a monopolist of the world's news in its immediate locality. The body of trained news-gatherers now in the service of the Associated Press, in possession of telegraph and telephone systems, in constant obedience to one mind, and supported by almost unlimited resources, is for all practical purposes a monopoly. It can furnish news cheaper and quicker than any rival agency and can therefore defeat competition. The newspapers outside of the Associated Press could indeed form a rival agency; but the cost and the difficulties of organization together with the certainty of a prolonged contest, forbid the attempt. If the Associated Press were genuinely a coöperative effort, the membership would not be limited to 700 out of a total of some 22,000 newspapers. A true coöperative plan would admit to membership all who were willing to pay the pro rata share of expenses according to the services rendered. To secure to the favored 700 newspapers the advantages of the news of all the world every day is only a different way of stating that it is a monopoly.

It is true that the Associated Press is not a monopoly like a copyright or a patent right, as it has no exclusive governmental grant or franchise. It is not a natural monopoly like the ownership of coal beds or oil regions; for the unlimited

production and reproduction of the press dispatches cannot exhaust the raw material from which they proceed. But such dispatches are something more than the 'viewless winds'. Their production on an immense scale by unity of management, for a limited number of persons, giving to such persons an economic advantage over their competitors, is indeed different from a local monopoly like a city utility company; but it is nevertheless a very real and practical monopoly. Because it has feeble competitors in the business of gathering and selling news, with the possibility of still others entering the field, it yet holds a strategic advantage over its rivals. There is and can be no absolute monopoly. But the owner of a newspaper in any considerable city in the United States, not on the membership of the Associated Press knows that he cannot furnish news of equal value with that of his competitor who is a member; and when he is denied admission to membership, he needs no elaborate argument to prove that it is a monopoly.

What are the tests of a monopoly? There are four: unity of management exclusiveness, economic advantage, and the limitations resulting in the law of monopoly price. The Associated Press is characterized by every one of these. The unity of management is as admirable and perfect as that of a military organization. It is strictly of, by, and for the membership; and this exclusiveness is carefully guarded by the By-laws and practice, in the very limited admission of new members. It confers a decided economic advantage on the 700 newspaper owners who alone can sell the daily news. It is a plan by which the largest net returns, paid by the public, will accrue to the membership. So far as the consumer,—the reading public, is concerned, it can and does reduce the output of news by limiting the area of its circulation, and hence raising the value of what is sold.

#### IS THE ASSOCIATED PRESS IMPARTIAL?

Is the Associated Press fairly impartial in the collection of news and in its dispatches? Has it a bias? It will be conceded by all that the report of accidents crimes, devastations by nature, wars, and most of the religious, social and educational gatherings, are accurate and reliable. In 1896, Senator Jones, the chairman of the Democratic national committee, and Mark Hanna, the chairman of the Republican national committee, charged the managers of the Associated Press with favoring the opposite party. But later, both Bryan and McKinley acknowledged the impartial service rendered by the managers and their assistants. The bipartisan character of the Board of Directors, insures fair dealing toward the two old parties. But with respect to the Labor Party and the Socialists, it is different. They have no direct representative on the Board. Impartiality toward them and toward certain reform movements can only come from a high sense of professional duty to render all the news accurate and reliable.

#### CENSORSHIP OF THE NEWS.

Mr. Stone has shown clearly the necessity for the censorship of the daily news by the Associated Press. He wrote in 1905:

"The hour for selection in news had arrived. It was obvious that no editor could any longer print all the information offered him. Thus was clearly outlined the path along which the Associated Press must travel. Strong men, especially trained for the work in hand must be chosen, and stationed at strategic points. The ordinary correspondent would not do. But the strategic points were not the only ones to be looked after. News of the highest importance, requiring for its proper treatment the best literary skill was sure to develop in the most remote quarters."

"Seven hundred newspapers repre-

senting every conceivable view of every public question, sit in judgment upon the Associated Press dispatches. A representative of each of these papers has a vote in the election of the management."

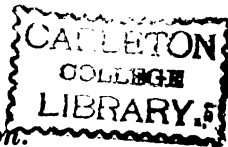
This last statement assumes what is not true and alleges what is not disputed. It assumes that the majority of the membership elects and can direct the management of the Associated Press when in fact, by the terms of the By-laws and the issue of bonds, the voting strength to elect the fifteen directors, the executive committee, and the general manager, is vested in a small number of persons, probably less than twenty-five out of the seven hundred members. It alleges what will be conceded,—impartiality in reporting most of the news.

Censorship is necessary because of the large volume of the world's news. But it will be granted that here is at hand, the opportunity and machinery for forming public opinion: unity of management over a continent, a trained body of writers, and the power to select, color and emphasize any part of the daily news. The policy back of such censorship is the thing important to the public. What is that policy? It may be readily conceded that this policy is all that can be desired with reference to most of the news, even with many political movements. But what is that policy with reference to political movements tending toward constructive legislation in favor of public interests as opposed to special interests?

During the past eight years, one state has enacted the most progressive and far reaching legislation; another has adopted the most democratic of constitutions; a third has successfully established the practical working of the initiative and referendum; still others have had contests against the rule of special privileged classes. The presidency of the nation, with all its vast power and influence has been thrown into the scale for the highest ideals in government.

During the last half of this period, Moody reports that the trust power of the United States has increased from twenty to nearly thirty one-billion dollars, an increase of 55 per cent. Lyman Abbott states that one per cent. of the families in this country own more than the other 99 per cent. In this struggle between the people and predatory wealth, a struggle enlisting on one side or the other every man of intelligence, has the management of the Associated Press had no bias? With the leading papers in that management connected by a perfect network of commercial ties with industrial corporations, railway and traction companies and trusts, has its policy been the public good as against its allies seeking special privileges? Has the vast movement over a continent against the rule of such privileged classes been adequately and fairly set forth in the Associated Press dispatches? Or, has this movement been minimized, ignored in part, reported at intervals to dissipate the effect and treated as a wave of hysteria soon to pass away? Has the Associated Press been conservative or progressive, plutocratic or democratic?

The dispatches themselves disclose the attitude of the management. They give scant courtesy to movements for constructive legislation in the public interest. The reports, scores of which have been examined, are meager, fragmentary, isolated. Every time Tom Johnson was successful in more than fifty injunction suits, the general public in other states heard little or nothing of it. When an election recently went against him, everybody heard of the 'failure' of municipal ownership. When La Follette for five years, by a continuous contest, was placing law after law on the statute books, the matter was ignored or briefly reported in distant states; and temporary defeats were given wide publicity. When Kansas in 1908, rejected a conservative and elected a progressive United States Senator, the general public at a distance from that state did not know the real



issue involved. For more than two years, there has been a strong movement in California against the rule of that state by special and corrupt interests, but that fact merely as news, has never reached the general public in the east. The prosecution of offenders in San Francisco has only been a part of the wider movement in California. The strong movement in New Hampshire, headed by Winston Churchill to free that state from the grasp of the Boston and Maine Railway Company, and the movement in New Jersey led by Everett Colby, which resulted in the defeat of Senator Dryden, the President of the Prudential Insurance Company, have not been given to the people adequately as matters of news. It is not contended that any one of these movements, measures, or men have been entirely ignored in the Associated Press; and it should be frankly admitted that some of the dispatches are impartial statements of fact. But a careful reading of scores of such reports shows that the news is so presented and given at long intervals as practically to dissipate its effects. Nor can it be maintained that most of such statements are sent out to serve special interests. If any affirmative policy clearly appears, it is to report the unusual and the spectacular for commercial value to the newspapers served. It is perhaps unreasonable to expect an intelligent interpretation of a movement whether it be conservative or progressive; altho Mr. Stone explains that the Associated Press employs strong men of the best literary skill, and places them at strategic points. It is indeed not to be expected that the earnestness or enthusiasm of the progressive citizen shall appear in the dispatches; but a movement arousing the consciences of hundreds of thousands of voters, marked by largely attended public meetings, with elections where economic and moral issues are at stake, and culminating in constructive and far-reaching legislation, is surely news of the highest importance.

The Associated Press is an agency for the collection and transmission of news of the most commercial value to a limited number of great daily papers. The management undoubtedly serves as best it can, the financial interests of these papers. It has developed an aptitude for gathering that kind of news which will increase newspaper circulation and enhance advertising space. It can at any moment become the powerful ally of any special interest, but there is no way of making it the efficient instrument for forming public opinion along progressive lines.

THE FIFTEEN NEWSPAPERS BY THE  
FIFTEEN DIRECTORS.

But there is another test of the policy of the Associated Press. Each one of the fifteen Directors owns, edits or controls a great daily newspaper whose editorials day after day will disclose a conservative or a progressive attitude. Twelve of these men have been Directors since 1900, and since they elect the president, treasurer, general manager and executive committee of the association, it is fair to assume that they have controlled the policy of the Associated Press. These fifteen papers have been carefully examined to discover any attitude in case of a conflict between public and special interests. Six of the papers supported Bryan in 1908 and most of the others were for Taft.

By far the most progressive of the fifteen, is the Kansas City Star-Times, owned and edited by William R. Nelson. How he came to be admitted on the Board of Directors can only be explained by those rare qualities which have caused his name to be frequently mentioned in connection with a foreign diplomatic station of high rank. He supported Taft solely on the ground of his progressive stand on public questions. From September 30, to October 24th., 1908, he wrote vigorous editorials in favor of the progressive movements in



Kansas, in New Hampshire, and in Iowa. During the same brief period, he defended I. a Follette's course in the United States Senate, paid tribute to Tom Johnson's heroic efforts for the people of Cleveland, advocated public ownership of the water plant of Kansas City, exposed two predatory city utility companies, and declared for the initiative and referendum. The number of editorials on these and allied subjects, clearly and strongly expressed in favor of constructive, progressive measures, exceeds all such editorials combined in the other fourteen papers.

All the other fourteen are conservative or ultra conservative. The Chicago Daily News and the Record-Herald have a few carefully guarded editorials in favor of certain progressive movements. Several of the other papers have only colorless editorials but in many ways they show a decided conservative tendency. Three,—the St. Paul Dispatch, the Portland Oregonian, and the San Francisco Chronicle are ultra conservative. All these fourteen papers show a solicitude for corporate and special interests and a critical attitude toward progressive measures. It is true that almost every one can point to some reform movement which it has supported; but none of the fourteen can show a record of standing clearly and vigorously for a wide-spread system of guarding everywhere and all the time the public interests as opposed to special privilege. The Kansas City Star-Times does this. Its editor has a high conception of journalism in relation to good government. The other fourteen papers are huge commercial ventures, connected by advertising and in other ways, with banks, trust companies, railway and city utility companies, department stores and manufacturing enterprises. They reflect the system which supports them. They cannot afford to mold public opinion against the network of special interests which envelop them.

## II. NEWS BUREAUS AND NEWSPAPERS ADVOCATING CORPORATION INTERESTS.

Besides the Associated Press as an instrument for forming conservative, or what is called 'safe and sane' public opinion, the special interests employ for the same purpose well organized news bureaus to furnish to the newspapers adroitly prepared articles, interviews, letters and news items. These appear in the public press without a suggestion of their real source. They are not accompanied by any of the marks of advertising matter. Very often, especially in the case of city utility companies, the 'interests' deal directly with the newspapers by liberal purchase of advertising space and thus secure control of the news columns and of the editorial page itself.

During the last four years, a large number of these news bureaus have been actively engaged in the work of forming public opinion in all parts of the country.

### MAKING PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The Municipal Ownership Publicity Bureau sends out articles and news items adverse to municipal ownership and in favor of private ownership of city utility companies. It published a monthly magazine "Concerning Municipal Ownership", in which John Kendrick Bangs wrote humorous articles for such private ownership.

The Publicity Bureau, operated by two men,—Michaelis and Ellsworth, is an effective organ in advancing the interests of a powerful group of gas, light, water and traction companies, and in prejudicing the public against municipal ownership of any of these utilities. The bureau has offices in Boston, New York, Washington and Chicago; and from these centers, arguments, half-truths, and edited reports that are often very misleading, are sent out to the press

and paid for as regular advertising matter altho they appear as 'news'. Mr. Grant of this bureau wrote the following letter marked, "strictly confidential", to the president of the Oconee Telephone Company at Walhalla, S. C.:

"The Bureau has arranged with the American Press Association to furnish a page of plate matter monthly to such newspapers as may be designated. Companies desiring to place such matters in the local papers should communicate with the Bureau—under no circumstances taking up the matter with either the American Press Association or the local paper. All arrangements are made through the Bureau in such a way that the company does not appear in the matter at all. The cost of service is \$20. per year per paper. The great benefit accruing from the constant presentation of facts and arguments in favor of private ownership can hardly be overestimated."

Is this Mr. Grant, the John H. Grant who is treasurer of the American Press Association?

At one time when the consolidated Gas Company of Boston was in a contest with the Public Franchise League of that city, and while legislation on the subject was being considered, interested parties sent out to the newspapers of the state the following letter:

"Enclosed you will find copy for a reading-matter ad. to be used in your paper. It is understood that this will be set up as news matter, in news type, with a news head, and without advertising marks of any sort. Please send your bill at the lowest net cash rates to the undersigned."

This letter was printed as directed in numerous newspapers throughout the state.

MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FOR THE  
INSURANCE COMPANIES.

When the Armstrong Committee began its investigation of the insurance companies in September, 1905, the com-

panies at once employed Charles J. Smith to prepare articles which were turned over to the Telegraphic News Bureau, handled by Allan Foreman. These articles soon began to appear as 'news' in the daily and weekly newspapers from New York to St. Paul. The Mutual paid Foreman \$1.00 a line inserted in a reputable paper. For a single item in 100 newspapers in October, 1905, this company paid between \$5,000 and \$6,000. On October 25th., the same company paid about \$11,000 for six articles published as telegraphic news. A second news bureau was also hired to form public opinion favorable to the insurance companies.

Gustavus Meyer, in the Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald of November 7th, 1908, makes in substance the following statement: In December, 1905, he was employed on the Cosmopolitan Magazine. During the next nine months, in collecting material for David Graham Phillips' articles on "The Treason of the Senate," Meyer investigated the record of Senator J. F. Dryden, the President of the Prudential Insurance Company, and furnished what he found to Mr. Phillips who used it in his article which was to appear in October, 1906. Some weeks before this date, the business manager of the Cosmopolitan, came into the office and said he would 'kill' that part relating to Senator Dryden. He further stated that a four page advertisement of the Prudential Insurance Company had been sent to the Cosmopolitan and that it, "was not worth while losing four or five thousand dollars just for the sake of printing those few paragraphs." The October number was silent as to the record of Senator Dryden; but instead, there appeared an article entitled, "An Aid to Modern Business," which was a eulogy on Mr. Dryden and the Prudential Insurance Company. Mr. Meyer states that in April, 1907, Mr. Hearst was informed of this but he refrained from discharging his business manager.

MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FOR THE  
STANDARD OIL COMPANY.

In 1898, when Francis S. Monnett, the attorney general of Ohio, was prosecuting the Standard Oil Company for violation of law, he learned that articles were being published in all parts of the state for the purpose of forming public opinion against the prosecution of the company. He ascertained that the articles thus sent to the newspapers, all emanated from the Jennings News Bureau and Advertising Agency at Lancaster, Ohio. He placed on the witness stand Mr. Jennings, who swore that a Mr. Apthorp, an agent of the Standard Oil Company had furnished him with the printed matter. The attorney general produced a contract between the agency and a newspaper which provided that the publication of the article in the local paper would be paid for on condition that it would appear as 'news' or an editorial.

In 1903, Senator J. B. Foraker received from John D. Archbold, the Vice-President of the Standard Oil Company, \$50,000 to purchase in part, the Ohio State Journal. Later, when it was found that the purchase could not be made, the money was returned.

This company employs a well-known press agent at its headquarters,—26 Broadway, New York City. The following letters bear but one plain interpretation. Gunton's Magazine was ultra conservative, ever alert to champion special interests:

"26 Broadway.

To Prof. George Gunton, 41 Union Square, City.

My dear Professor: Responding to your favor, it gives me pleasure to inclose you herewith certificate of deposit to your favor for \$5,000 as an additional contribution to that agreed upon and to aid you in your most excellent work. I most earnestly hope that the way will open for an enlarged scope, as you anticipate. Yours very truly,

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD."

"Mr. Thomas P. Grasty:

Dear Mr. Grasty: I have your favor of yesterday and beg to return herewith the telegram of Mr. Edmunds to you. We are willing to continue the subscription of \$5,000 to the Southern Farm Magazine for another year, payments to be made the same as they have been this year. We do not doubt that the influence of your publications throughout the south is of the most helpful character. With good wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD."

The sinister Sibley, member of Congress at the time from the 28th. district in Pennsylvania, wrote to John D. Archbold from Washington, D. C., on March 7, 1905, proposing the establishment of a vast literary bureau to form public opinion in favor of the industrial corporations and the traction and railway companies. His letter needs to be read with care. He would have such a bureau 'efficient' and 'permanent'. Even for the three great interests named in his letter, representing probably more than half of the total wealth of the United States, he stated, "It will cost money". When he says it, "will be made self-supporting," does he mean that the outlay for this bureau will be reimbursed to the corporations by legislative grants of further special privileges? Governor Hughes once said: "The man that would corrupt public opinion is the most dangerous enemy of the state". But Sibley not only proposed the systematic and permanent corruption of public opinion, but also the corruption of the Associated Press, the newspapers and magazines; and the betrayal of the American government itself to the special interests. We need a new definition of treason. The following is this man's letter:

"John D. Archbold,

"Dear Sir:

"An efficient literary bureau is needed, not for a day or a crisis, but a permanent

and healthy control of the Associated Press and kindred avenues. It will cost money, but will be the cheapest in the end, and can be made self-supporting. The next four years is, more than any previous epoch, to determine the future of the country. No man values public opinion or fears it so much as Roosevelt. Mild reproof or criticism of his policy nearly paralyzes him. To-day he hears only the chorus of a rabble, and he thinks it is public sentiment. I don't know whether the industrial corporations and the transportation companies have enough at stake to justify a union of forces for concerted action. It seems to me to be necessary."

In 1905, the Standard Oil Company sent Patrick C. Boyle and Malcom Jennings to Kansas to make public opinion in favor of the company. Ida Tarbell in her *History of the Standard Oil Company* mentions Boyle as a "picturesque Irishman" in the service of the company. He has been the editor of the *Oil City Derrick* and a literary hack of this company for many years. In the eighth annual report of the Associated Press for 1908, his name appears as a member of the Advisory Board for the Eastern Division, thus showing that he has some influence in that organization. Jennings is the same man who served the company in Ohio. These two men procured the publication of numerous articles in many newspapers. The contracts provided that such articles should be published as 'news' without advertising marks of any kind. The manager of the *Kansas City Journal* testified that his paper received \$3,340 for eight such articles.

The Interstate Commerce Commission in its report of February, 1907, states: "The Standard Oil Company buys advertising space in many newspapers, which it fills, not with advertisements, but with reading matter prepared by agents kept for that purpose, and paid for at advertising rates as ordinary news."

MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FOR THE  
ALDRICH CURRENCY BILL.

When the Aldrich currency bill was pending before Congress in March, 1908, a Mr. P. S. Ridsdale of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. wrote to many publishers of newspapers the following:

"I wish to have published in as many papers as possible, opinions of prominent business men and bankers of your district favorable to the Aldrich Currency Bill now before the Senate."

He offered to pay \$10 for each 'story' of about one half column in the leading papers of large cities and \$2.00 to each local paper. The same week, the *Detroit Journal* received a letter signed by the Keystone News Bureau of Philadelphia offering an article which read in part as given below: Newspaper men in Philadelphia at the time knew nothing of any such bureau in that city:

"Washington D. C.

"There is coming now from a quite unexpected source support of the Aldrich emergency bill which is expected, by those who favor it, to win it many votes in the House. Leading labor union men throughout the country, now that they realize how many workmen are idle and how little prospect of employment there is during the next several months, say that some financial measure is imperative."

MAKING PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST  
TARIFF REVISION.

One of the best known of these venal news bureaus is operated in Washington by William Wolff Smith who has his offices in the Munsey Building and employs a number of stenographers and so-called 'reporters'. Smith is frequently seen at the New Willard Hotel and at the Capitol. Very few of the leading daily papers can afford the expense of a special correspondent in Washington and most of them readily publish as news letters purporting to come from the direct

representative of the paper, but which really emanate from some hired bureau. There appeared such an article in some of the papers of the northwest in January, 1909. It was adroitly and ably written to form public opinion in favor of a high tariff. It stated that the annual disbursements greatly exceeded the income of the national government, that President Roosevelt had believed he was right in advocating large appropriations, that if the tariff were lowered a large bond issue would be necessary, that the Standard Oil Company's National City Bank favored such bond issue, that,

"Speaker Cannon has stood constantly for more care in spending money and it must be said that he is coming into a meed of approval and appreciation which decidedly contrasts with the public attitude toward him as displayed during late campaign. The Speaker and his followers are determined to do some paring this session, but they have no idea that they can cut expenses enough to overcome the deficit."

In this column and a half of 'news' are found an appeal to partisanship and to the popular prejudice against the Standard Oil Company, a plausible argument for economy, a covert attack on President Roosevelt and a laudation of Speaker Cannon. It was skillfully contrived to have the reader draw the inevitable conclusion that the tariff must not be reduced; and this conclusion, nowhere clearly stated, was the sole object of the article.

#### MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FOR THE RAILWAY COMPANIES.

In 1905, when bills for railroad rate regulation were pending in Congress and while President Roosevelt was urging such regulation, the railway companies organized a system of bureaus in New York, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis and Topeka. They also had agents in South Dakota and California. Samuel Spencer, President of the Southern Railroad Company had general supervision of

these various bureaus, with headquarters at Washington. He knew most of the Senators and Representatives and was a tactful, agreeable and able manager. These publicity bureaus were in operation for several months and cost approximately \$100,000. The Chicago office was in the Orchestra Building on Michigan Avenue and employed forty-three persons, some of them experienced newspaper men. To this office came most of the local papers of the entire northwest. Ray Stannard Baker inspected this office and has described a card case which he saw there called, "The Barometer". Each editor was accurately characterized on a card as to politics, financial condition and peculiarities. If an editor was too active against the railroads, a traveling agent went to his town and organized some of the local shippers against him. Mr. Baker states that a member of the firm told him that for the week ending June 5th., 1905, before the bureau began its work, 412 columns of matter opposed to the railroads had appeared in the Nebraska papers, but that three months later, after the bureau had been in operation, 202 columns favorable and only 4 against the railroads were published in that state in one week.

During April and May, of 1905, a Committee of the United States Senate gave so-called 'hearings' for six weeks on matters relating to railway legislation. Senator Elkins of West Virginia, who for years in the Senate has guarded the interests of the railway companies, was chairman of the committee. Ex-Senator Faulkner from the same state was employed by the companies and during the 'investigation' sat just back of Elkins at each session. Numerous railroad men and small shippers attended, all expenses being paid by the companies. The testimony thus taken, filled five volumes of a thousand pages each. Reporters were constantly present to give the daily press statistics and arguments in favor of the railway interests. Public opinion

was being made for a powerful special interest, by an investigating committee at the expense of the government.

MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FOR LOCAL SPECIAL INTERESTS.

It is a commonplace in the newspaper business that the advertisements instead of the subscriptions form the chief support for the costs of publication. A daily paper without advertisers would be published at a daily loss. This is but another way of stating that the existence of a daily paper depends on the sale of a certain amount of advertising space. With other daily papers in the same city, a given paper cannot pursue in its news columns a policy hostile to the interests of its leading advertisers. If such advertisers be city utility companies, department stores or industrial corporations, they can control the policy of the paper or at least, subsidize it into silence. When these utility companies give special rates or privileges to the leading business men of the city, and, at a moment's notice, can withdraw their patronage, they become formidable opponents to the newspaper that dares to attack them. Besides, most daily newspapers are run for profit rather than for the public interests. The stockholders demand of their management a reasonable net return on their investment. From this situation, there results, either silence on the part of the paper when public interests are at stake; or open advocacy of some special interest.

Numerous instances can be given of this control of public opinion by special interests. When municipal ownership was an issue in 1906 at an election in Seattle, all of the daily papers but one opposed it. The Seattle Times printed in large black-faced type covering the whole upper part of front page, the following:

**"Municipal Ownership Spells Wreck and Ruin Wherever It Is Found".**

Since successful municipal ownership is found in some form in most of the cities in the United States and in Great Britain, the zeal of the falsehood suggests plainly the 'hire and sale' of the columns. During the same year, municipal ownership was an issue in Detroit. Before August, 1906, not a newspaper in the city had openly advocated granting a new franchise to the Detroit United Railway company. Early in that month, the mayor, who had declared before his election that he was in favor of municipal ownership of the various parts of the street railway system when the franchises expired, startled the city by announcing that he had 'forced' the company to accept an extension of all its franchises until 1924. A rule of the common council compelled a referendum to the people. The street railway company began what it called a "campaign of education". It bought a half page space in every daily newspaper, and every daily except one was subsidized into silence or advocacy of the franchise. A New York editor, writing in the Atlantic Monthly for October, 1908, stated that during the last three years, the department stores combined to modify at least three daily papers of that city. A writer in The Nation in January, 1903, declared that only one New York paper had editorials on the insurance disclosures. Collier's Weekly in March, 1907, gave a long list of religious newspapers which were carrying fraudulent advertisements,—which proved, not the corruption of public opinion by such papers, but which did demonstrate the necessity of advertising matter to give a reasonable profit on the investment. In December, 1908, a case was before the supreme court of the United States to determine whether newspapers and magazines could legally accept transportation over the railways in return for advertising. Such instances show how a newspaper is silenced or changed into an 'organ' of a special interest.

### III. PUBLIC OPINION FORMING MAGAZINES, 1903-1908.

The following are the foremost public opinion forming magazines in the United States:

- (1) The American Magazine, John S. Phillips, President of Publishing Co.,
- (2) The Arena, B. O. Flower, Editor.
- (3) Everybody's Magazine, The Ridge-way Company, Publishers.
- (4) The Forum, The Forum Publishing Company.
- (5) Gunton's Magazine, George Gunton. (Publication ceased in Dec., 1904).
- (6) McClure's Magazine, Samuel S. McClure, President of Publishing Company.
- (7) North American Review, George Harvey, Editor.
- (8) The Outlook, Lyman Abbott, Editor.
- (9) The Review of Reviews, Albert Shaw, Editor.
- (10) The World's Work, Walter H. Page, Editor.

The combined circulation of these ten leading periodicals is more than 2,000,000 copies each month. It is probably a conservative estimate that each issue is read by five persons when the public libraries are taken into account. It must also be considered that these ten million or more of readers are those who take a distinct interest in public affairs and more than any other class, express and represent public opinion.

The issues of these ten magazines for the five years from 1903 to 1908, have been carefully examined to determine the side taken by each in the contest between Special Privilege and the interests of the public. Each periodical has been judged by its output of public opinion forming material over a sufficiently long period. This material consists of a very few editorials and a very large number of carefully written articles in the nature of monographs, most of them involving research, travel or experience. The one test applied to each article or

editorial was:—Does it take the side of any special interest, when that interest has been known by all to be in conflict with the interests of the general public? Or does it take the side of the public against the encroachment of any special privilege? The record made by these ten magazines for the period of five years shows that about 60, more or less elaborate articles, favored some special privilege; and a little more than 200 were in favor of the public interests.

The titles of a few progressive articles will indicate in some part the range and vigor of this new civic literature which has so profoundly stirred the public conscience:

"Who Owns the United States" . . . . . Sereno S. Pratt.  
 "Great Fortunes And Their Making" . . . . . Burton J. Hendrick.  
 "Where Did You Get It Gentlemen?" . . . . . Charles E. Russell.  
 "The Madness of Much Power" . . . . . David Graham Phillips.  
 "Frenzied Finance" . . . . . Thomas W. Lawson.  
 "Industrialized Politics" . . . . . Student of New York Politics.  
 "Senate of Special Interests" . . . . . Henry Beach Needham.  
 "The Senate Plot Against Pure Food" . . . . . Edward Lowry.  
 "The Greatest Trust in the World" . . . . . Charles E. Russell.  
 "The History of the Standard Oil Company" . . . . . Ida Tarbell.  
 "Kansas and the Standard Oil Company" . . . . . Ida Tarbell.  
 "The Railway Empire" . . . . . Frank Parsons.  
 "The Heart of the Railroad Problem" . . . . . Frank Parsons.  
 "How the Railroad Makes the Trust" . . . . . George W. Alger.  
 "The Railroad Rebate" . . . . . Ray Stannard Baker.  
 "The Railroad Rate" . . . . . Ray Stannard Baker.  
 "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon" . . . . . W. S. U'Ren  
 "Oregon as a Political Experiment Station" . . . . . Joseph Schaffer.  
 "The Story of Montana" . . . . . C. P. Connolly.  
 "The Fight of the Copper Kings" . . . . . C. P. Connolly.  
 "Rhode Island, a State for Sale" . . . . . Lincoln Steffens.  
 "New Jersey, a Traitor State" . . . . . Lincoln Steffens.  
 "Pittsburg, a City Ashamed" . . . . . Lincoln Steffens.  
 "Philadelphia, Corrupt and Contented" . . . . . Lincoln Steffens.  
 "The subway Deal" . . . . . Ray Stannard Baker.  
 "A Colossal Fabric on Franchises" . . . . .  
 "The Story of Life Insurance" . . . . . Burton J. Hendrick.  
 "Governor La Follette" . . . . . Lincoln Steffens.  
 "Governor Folk" . . . . . William Allen White.  
 "Tom Johnson" . . . . . Edward Bemis.  
 "Golden Rule Jones" . . . . . Brand Whitlock.

#### EACH MAGAZINE, CONSERVATIVE OR PROGRESSIVE.

The North American Review is the most conservative of the ten magazines. The editor, Mr. George Harvey is also editor of Harpers' Weekly. The N. Y. Directory of Directors for 1905 shows that he was then the second vice-president of the Broadway Safe Deposit Co., a director of the City of New York Insurance Co., a director of two ferry companies and a director of the Mechanics and Traders Bank. Both the North American Review and The Harpers' Weekly have been distinctly hostile

to the movement led by President Roosevelt. The editor has constantly, systematically and almost viciously assailed the policies and personality of the ex-President. During the past five years, three times as many reactionary or conservative articles appeared in the *North American Review* as the number which might be considered to be mildly progressive. It would perhaps be too strong, and yet not far from the truth, to call both the magazine and the weekly the 'organs' of the special interests.

Gunton's Magazine was quite frankly the 'organ' of special privilege. Mr. Hearst in 1908, disclosed the fact that the Standard Oil Company paid Gunton, "\$5,000 as an additional contribution to that agreed upon". It must have been after some such subsidy that Gunton wrote his editorials: "Are Millionaires a Menace", "Roosevelt Sane", "The Crusade vs. Property", and others displaying marked subserviency to special interests. From January, 1899 to 1904, after which its publication ceased, more than twenty articles and editorials defended various special interests and only one,—on the ice-trust of New York City, took the side of the public. From the number of editorials on the subject, Gunton seems to have held a brief for the group of public utility companies, and to have shown a proper amount of gratitude toward millionaires in general.

The Forum has been more or less colorless and can have had but little effect in forming public opinion during the last half decade. This is true of both the leading articles and editorials on 'American Politics' by H. L. West. During 1904-1906, Mr. West was fairly progressive in his brief editorials, but later, he became quite conservative and in 1908, advocated the nomination of Fairbanks for President and seemed to regret, as he stated it, that "The wave of reform still sweeps over the country". Certainly The Forum has not contributed much to that wave and it must be regarded as conservative. The New York Directory

of Directors for 1905, shows that Isaac L. Rice was the president and director of The Forum Publishing Co. He was also an officer or director of the Chicago Electric Traction Co., and of thirteen other industrial concerns. Joseph and Samuel Rice were also directors of the Forum Publishing Co. Another director of this company was Maurice Barnett who was an officer in twelve other business establishments.

The Review of Reviews has been a factor in forming public opinion; but it has been a two-edged sword, cutting both sides, but with one edge much sharper than the other. The number of conservative articles has exceeded those which are progressive and there is evidence that a careful selection has been made in the list of progressive articles. The record for the five years would rather suggest that the columns had been quite freely opened to explain or defend several great special interests. But it should be stated that other leading articles were admitted which were squarely for the public interests. The New York Directory of Directors for 1905, shows that Francis L. Hine was vice-president and director of the Review of Reviews Co., and that he was also a director in four railroad companies and ten other firms or corporations.

The Outlook has been very cautiously progressive. It has steadily supported the policies of President Roosevelt and has briefly and guardedly advocated public interests against the encroachments of special privilege. But it has had few or no leading articles showing strongly the necessity of constructive legislation. It seems to have aimed at a brief review of current events, rather than the publication of articles to make progressive public opinion. The unquestioned character of its editor accounts for its progressive attitude. In November, 1908, the treasurer of the Outlook Co. stated that James Stillman, the mutli-millionaire and 'silent man of the Standard Oil Company', owned less than ten per



cent of the stock of the Outlook Co.

The World's Work, from March, 1903 to April, 1908 has not had a consistent attitude toward special interests. From the first date to April, 1906, by actual count, three times as many progressive articles appeared in this magazine as those which can be called conservative. But in the early months of 1906, a marked change took place. An editorial on the first page of the May, 1906, number, shows that a new policy had been adopted. A single sentence indicates exactly the course of this magazine for the next two years: "And reform by shrieking exposure does at last become tiresome. It is another evidence of sanity that the people are showing some weariness with the literature of corruption." For the next two years, more than four times as many articles in explanation or defense of special privilege appeared as those in favor of the public. Three fourths of these conservative articles were in favor of the railway companies. In October, 1907, an editorial, entitled, "The Mobbing of Corporations", stated: "The time that has passed since Judge Landis fined the Standard Oil Company more than \$9 million dollars for violating the Elkins law has won public sympathy for the Company".

Another editorial in April, 1908, relates an incident showing the generosity of this company towards a rival. The New York Directory of Directors for 1905, shows that the editor, Mr. Walter H. Page was a director of the Aberdeen and Ashboro Railway Company. Moody's Manual of 1908 shows that six other members of the Page family were the chief officers in this railway company.

Whatever the explanation may be, the fact is that here, a progressive magazine has been quietly and suddenly changed to one highly favorable to the 'interests'.

#### THE FOUR MOST PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINES.

Judged solely by the number and kind of leading articles which have been pub-

lished during the last five years, the following are the most progressive periodicals:

The Arena.

The American Magazine.

Everybody's Magazine.

McClure's Magazine.

Out of a total circulation of 2,000,000 copies each month, these four magazines have one and a third million and they have published a little more than five times the number of progressive articles as the other six magazines combined. If each issue is read by five persons, these four magazines with their searching articles on every phase of public affairs, are forming the opinions of more than 6,000,000 readers. For it must be considered that a single article may have more weight than the reading of a daily paper for a year, with its scrappy news. These four periodicals, more than all others combined, from the standpoint of public affairs, carry on their pages the indignant protest against all forms of special privilege; and they record the courage and ideals of the best citizens.

#### IV. MAKING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE LIBRARY AND THEATER.

It would be difficult to overrate the influence of "The Jungle" by Upton Sinclair. It led to immediate investigation and legislation by the national government. By its influence on public opinion, it is comparable to Les Miserables." "The Octopus" by Frank Norris is a graphic picture of the control of California by the railroad corporations; and "Coniston" by Winston Churchill is a still finer delineation of railway corruption in New Hampshire.

The drama, in a very limited way, has aided in forming public opinion. The best examples are, "The Man of the Hour" and "The Lion and the Mouse". But they have vividly presented to many thousands the greed and power of special interests.

During the past few years, many important volumes have appeared which

have influenced directly the leaders of public opinion. These are the works of specialists,—usually university or college trained men. Their influence extends far beyond their circle of readers. They instruct the esoteric, to inform the far larger exoteric class. B. H. Meyer, in "Railway Legislation in the United States," Frank Parsons, in "The Heart of the Railway Problem" and John Moody in "The Truth About Trusts", are types of men who have made constructive and intelligent public opinion.

#### V. MAKING PUBLIC OPINION FROM THE PLATFORM.

Mr. Bryan has probably given public addresses to more people than any other American. He has formed public opinion not only in his own party but he has influenced men of all parties toward fundamental democracy and the highest ideals in citizenship. On concrete issues, he has clearly and eloquently stated and formed the opinions of millions. He has been and is a decided factor in making opinion on every important public question.

Senator La Follette has addressed hundreds of thousands of voters from New York to California. He is, "a man with a message" and an orator of rare power. His intense earnestness, his sincerity, courage and perfect mastery of his subject, carry his convictions into the very conscience of his audiences. He is the implacable foe of every form of unjust special privilege and his constructive ability to guard the public interests has been amply demonstrated in his career as governor of Wisconsin. The 'interests' dread him. He is a force of unusual power in forming public opinion.

President Roosevelt has not addressed as many audiences as Senator La Follette; but his words have gone out to the remotest parts of the entire country. He is not a great orator and he has little constructive ability. But he has expressed the hopes and aspirations, the

protests and ideals of the American people. Tho few have seen him, he is the best known man in public life. He so formed public opinion that he set in motion a thousand influences which forced a hostile national convention to nominate for President the man whom he had endorsed. This was not all due, nor mainly due to the personality of Mr. Roosevelt, nor to the respect of the people for the high office of President. Had he been a governor or senator from a great commonwealth, he could not have done this. As ex-President, he cannot do it. But every time the President speaks, more than twenty thousand newspapers and millions of voices repeat his words. The Associated Press can pass over in silence a governors' message which may result in legislation of the very highest importance; but the public utterances of the President cannot be ignored. When he speaks, he has the nation for an audience. He has formed the opinions of millions because he has been heard and believed by them. The Presidency has given to Mr. Roosevelt a far-reaching megaphone-like Voice raucus and strident indeed, but of high purpose like that of the prophets of old.

#### THE REFORM MOVEMENT.

It is not difficult to account for the wave of reform during the past few years. La Follette was the pioneer and is the leader in this movement. He began it away back in 1890 when he was defeated for Congress by the railroad companies. For ten years he constantly advocated direct nominations by the people but was beaten by an entrenched political machine. For five years as governor, he secured the enactment of law after law against special privileges. At the present time in a "Senate of Special Interests", he stands as the foremost representative of popular economic rights. During the past five years, U'Ren in Oregon, Churchill in New Hampshire, Colby in New Jersey and others have been earnestly in the contest against

the control of government by the special interests. During the same period, five or six magazines have published several hundred articles showing the encroachments and corruption by special privileged classes and these have been read by millions of progressive citizens. Fiction and the drama came to the aid of the public. But in the fullness of time, while all these scattered movements were in full progress, a new and unexpected force came to their aid and unified them into one common movement against the control of government by predatory wealth. This new force was the energy, honesty and courage of the President who at once made the contest heard and made it national. If La Follette could have been permanently defeated, if five or six magazines could have been silenced, and if the Presidency could have been made the voice of special privilege, no reform movement would have taken place. But with this inspiring contest successful in one state, with great, free magazines, forming and expressing progressive public opinion and with the far-reaching voice of the presidency to unify and make it national, it has triumphed over the organized agencies for forming conservative public opinion.

But the reactionary and conservative forces are in possession of unlimited resources, financial, political, and social. They have regular bureaus to form public opinion. They are the natural allies of the Associated Press and of every leading daily newspaper. The purchase of every progressive magazine would be but an item in their expenses. It is easily conceivable that they may organize a system of bureaus over the entire

country to furnish articles to every local paper in defense of the three allied special interests—the railroads, the city utility companies and certain industrial combinations, like the Steel Trust and the Standard Oil Co. If these interests are to obtain or even hold special privileges, such a system of bureaus is necessary, and as Sibley said, “might be made self-supporting”. The public can be deceived, can be made to pay the costs of the deception and induced to grant further aids.

The public is continually played upon by adroit, skillful and powerful forces. The average reader of the daily paper is in a hurry. He reads headlines. He does not read critically. He does not know that two or three items in a brief ‘news’ article presented as undoubted facts, lead him to but one conclusion. He does not note the careful coloring, the skillful arrangement of parts, the appeal to prejudice, the half-truths or the shrewd mis-statements. He is easily caught by the sophistry that a private monopoly enjoying extortionate profits is exactly like any other private business. He is told that a rebate is like the discount given to any large buyer and his mind does not penetrate to the distinction. The economic interests of one class and the exploitation of another, nationality, partisanship and even patriotism itself are all appealed to in forming public opinion for special privileged classes. But for a long term of years, Lincoln’s statement is probably true: “You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of of the people some of the time; but you can’t fool all the people all the time.”

WILLIAM KITTLE.

*Madison, Wisconsin.*

## ASSUMPTIONS VERSUS FACTS: A SATIRE.

BY CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

SOME day a chieftain lands in San Francisco, new come from his native Rutarutari. By nightfall he has learned that in the United States is an organization called the Republican Party. Before he retires he has written about the Republican Party an article for the Rutarutari Oilcan.

"The Republican Party," writes the chief, "advocates witchcraft, voodooism, astrology, divination, human slavery, piracy, cannibalism, and thuggee. All the members of the party declare that they believe in none of these things but they cannot deceive me. I know what they believe better than they themselves can know, because I know all things.

"The men of the Republican Party are all bank-wreckers, law-breakers, bribers, usurers, thieves, scoundrels and lewd persons. Their wives and daughters are ignorant and immoral. I have not the slightest evidence on which to base these hideous gross slanders of good men and good women, but I wish them to be true, therefore they are true. Anyone that says they are not true, I will have him indicted by My Grand Jury and prosecuted by My Attorney General for injuring the walls of my Speak house in Roturoitu, in My Gilbert Islands, whither he shall be taken for trial and punishment, for he has committed *lese majeste*."

All this would be very absurd, would it not? But no whit more absurd or displaying more ignorance than Mr. Roosevelt's creed on Socialism. Yet with this difference, that a savage from the Gilbert Islands could not reasonably be expected to be well-informed or to speak in the manner of decency about those with whom he disagreed.

Mr. Roosevelt's methods may be further paralleled in a conversation with a famous Sioux Indian (or his reincarnation, for I believe the Sioux gentleman is dead).

*Crazy Horse*—You are a polygamist.

*Socialist*—I am not.

*Crazy Horse*—Yes, you are. I know better. You believe in polygamy.

*Socialist*—I do not. I detest it. No one shall ever say of me that I think well of polygamy.

*Crazy Horse*—Yes, you believe in it. And you are a free lover.

*Socialist*—I am not.

*Crazy Horse*—Yes, you are. You believe in free love.

*Socialist*—I do not. I loathe it. If ever I entertain a belief in free love I shall think myself unworthy of my humanity.

*Crazy Horse*—Ladies and gentlemen, behold this vile creature, a polygamist and a free lover. I quote to you his own words, for you know me. You know how fair, honorable and truthful I am; you know how I stand for all things noble, pure, virtuous, grand, religious and temperate. I scorn to deceive you. I quote the vile creature's own words. Here they are. He said: "I entertain a belief in free love," and "I think well of polygamy." And now I ask you, can you tolerate socialism, that loathsome destroyer of the home and avowed enemy of all goodness and purity?

With sincere admiration I salute those of my fellow countrymen that are able to take a serious view of Mr. Roosevelt's fustian. They have a force of mental application beyond my power to attain or even to imitate. So far as I can see, Mr. Roosevelt on Socialism is a mildly diverting performance but not profitable to adults that have to work for their living. It reminds me of a comment made by one member of the House to another, when Congress was presidentially informed of the terrible misdeeds of Mr. Joseph Pulitzer:

"Well, I see that there are still new varieties of the ghost dance."

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

*New York City.*

# THE MASTER NOTE IN THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ITS PRESENT-DAY SIGNIFICANCE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

"Voices are crying from the dust of Tyre,  
From Baalbec and the stones of Babylon—  
We raised our pillars upon Self-Desire,  
And perished from the large gaze of the sun.

"Eternity was on the pyramid,  
And immortality on Greece and Rome;  
But in them all the ancient Traitor hid,  
And so they tottered like unstable foam.

"No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,  
Built on the crumbling rock of Self-Desire."  
—Edwin Markham.

## I.

TO THE philosophical student of history, no fact is more obvious than that in proportion as a civilization, a people or a nation is dominated by moral idealism—by the vision that gives to life a living faith, it will rise, advance and become inherently great. On the other hand, in proportion as the eternal moral verities fade before interest in and a passion for the fleeting things of sense, a civilization or people declines, although frequently to the physical eye of the casual observer the stricken victim of materialism or sense domination appears to be entering on a period of unexampled glory, power and greatness, just as one ignorant of nature's phenomena might easily imagine the autumnal burst of ephemeral splendor to be a manifestation of life and health.

Moral idealism nourishes the soul upon the eternal spiritual verities. It weaves into the web and woof of life honor, integrity of thought and purpose, a passion for truth, and an ever-broadening love. In a word, it speaks to the children of men, awakening them from their absorption in fleeting sense perceptions to a realization of the eternal trinity of spiritual Truth, Beauty and Goodness, and thus brings them *en*

*rapport* with the All-Life and its infinite manifestations; with the Common Father and His common children.

The fate of civilizations and nations in the ever-recurring battle between idealism and materialism is one of the most absorbing and suggestive facts of history; while there are few pages in the annals of the past so inspiring as those which show how great peoples, after having yielded to the lure of sense domination and started upon the downward slope, have been arrested and rejuvenated by the masterful appeal to the reason and conscience side of life, which has reawakened the moral idealism or spiritual enthusiasm and faith in the soul of society.

Our purpose in stating this general proposition as an introduction to our consideration of the master note in the message of Christian Science, is to impress upon the reader the basic truth which students of human progress must keep in mind if they would find the key to great idealistic or spiritual movements of national and civilization-wide significance, which exert a compelling influence over the thought and life of multitudes of highly intelligent men and women.

## II.

"To me the most astounding historical fact of the past twenty-five years is the rapid growth of Christian Science in this nation, and the permanent hold it seems to have taken on tens of thousands of highly intelligent and discriminating citizens."

The speaker was a well-known writer whose extensive travels had brought him in touch with the vital life of the people in various parts of the country. "The healing part of the new faith,"

he continued, "affords no adequate explanation for this phenomenon. It doubtless is largely the means of interesting very many, and perhaps the greater number of those who are drawn to Christian Science. Consider these facts: In 1895 there was not a Christian Science church building to be found anywhere. In a recent paper contributed to *The Contemporary Review* by Mr. Frank Podmore, he states that this new religious body 'is represented at the present time by over eleven hundred churches or societies. . . . There are over four thousand Christian Science practitioners, while no fewer than 440 editions of *Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures* have been published, and upward of half a million copies sold.' In this country there is to be found, as you know, a large number of magnificent church edifices. Indeed, the property of this religious body in our country is estimated at between eight and ten million dollars and stately buildings are being erected all the time. In Chicago alone there are five beautiful church structures, and two congregations as yet without their own buildings. In England the movement has taken a firm hold and several fine edifices are owned by the Christian Scientists; while its churches or societies are now to be found in almost all parts of the world.

"Now to say that there is no great motor power behind this new religious organization save the healing of the sick, is absurd; and especially is this apparent when one takes into consideration the way the faith dominates the ideals or moral impulses of its disciples. Nothing is more marked about this religious teaching than the way it seizes hold of the thought and imagination, frequently changing the whole course of one's life."

"That is very true," I replied. "I have known not a few persons who were the slaves of drink or given over to other forms of dissipation, who through Christian Science have been lifted to a noble

plane and have become active workers for all that is finest and truest in life. Indeed, my investigation, extending over many years and conducted at all times with an earnest desire to be impartial and unprejudiced, has fully convinced me that the great majority of those who accept Christian Science become changed persons. They are cheerful, optimistic and dominated by inspiring and uplifting ideals. They strive to reflect love and exhibit much of that living faith that marked the early Christian church.

"Exactly so," returned my friend. "And I repeat, the reason for this phenomenon is a baffling mystery to me. If we had here a splendid ritual that appealed to the imagination, an elaborate and popular song service, or men of eloquence who could draw great audiences and hold them spell-bound, I could understand its success. But the Christian Science service is to me the least calculated to interest and appeal to the outsider, to 'the man on the street,' to use the popular saying, of any church service with which I am acquainted. Now, what is your explanation of this mystery?"

"Its success, it seems to me," I replied, "is to be found in its meeting the heart-hunger of thousands of our people in a satisfying way. The most significant fact about this religious message is the power it exerts in quickening the conscience or spiritual side of life and bringing the believers under the compulsion of moral idealism. In personal interviews with a great number of Christian Scientists and in the course of extended correspondence in which I have sought for facts and data that would enable me to competently and justly judge this new religious movement, in almost every instance the persons communicated with have placed the spiritual awakening that has been wrought through Christian Science as incomparably the greatest blessing that it has brought into their lives; although in numerous instances these parties, who are now in the

enjoyment of excellent health, had been doomed to early death by medical science.

"Now let me give you a little incident that will perhaps help you to understand this mystery. When the poet Joaquin Miller was last in Boston he expressed the desire to attend a service at the Christian Science church. He was going to leave before Sunday, so the only opportunity was the Wednesday night testimony or answer to prayer meeting. I told him I should be glad to accompany him to the service on the following evening. The next day was extremely disagreeable, a cold winter rain and searching wind prevailed. The poet had an engagement at Harvard for the afternoon, but a little after six o'clock he returned to my office and again expressed the wish, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, to go to the meeting. As we approached the great temple I ventured the opinion that the congregation would probably appear very small, owing to the fact that the church seats more than five thousand persons and the night was so extremely disagreeable. On entering the auditorium, however, we were both greatly astonished to find it almost filled, excepting the upper gallery. There were probably between three and four thousand persons present. The service interested the poet greatly, and when we left the building he expressed the pleasure he had derived.

"How can you account," I said, "for that enormous audience on such a night? It is probable that all the other churches in the Back Bay district put together did not have half the number present that were at this meeting."

"These people," said the poet earnestly, "pointing to the Christian Science church 'believe their religion. It has filled their minds with a living faith, with hope and with love.'

"Now, I continued, addressing my friend, "this observation I believe to be the simple truth, and in it I find the an-

swer to your question. Christian Science has come with its message instinct with spiritual vitality at an hour in our country's history when a vicious opportunist-materialism is advancing like creeping paralysis over the body politic, the business, educational and religious life of the nation. Its appeal is primarily to the spiritual side of life; but as with the primitive presentation of the Gospel, it accompanies its appeal with the offer of present relief to the sick body and fear fettered and despairing mind. While helping the diseased and unfortunate, it lifts the eye from the plane of sense-perception, to that of ethical idealism. It has in a vital way impressed again the social ideals that were so boldly proclaimed by Jesus, while its philosophical concepts not only reflect the metaphysical idealism of the Gospels and of St. Paul, but also strikingly accord with much of the thought of Plato and the greatest of the German transcendental thinkers; and its appeal, unlike those of the Greek and German philosophers, has been made in language the people can comprehend.

"Professor Herbert E. Cushman, Ph. D., of the Chair of Philosophy in Tufts College, points out the fact that on its theoretical side it has much in common with the philosophical concepts of St. Paul, Plotinus, Spinoza, Thomas á Kempis, Luther, and even Whitman. 'It will thus be seen,' he says, 'that Christian Science is akin to many mighty theories.' He holds that as a movement it is 'not only a reaction against ecclesiasticism, but as its name indicates, against materialism as well. Ecclesiasticism and materialism are not of necessity companions, but in the present period of civilization they happen to be such.'"

Very different from the broad view expressed by my literary friend was the confident opinion of another gentleman, a strong upholder of orthodox religious views. This person felt sure that not only was the secret of Christian Science

growth and influence to be found in its claims in regard to the cure of physical ailments, but that it was also the master concern of the leader and practitioners of the movement; that the loaves and fishes, or monetary return, was their chief concern.

"I understand," he observed, "from persons who I believe are thoroughly reputable and in a position to know, and from sources that I regard as authoritative, that the claimed healing of disease and a gullible public are not only the principle reasons for the apparent success of Christian Science, but that the money to be obtained from the treatment of disease which they claim does not exist, is the principal concern of the Christian Scientists.

"Your views," I replied, "are certainly exactly the reverse of the clear teachings of the founder of Christian Science as constantly emphasized in *Science and Health* and her other writings, and by the leading writers, lecturers and practitioners in the church. I have made a rather close study of this remarkable movement for some years and feel I can speak with some degree of positiveness as to the convictions, teachings and practice of its representative leaders. On the other hand, I think I am warranted in saying that your view voices the hostile, prejudiced and biased attitude of conventional thought, which in all ages and lands, whenever a prophet with a new message arises, seizes on some fact in the life or position in the proclaimed word, and by misrepresentation and gross distortion conveys ideas exactly the reverse of the truth. A striking illustration of this fact is found in the case of Jesus Christ. He mingled with the poor and social outcasts, in order to comfort, teach, help and uplift them, to bring into their lives a new, ennobling and vitalizing element, redemptive in character. And how did the hostile, prejudiced and biased conventional leaders use this fact? Exactly as does the same element use the teachings of Christian Science in regard to

the healing of disease,—to mislead the public, that does not take the trouble to investigate at first hand. Jesus, it was claimed, was a wine-bibber and an associate with the lowest classes of society. Now, as a matter of fact, the position of Mrs. Eddy as strongly emphasized in *Science and Health*, and that of the authoritative writers, lecturers and practitioners, in regard to the healing of disease, is exactly the same as that of the Founder of Christianity and the Apostles, if you accept the canon of Scripture as given in our Bible. The Christian Scientists teach that the healing of all manner of disease is a solemn injunction imposed by Christ on all His disciples, and must be observed by those who would follow Him. The bodily improvement is, they hold, a result of the spiritual illumination or a realization of the spiritual truth taught by Christian Science. The healing is a direct evidence to the recipient of his understanding of Divine Truth. To the Christian Scientists, therefore, the healing is a consequence or an incident, resulting from the awakening of the sleeper drugged by the lethe of sense to a realization of his Divine sonship, to a recognition of the true spiritual nature of man and his at-one-ment with the Father. This awakening leads the prodigal to return to the Father's house, to turn from the husks of fleeting sense allurements and to accept first the Kingdom of God or the dominion of the spiritual. Now, is not this exactly in conformity with the New Testament teaching? Did not Christ continually cure the sick as a means of awakening them to a realization of the great fact voiced by Browning in the line, 'All's love, yet all's law'?

"You," I continued, "accept the canon of the New Testament as the revealed Word of Deity, and in it nothing is more clearly taught than that the Founder of Christianity demanded that His disciples should ever accompany the proclamation of the redemptive gospel of Light and Love by the healing of the sick. Indeed, Christ, according to the New



Testament, even went further and made the startling declaration that greater works than He had wrought should be performed by His disciples. That the Apostles and preachers of the early church took Christ seriously is amply proved by the record in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter, Paul and other of the great first preachers constantly attracted the attention of the Jews and Gentiles to the new evangel by the wonderful cures of the sick. Nor was this all. Long after the Apostles passed from view, the primitive church, still strong in vital faith, took Christ's injunction seriously and practiced healing, as is evidenced by the writings of such early church fathers as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, Clement, Theodore of Mopsueste, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and others.

"St. Cyprian wrote: 'There is no measure or rule in the dispensation of the gifts of heaven as in those of the gifts of earth. The Spirit is poured out liberally, without limits or barriers. It flows without stop; it overflows without stint. By this they cleansed unwise and impure souls, restored men to spiritual and bodily health, and drove forth demons who had made violent lodgment in men.'

"And the great Origen observes that: 'Some give evidence of their having received through their faith a marvelous power by the cures they perform, invoking no other name over those who need their help than that of the God of all things and of Jesus, along with a mention of His history. For by these means we too have seen many persons freed from grievous calamities and from distraction of mind and madness, and countless other ills which could not be cured by other men.'

"Theodore of Mopsueste wrote: 'Many heathen amongst us are being healed by Christians from whatever sickness they have.'

"And Clement urged his disciples to practice their gift of healing confidently.

"Christian Science, as did the early

Christian church, holds the healing of the sick to be a solemn and imperative command imposed upon the disciples by the Founder of Christianity; but, as has been observed, it is regarded as a means to the supreme end,—the awakening of man from his death-like slumber or the dream life of sense domination, to a realization of his true nature and of the grandeur, the dignity, duty, responsibility and obligation of life.

"Here, then, is found the master note in the message of Christian Science. Its supreme appeal is to the spiritual nature. Accepting the Bible declaration that God is Love, and that Love is the fulfilling of the Law, it seeks to lift the mind from absorption in self and the fleeting things of sense, to thoughts of others and things permanent and life-giving; from egoism to altruism."

### III

I now wish to consider the significance of this idealistic message to our civilization. It came at a moment when the materialism of the market had already thrown its spell over the imagination of our people; when money madness was spreading like a deadly contagion throughout society, touching with its fatal blight government, business, society, the college, and the church.

The remarkable growth of Christian Science during the past fifteen years and the strong and compelling power which it exerts over the minds of its adherents lead me to believe that in it will be found a great and potent agency for the checking of the advance of sordid and visionless materialism and reaction and the reawakening of moral idealism in the heart of the people.

As was indicated at the opening of this paper, history is not wanting in examples of the saving influence of a strong spiritual or idealistic message which meets the heart hunger of a people, even after society has yielded to the spell of materialism and egoism.

"Looked at from a social point of view,"

says Professor Cushman, "the Christian Science movement is a social reform. It represents the protest of the individual. It finds its counterpart in many epochs in history,—as in the revolt of Luther from the Roman Catholic Church, in the revolt of Wesley from the English Church, and in many other ecclesiastical crises. . . . The individual's religious life has been starved, and now we find the individual rising to a full consciousness of his power. The central doctrine of Christian Science, to wit: that God is *the real* in the life of every individual, although, as we shall see, it is a very old doctrine, has given to the modern man a new sense of his immortality and greatness."

Even more striking than the instances cited by Professor Cushman, is the parallel between the condition of present-day society and certain marked characteristics of the life of the Jews, Greeks and Romans two thousand years ago. Indeed, so suggestive are some of these parallels that a glance at the elder civilization at the time of the advent of Christianity will help us to better understand the significance of the new spiritual appeal at the present crucial period in our history, though we should not lose sight of the fact that we to-day are on a much higher round of the spiral ladder.

History emphasizes no more inspiring truth than that, although there come from time to time periods of depression and partial eclipse, when not unfrequently nations die and sometimes civilizations pass from the stage, yet on the whole man is slowly but surely rising. The trend of life is Godward. When the Great Nazarene proclaimed His new and revolutionary gospel, which was followed by the rise and rapid spread of Christianity, the civilization of the Roman world presented an intensely melancholy spectacle. Externalism, artificiality, egoism and materialism were the dominant notes of life in the three great capitals of world thought—Rome, Athens and Jerusalem. Then through the music

of life ran the note of despair. Men existed rather than lived. It was a period of triumphant animalism, in which revolting lust and refined savagery, extensive wealth and abject penury, frequently made all the more hopeless and repellent by sanctimonious hypocrisy, existed on every side. Rome, then the throbbing heart of this civilization, was given over to the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. Intellectual training without moral culture was a characteristic of high life. In vain did the Stoics attempt to stem the tide of degradation. The idle rich had long since become vicious and lawless; the idle poor had become criminal and debauched. The great struggling millions found life day by day more hopeless and their burdens grew gradually heavier and heavier. Luxury existing by the side of want is an unfailling sign of moral disintegration. The historian Froude has given us an admirable characterization of the Rome of this period in the following graphic words:

"It was an age of material progress and material civilization; an age of pamphlets and epigrams; of salons and of dinner parties; of senatorial majorities and electoral corruption. The highest offices of state were open, in theory, to the meanest citizen; they were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purse or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinction of birth had been exchanged for distinction of wealth. The struggle between plebians and patricians for equality of privilege was over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being fast absorbed into vast estates held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and was crowded into towns. The rich were extravagant, for life had ceased to have practical interest except

for its material pleasures; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor, and to spend it in idle enjoyment.

"Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion. The educated in their hearts disbelieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude. The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant political, cant religious; an affectation of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech."

Archdeacon F. W. Farrar, in commenting on the Rome of this period says:

"In the age of Augustus began that 'long, slow agony,' that melancholy process of a society gradually going to pieces under the dissolving influence of its own vices.

"The ceremonies of religion were performed with ritualistic splendor, but all belief in religion was dead and gone. 'That there are such things as ghosts and subterranean realms not even boys believe,' says Juvenal, 'except those who are still too young to pay a farthing for a bath.' And yet the highest title of the emperor himself was that of *pontifex maximus*, or chief priest, which he claimed as the recognized head of the national religion.

"It was an age of the most enormous wealth existing side by side with the most abject poverty.

"It was an age of boundless luxury—an age in which women recklessly vied with each other in the race of splendor and extravagance, and in which men

plunged headlong, without a single scruple of conscience and with every possible resource at their command, into the pursuit of pleasure. There was no form of luxury, there was no refinement of vice invented by any foreign nation, which had not been eagerly adopted by the Roman patricians."

Passing eastward from Italy we find that Greece at this time presented a spectacle less tragic but very melancholy. Society was permeated with artificiality. There was a hollow ring to conventional life on every side, but there was also a deep heart-hunger for something better. The golden age of Pericles had long since departed, and the great philosophers whose intellects are still the wonder and admiration of the world had passed away to be followed by a horde of sophists who were little better than sounding-boards—bodies without souls—talking-machines who, having little faith, hope or love, had made philosophy a profession in order to enjoy life at ease. Of the Grecian world of this period Professor Edwin Hatch observed that it was "a world which had created an artificial type of life and which was too artificial to recognize its own artificiality—a world whose schools, instead of being laboratories of the knowledge of the future, were forges in which the chains of the present were fashioned from the knowledge of the past."

When in the earlier days moral idealism swayed the Grecian world, Persia's might and millions were powerless; but after sordid materialism and artificiality became the dominant note of life, Greece went down before the comparatively insignificant might of Macedon. There is little doubt but what Phillip and Alexander would have been as powerless as Darius and Xerxes, had not the old spirit of Greece given way before the growing love of show and amusement. "The rich," observes Professor Fyffe, "grudged giving the state anything and tried to escape taxes." After the conquest of Greece by the Macedonians

the degeneracy rapidly increased. Temples were reared on every side, but religion gave place to a sensuous materialism in the popular heart.

And yet here, in the midst of a life so characterized by insincerity, so essentially superficial in character, were numbers of men and women who thirsted for something which their hollow education, their shows, games and amusements, their multitudinous temples and elaborate ceremonialism, signally failed to supply. There was a deep heart-hunger for something real and sincere, something which possessed the power of restoring faith, awakening hope and kindling that comprehensive love which extends to all sentient beings, and marks the zenith of life's aspirations as boldly as sensualism marks its nadir. This feeling was seen on every side. We are told that the apostle Paul found a temple dedicated to the "unknown God." What could be more pathetic?

Leaving Greece, we enter the Palestine of the period. Here it is noticeable that religion had degenerated into soulless formalism, and theology concerned itself with the outside of the cup of life. The phylacteries were enlarged and the prayers lengthened. The deep, earnest cry of faith was drowned by the self-adulation of the pompous Pharisee or the jangling voices of warring sects. The Sadducees sat in high seats and scoffed at the dream of a future life. Ecclesiasticism and materialism were enthroned in the temple. The people were expected to regard rigidly the outward form and narrow dogma of sect and race. They were taught to hate the Samaritans as idolaters and perverters of the truth rather than love them as brothers who, if erring, were brothers still. The masses were in intellectual bondage to those who taught conventional religion with their mouths, whilst their lives perpetually contradicted all that was vital or uplifting in religion. Moreover, the yoke of a foreign government weighed on the nation, and the

people were compelled to bear a crushing load imposed on them by the merciless rapacity of extortioners who, under the cloak of the law, robbed the poor of well-nigh all but their daily bread.

At this time when vital faith had flown, when hope was dying and love was withering like a canker-eaten flower, there came out of a little obscure village in Galilee a serene soul, whose inner nature was nourished by a great and abiding faith in *the ultimate triumph of good*, and in the reality of a Divine Father, who was Spirit and who radiated the light of Truth, whose name was Love, and in whom we live, move and have our being. This lofty soul felt what only the most spiritual and sensitive natures are capable of appreciating, *the weight of the people's miseries*. Nor was this all; He possessed that energizing faith in the divinity of man which rendered it possible for him to rise above savagery, greed and sensual joys; His brain was aflame with Love; a great hope filled His heart; the dream of a universal brotherhood based on the golden rule dwelt in His mind, as an ideal haunts the brain of a sculptor until he yields to his impulses and gives it expression. He was philosopher enough to realize that if His ideal was to take possession of the hearts of others something more than theory must be manifested. His life was the expression of His dream. His words and deeds carried with them a potency which boldly contrasted with the perfunctory teaching of the conventional religionists of His time. His lofty faith and overmastering passion for justice, the ever-present sympathy for those sinned against, and His potent power in the presence of disease, born of faith and understanding, spoke of something which answered the heart cry of the loftiest and most divine emotions known to life. His dream was the noblest that has ever haunted the brain of man—the ideal of a redeemed humanity, brought *en rapport* with God or the Cosmic Mind, and forming a brotherhood cemented by all-encompassing love

and made strong by a living faith and never vanishing hope.

The Serene Dreamer alarmed respectable conventionalism in church and state, with the usual result,—persecution, false witness, and in His case, the martyr's crown. But the message once given could never die. It met the heart hunger of the age. Its great luminous truth,—the reality of the Divine Life, the All-Father, whose essence was Love, the sonship of man, the brotherhood of the children of men—from glittering generalities, these things became life-governing convictions. The strong faith, the great hope, the radiant love which characterized His life and teachings, fired the hearts of those who dwelt with Him. They tried to return to their nets, but were impelled to higher duties. He who is touched by the divine flame cannot again find contentment on the self-plane. The peace which comes from doing good, the great calm of the soul which is known only to those who make the great renunciations, and devote thought, deed and life to truth, justice and love, forever closes the gate of life against sordid greed, selfish gratification and pseudo pleasures which characterize the life of the unawakened spirit. And so these once simple-hearted fishermen became torch-bearers of life in the hour of humanity's night. They carried throughout Palestine, Greece and Italy the gospel of faith, hope and love, and this light from the East revived the divine in the hearts of the despairing.

Returning to our age, while it is freely admitted that great and beneficent advance has been made during the past two thousand years, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the past fifty years have witnessed a decided sweep away from the idealism of the early years of our history and an advance of materialistic concepts to a commanding place in the thought-world of the Republic.

As Christianity came to a world under the spell of materialism, concerned with the shell and ignoring the vital spirit,—a society given over to egoism, self-desire and sensuous allurements, so Christian Science has come at a time when our society was fast coming under the death-dealing spell of the materialism of the market, the sordid, selfish, egoistic and Mammon-worshipping influence which ends in spiritual death; and by reawakening faith in the hearts of the people,—a living faith in a living God, by lifting the thought from the transient, sordid, egoistic and materialistic ideals that are threatening to enslave the nation, and centering man's thought on the eternal moral verities, it is not only transforming the lives of thousands, but is making each one thus brought under the compulsion of moral idealism a diffusive center radiating the light, the faith and the love that are the life-sustaining elements of civilization.

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## THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN OREGON.

By C. H. McCOLLOCH.

WHEN the writer arrived in Oregon, not many years ago, he found existing in the state a question which appeared to be an exceedingly vital one, which agitated the people. Its nature was: Who shall be successful at the approaching election, Big Jim or Little Joe?—each being a would-be political boss with a personal following. During the strife all other questions were lost sight of, and the candidates for office were spoken of as wearing Jim's collar or Joe's collar, as the case might be; and for years, as the power of one or the other waned, some other political gladiator appeared upon the political arena, and as the Republican party was in the ascendancy, they sailed under the banner of that organization, with the inevitable result that much needed legislation was overlooked, charges of corruption permeated the atmosphere, the legislative body at times failed to organize, the state was deprived of its quota of Senators in the Congress of the United States, and the development and growth of the state in all branches of trade and industry remained in a dormant state during the whole period of such chaotic conditions.

Finally a spirit of dissatisfaction and unrest sprang up among the citizens and they began to demand certain remedial legislation, among the first of which was the adoption of the Australian ballot system. The people talked of it, clubs were organized to advocate it, and thereby keep it before the people, in opposition to the bosses, until the political parties were forced to favor it in their platforms, and finally a majority of the legislature was elected pledged to enact such a law, which it did. In operation it met the expectations of the electorate. On the other hand, the would-be bosses declared

it was too cumbersome and had a tendency to aid in disrupting party organization. The people, however, were not to be deceived. They upheld the legislation in spite of the fact that it so disrupted party organization that two-dollar-and-a-half gold pieces disappeared from circulation. Now and then the people elected a man of the weaker party or an independent candidate to office, in opposition to the regular (as the system was called) party nominee.

Next, the people demanded the enactment of the initiative and referendum. They talked it in clubs, and organizations were formed to advocate and recommend it, even though its advocates were called agitators, cranks, fools, and disruptionists. Finally the political parties, in opposition to the boss, were forced to favor it in their platforms, and a legislature was elected pledged to enact such a law, which it did. And again this legislation fully met the expectations of the electorate.

During all this time the people were demanding that the legislature take such necessary steps as would bring about an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. They were tired of having to put up with the legislature in its failure to elect a competent man to fill the office.

The legislature in 1899 adopted the following "Joint Memorial":

"We, your memorialists, the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislature assembled, would respectfully represent that:

"Whereas, 'When in the course of human events' any of the time-honored customs become burdensome, or have outlived their usefulness, it behooves us as representatives of the Commonwealth of Oregon to advocate what we

believe to be right and best for the whole people; and the time having arrived when the election of a United States Senator in any event is viewed with suspicion, and in many instances is proven to have been accomplished through unwarrantable means; therefore, be it

“Resolved, by the assembly of the State of Oregon, that we are in favor of electing the United States Senator by direct vote of the people as other servants are elected, and not otherwise. That we would respectfully ask our representatives in the National Congress to use all honorable means within their power to accomplish the same.

“Resolved, that the secretary of state be and he hereby is instructed to furnish a copy of this memorial to each of our United States Senators and Representatives in Congress.”

The people were not satisfied with well-doing, as the foregoing appeared to be, but kept talking and advocating the matter, and as Congress failed to give the relief needed as set forth in the preceding preamble, the legislature of 1901 enacted the following:

“Whereas, it is desirable that the people should have an opportunity to instruct their Senators and Representatives in the legislative assembly as to the election of a Senator in Congress, from Oregon, therefore.

“Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the State of Oregon:

“Section 1. At all general elections next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress by the Legislature of Oregon there shall be placed upon the official ballot by each of the county clerks and clerks of the county court the names of all candidates for the office of Senator in Congress that have been nominated in any method now, or which may hereafter be, provided by law for the nomination of state officers of the State of Oregon, the votes for which candidates shall be counted and certified to by the election judges in the same manner as the votes for other candidates; and records

of the votes for such candidates shall be made out and sworn to by the board of canvassers of each county of the State and returned to the Secretary of State, who shall transmit duplicate copies of such returns to the legislative assembly at its next ensuing session, one of which shall be addressed to the Senate and the other to the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, one copy of which shall be delivered by him to the President of the Senate and the other to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, after the organization of such bodies, which officers shall open and lay the same before the separate Houses when assembled to elect a Senator in Congress as now required by law of Congress, and it shall be the duty of each house to count the votes and announce the candidate for Senator having the highest number, and thereupon the House shall proceed to the election of a Senator as required by the act of Congress and the Constitution of this State.”

The same legislature enacted a system of primary elections.

Thereafter the political parties of the state nominated candidates and their names were placed upon the ballots to be voted for, the votes were counted, canvassed and certified as by law required, and transmitted to the legislative assembly, and there the results were announced. But during the period intervening between election day and the day of the official announcement of the result of said election, one could hear on the street corners and in various offices throughout the state, that such an election was unconstitutional and it was doubtful if a Senator thus selected was elected by the legislature and could be seated, and in case he was not seated, the State of Oregon would be deprived of a much-needed representative in Congress. Such was the condition, and the doubting Thomases were on hand, in attendance and participating with the Third House in such force and using such arguments as to convince the legislative assembly

that they should not consider the candidate thus chosen by the people, and the result was the people's choice was defeated by the legislative assembly, and a "known and competent man" was elected after "deliberate debate and consultation."

This action of the legislature aroused general indignation on the part of the electorate, and with that determination which is born of despair the people resorted to the initiative and referendum and themselves enacted what is known as the Direct Primary Nominating Election Law," the preamble of which is as follows:

"Under our form of government, political parties are useful and necessary at the present time. It is necessary for the public welfare and safety that every practical guaranty shall be provided by law to assure the people generally, as well as the members of the several parties, that political parties shall be fairly, freely, and honestly conducted, in appearances as well as in fact. The method of naming candidates for election to public office by political parties and voluntary political organizations is the best plan yet found for placing before the electors the names of qualified and worthy citizens from whom the electors may choose the officers of our government. The government of the state by the electors and the government of a political party by its members are rightfully based upon the same principle. Every political party and every voluntary political organization has the same right to be protected from the interference of persons who are not identified with it, as its known and public avowed members, that the government has to protect itself from the interference of persons who are not known and registered as its electors. It is as great wrong to the people as well as to the members of a political party for one who is not known to be one of its members to vote or take part at any election or other proceedings of such political party, as it is for one who is not a qualified and registered elector to vote at any State

election or to take any part in the business of the State. Every political party and voluntary political organization is rightfully entitled to the sole and exclusive use of every word of its official name. The people of the State and every member of every political party and voluntary political organization are rightfully entitled to know that every person who offers to take any part in the business or affairs of any political party or voluntary organization in the State is in good faith a member of such party.

"The same reason for the law which requires a secret ballot when all the electors choose their officers, equally requires a secret ballot when the members of a political party choose their candidates for public office. It is as necessary for the preservation of the public welfare and safety that there shall be a free and fair vote and an honest count in addition to the secret ballot at all elections of public officers. All qualified electors who wish to serve the people in an elective public office are rightfully entitled to equal opportunities under the law. The purpose of this law is to better secure and preserve the rights of political parties and voluntary organizations, and of their members and candidates, and especially of the rights above stated."

They then proceed to amend certain portions of the Registration Law requiring each elector at the time of registering to declare his political faith and that he shall vote his party ticket at the nominating election held thereafter.

And as the people have been so disgracefully deceived by the legislature in failing to elect the people's choice to the office of Senator in Congress, and not proposing to trust any candidate's word as to his acts in such a case again, they have further provided in the same enactment as follows:

"In case of an elector seeking nomination for the office of Senator or Representative in the legislative assembly he may include one of the following two statements in his petition; but if he does



not do so, the Secretary of State or County Clerk, as the case may be, shall not, on that account, refuse to file his petition:

STATEMENT NUMBER ONE

"I further state to the people of Oregon as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference."

"If the candidate shall be unwilling to sign the above statement, then he may sign the following statement as a part of his petition:

"STATEMENT NUMBER TWO

"During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for so doing seems to me to be sufficient."

The forgoing provisions have caused many sleepless nights on the part of the "known and qualified" class of aspirants and the old party manipulators of party conventions. Still, one can see the determination of the people in every word, and the candidate understands that he has got to be the people's servant before he is nominated, for they do not propose to be trifled with as they were under the former act of the legislature.

We have had two elections in the State since the enacting of the People's Primary Nomination Act, and the results have been most satisfactory to the voters of the State and I might say most humiliating to the bosses and office-hangers-on, and in some instances to the newspapers. The first claim that party organization is being destroyed, and that an unknown and inferior class of candidates are chosen. The newspaper man claims the same

thing, when in truth and in fact, with the former his influence as a dictator and office patronage distributor has been wiped out, and with the latter, the candidate passes the newspaper man and goes among the people personally to place before them his claim for the nomination, and the newspaper has lost the graft formerly demanded for influence.

The would-be boss and dictator is no longer in evidence demanding of the aspirant, How much money can you contribute for the 'boys' and the campaign fund in case you procure the nomination? The people's Nomination Law frees the aspirant from this contaminating influence, as now he must depend upon the actual number of votes received from his party electors and not the consent of a half dozen supposed party leaders; and if one will watch the acts of the aspirants seeking the nomination to-day, he will see them hurrying in this and that direction, seeking voters and becoming personally acquainted with each voter in his district, of all political parties and of all occupations; and while so doing he familiarizes himself with the needs of his district and makes his solemn promises direct to the individual voter as to what he will do in case of his nomination and election, and the successful candidate at the general election feels and knows that he owes his election to the people and not to any political boss. Hence each office is administered with economy and in the interest of the tax-payers and absolutely to their satisfaction; if not, the officer is defeated at the next nominating election.

It is a matter of record that for several years before the people enacted their Nomination Law, our legislative assembly devoted more time to endeavoring to decide who was the best "known and competent man" to elect Senator to Congress than they did to the transaction of all other classes of business in the interest of the state, and in some instances would fail completely to decide and in

other instances would fail even to organize at all, for fear that the second best "known and competent man" would procure such election.

At the first Senatorial election following the adoption of this law, it only required twenty minutes for the legislative body to organize and elect the people's choice for United States Senator to Congress from Oregon; and notwithstanding all the assertions made that such an election of a man so selected was unconstitutional, the Senate of the United States did not question his right to be seated as a duly accredited Senator from the Commonwealth of Oregon; thus giving the legislative assembly the remainder of its time to devote to the enactment of much needed legislation.

There was a time in Oregon when the political boss was all-powerful, and all political aspirants stood in mortal fear of him; but all this is changed now. In planning for the campaign for the last election the machine men undertook to nullify the popular provision for securing the people's choice for the Senate. They issued a call and resolved that their party's candidates for Senator and Representatives should not subscribe to either Statement Number One or Two, and that they would place in the field candidates for nomination as free and unpledged men. This they did; but the people, having the machinery of government in their hands and effective measures for safeguarding popular rights, promptly nominated candidates who pledged themselves to the people of the state and the voters of their district by subscribing to Statement Number One; and the result was a sufficient number of those thus pledged were elected to constitute a majority in the legislative assembly.

Though the legislature elected is overwhelmingly Republican, the people of Oregon selected as their United States Senator the Hon. George Earle Chamberlain, twice elected Governor of the Commonwealth. It has been a favorite

claim on the part of the opposition to the people's rule in Oregon, that under our new methods, unknown and incompetent men would be elected. Yet it is an undisputed fact that there is not another man in the State who is half so well known as Governor Chamberlain, and there are not any twelve men in the State, if their information as to the needs of the State and personal acquaintance were all combined in any one of them, who would be so well informed as to the people and the needs of legislation as this man whom the people selected for their United States Senator. But Governor Chamberlain is a Democrat; and as soon as it was found that it was the wish of the electors of the State that he should represent them, the Republican politicians set to work to try to circumvent his election. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear on the Republican legislators; but the people were not sleeping. As soon as it looked as though some of the legislators would prove false to their pledges, the electors made it perfectly plain to their representatives that they were servants and not masters, and that they would be signing their political death-warrants if they broke their solemn pledges. The result was the election of Governor Chamberlain, the strongest and most popular man in the State, to the United States Senate.

When the writer came to Oregon, the best of improved farm-lands were being offered at from twenty to twenty-five dollars per acre, with very few buyers at such figures. Her fruit and vegetables, when sold in other markets, had to be purchased by California dealers, who sold them under California brands and labels. But while the people were engaged in the work of introducing methods that should safeguard popular rule under the changed conditions that exist at the present time, they were also seriously concerned in fostering the material development of the State. To-day ninety per cent. of the people of Oregon

have their own bank accounts; improved farms in some instances bring as high as three hundred dollars per acre; her fruits bring the highest prices in eastern markets and are sought far and wide; her farmers are practically out of debt; her warrants are of face value, and in many instances there is cash in the treasury to meet the payment before the ink dries.

The people keep in touch with public affairs of the country and are more than ordinarily well informed as to conditions generally; and when it comes to informing themselves of and concerning the various candidates they go about it so thoroughly that by election day every ten-year-old school-boy in a district knows more of the character and ability of each candidate than was formerly known of a candidate for nomination by the "old and familiar faces" in the party conventions, for the reason that his character and competency is discussed in each and every family, and the question is not confined to whether he can contribute such and such a sum to the campaign fund, and for the "boys" and can we depend on him.

The old class of questions is lost sight of, and it is now: Is he honest? Can he fill the office with ability? Is he sober and industrious? Is he the head of a family, and if so what kind of a father is he? Is he economical in his habits? Is he worthy? Where you find that the people have failed to renominate or to elect one of the "known and competent class," upon investigation you will find that the people have become convinced that he has not filled the former office for and in the interest of the people; and it is from this class that one will hear the saying that the People's Primary Nominating Law is a failure.

It has been claimed that the people's rule would inevitably sap the foundations of political parties, weaken the standing of administrative officers, and lessen the respect due to "eminence." History and experience do not bear out this contention.

The result in Switzerland for more than fifty years has clearly proved the reverse to be true. The old New England town-meeting, and, indeed, every instance where the people have been perfectly free and untrammled, have demonstrated conclusively that political efficiency, improvement in the character of officials and increase in respect for the same are conspicuous results. Moreover, those making this claim are not honest with themselves and overlook the undisputed fact that when any proposition is before the people, they rise to the occasion. Our failures in municipal, state and national government have resulted, not from too much democracy, but from the defeat of fundamental democratic provisions, through the union of privilege-seeking wealth acting with corrupt political bosses and money-controlled party machines.

As a close observer, I can unhesitatingly say that since the majority of the voters of the State of Oregon have adopted what has become known as the "People's Rule," it has so far proved good and beneficial. Let the same principle spread until it encompasses every State in the Union if necessary, and you will find before such time arrives there will be an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving the people the opportunity to elect their Senators in Congress as other servants, which body will then be composed of as great statesmen as have ever occupied seats therein; and you will find a body of Senators who are willing to and who will, legislate in the interest of the many, granting special privileges to none. And no state will have cause to hang its head in shame for acts done and performed by its legislative assembly, in the election of a man whom the organs of privilege denominate a "known and competent" man to the United States Senate.

C. H. McCOLLOCH,

*Baker City, Oregon.*

## WHY WORKING PEOPLE DO NOT GO TO CHURCH.

By P. W. HYNES.

**T**HE QUESTION, Why do not working people go to church? has often been asked. Some of the answers are superficial and narrow in their scope; and others are to a great extent speculative or theoretical.

The apathy of the working classes regarding church affairs is to-day considered a serious proposition, and to understand some of the causes leading up to it, we may have to go back to the days previous to the Christian era.

History informs us that in all ages men have been controlled mentally through fear of some supernatural being, who was credited with supreme power to punish those who offended and reward those who believed and were faithful—both here and hereafter. This condition developed a class known as the priesthood, who have always claimed to be teachers of the doctrines of that being, and at times they have claimed to be in communication with him. All priesthoods in their day have been powerful and dominant factors in human affairs. Among idolators and pagans the priests were dreaded, even by the despotic rulers, chiefly on account of the powers and connections claimed by them. The histories of the Jews and Mohammedans show the same traits. Among the various Christian sects (excepting during the infancy of the church) the dominant tendencies of the priesthood have at all times prevailed, although to-day they may be considered as diminishing quantities.

It is also shown that the religious teachers of all beliefs have generally sided with the power that rules. In olden times they sided with the rulers of the various countries existing then. For centuries back and up to the present time, all European countries have had a state religion, and the same may be said of

most Asiatic and other countries. From the time of their establishment, a large percentage of the functionaries of the various state religions have been prominent in political as well as spiritual affairs, and the political field is by no means neglected to-day. In Russia, the Czar is nominally the head of the Greek church, which is the established religion of that country. In Turkey, the Sheik-ul-Islam, the head of the Mohammedan religion, ranks next to the Sultan, and in some Asiatic countries the same custom prevails. In England a few bishops of the established church sit in the House of Lords. In Italy, France and Spain, the priesthood have controlled the people for many centuries, and for the greater part of that time were powerful factors in the various governments. In Spain, under the Inquisition, the ecclesiastics had power to torture, or put to death any person accused of lukewarm attachment or opposition to the church.

With such extensive powers in the hands of the religious teachers for more than a thousand years, it was to be expected that the people of those countries would be happy, prosperous and well-governed; that the doctrine of Christianity, according to Christ's teachings, would control the actions of all parties, both rulers and ruled. Instead, we find the greater part of the land and the countries' resources in the possession of a comparatively small titled or aristocratic class, as their private property, who, contrary to God's command, do not earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. This class also enjoys many special legal privileges, whilst the masses of the people are practically slaves, with few rights which their so-called superiors are bound to respect. Here many millions of human beings—said to be made in

God's image and likeness—exist in misery and poverty and are considered of less account than the horses ridden by their masters or the dogs used by them in hunting.

Such conditions could not exist if the church and its teachers followed the example of Christ, whose servants and disciples they profess to be; but economic determinism controlled them, and they cast their influence and power on the side of the oppressors, for there were worldly emoluments, privileges and honors.

The hopes of a heavenly crown of glory, which they continually held before the eyes of the downtrodden masses as a reward for their humble subservience to the ruling classes and their sufferings and misery on earth, did not appear to appeal very strongly to the priests themselves, and any one who had the temerity to express their doubts on the subject met with scant consideration. As time went on, the doubters increased in number, the people became less superstitious and fanatical, the grip of the church began to weaken, and in those countries to-day it is practically ignored.

The people read in the Scriptures that God was no respecter of persons; they read of Christ's teachings, his life and sufferings; that he was the friend of the downtrodden and lowly, the publican and sinner. He was not an admirer of princes, of those possessed of riches, or of church dignitaries, because his teachings condemned them. The fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles tells of the way in which the early Christians lived, each one working in all things for the general good.

In contrast to this, it is known that, for some time before the Roman Emperor Constantine joined the Christian church, many of its bishops and other dignitaries aspired to wealth and power. In early days the deacons, presbyters and other church officials were elected from among the members; but later, the methods used to control the conventions in favor of some ambitious candidate were such as would

be more in place in some corrupt modern ward caucus. Constantine saw where the political and other influences exercised by those church-men would be useful to him in his projects, and for that reason he became a Christian.

Passing over the records of the church's action during the centuries of the Christian era, and the persecution and martyrdom of many who stood for Christ's teachings, we find that at the beginning of the twentieth century they are as much as ever interested in political and other worldly affairs.

The late Mark Hanna, one of the shrewdest politicians ever connected with the Republican party, was reported to have said that the Roman Catholic Church could always be depended on to combat Socialism. To-day its actions indicate that the Catholic church is a strong supporter of the Republican party.

In the United States, Socialism is a recognized political party. Its aims are economic; its constitution and platform show that it has nothing to do with any one's religious beliefs, or unbeliefs. It is a world-wide movement and has a literature and an array of well-known men back of it, whose reputation and ability are second to none. But knowing these facts, the Catholic church does not hesitate to misrepresent and condemn it, and forbid its members joining the party or aiding it in any way. Among its ignorant and prejudiced followers such actions have some effect, but there are many thousands of the more intelligent members who are ardent Socialists, and the number is rapidly increasing. The large majority of them are still Catholics; they take their religion from Rome, but forbid and ignore its interference in their political beliefs.

Turning to the dissenting churches of to-day, we find that some of them do not want even the better class of workingmen as members. Others do not want any member whose income is below a certain comfortable figure. Such churches are practically social clubs. To a large ex-

tent the spiritual welfare of the lower classes is practically abandoned to some settlement workers, and such institutions as the Salvation Army. Many of them are zealous, sincere and honest and do a great deal of good; but it is doubtful if their efforts are elevating or favorable to the self-respect of those among whom they work.

Mankind is divided into two classes by the existing economic conditions. One class claims to control the earth and its resources for their own special benefit; the other class consists of the great mass of the people who have only their labor power, which they cannot use without coming to the terms of the possessors. As to the actions of the churches, if they have any ground for assuming to be the arbiters of one class, the claim is equally good for the other, and even-handed justice should be done to both, but as a rule they have always leaned to the powerful side. Without going back further than our own time, we find that in ante-bellum days in the Southern states in our own country, the churches took sides with the slave-owners, and in the Northern states the same churches were with the abolitionists. This shows that economic rather than spiritual interests influenced them.

The following will show the extent to which the church to-day is controlled by business and its indifference to the welfare of the workers. According to the United States reports, there are more than 2,000,000 children under school age (14 years) at work in America. Under normal conditions about 65,000 of them are working in the cotton factories in the Southern states, which generally run day and night.

Not long ago, the United States government inspectors investigated those factories and they reported that they found hundreds of children between the ages of six and ten years working in them all night, with one hour's rest at midnight, for the sum of ten cents per night.

The greater number of those factories are owned by Christian gentlemen from

the New England states, who shut up their mills at home and built others in the Southern states, so as to be near the supply of raw cotton and where child-labor laws were not likely to trouble them. The conditions under which the children worked caused many humane people to try to get laws passed which would prevent the employment of children under thirteen years of age, and compel mill-owners to maintain sanitary conditions, but they found the influence of the mill-owners strong enough to render their efforts futile.

It is very probable that nearly all those mill-owners are church members in good standing, with a few deacons and other officials among them, and no doubt many of them help to support foreign missions. They look on those not connected with any church as ungodly sinners. Yet those sanctimonious pharisees destroy thousands of little children, not only their bodies, but their immortal souls, in order to pile up riches which they or theirs cannot use, but which later may be the cause of the ruin of their own families.

About coal mines, in glass-works, and in other factories, hundreds of thousands of children are employed at an age when they should be in the playground or in school. Those children are being sacrificed on the altar of Mammon as surely as other children were formerly sacrificed on pagan altars.

Thousands of good Christian people are aware of those conditions and would do anything in their power to remedy them, but they find business and profits controlling the churches and blocking every move they make. Business and profits are the gods which rule the world to-day, and any interference with their methods will not be tolerated. Our Saviour said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." Under our present cruel, grasping, profit-seeking system, the factory-owners' revised version, according to Mammon, would read: "Gather to us the little children, to work in our factories; we can hire

half a dozen of them for less than we would have to pay their father, and by hiring them we can make much larger profits."

Christianity, in one form or another, may be said to have had a free hand in most European countries from the time of the Emperor Constantine to the present day, and it is reasonable to expect that in this period it could have shaped and influenced human affairs so that the teachings of Christ would be accepted as a guide in all the affairs of life. Instead, we find Mammon enthroned. Greed, avarice, fraud and trickery are prominent features in many business transactions to-day. Honesty and fair dealing are the exceptions rather than the rule, and the man who runs his business by them generally fails.

Most of our material and social affairs are to-day gauged by the dollar-mark, and the same may be said of most of our churches. It is noticeable to-day, no matter what their ability, that priests or preachers who show sympathy for, or side with the toilers, do not get many of the plums of the profession. In these so-called progressive times the Golden Rule appears to be something of a back number. A version more in accord with present-day practice would read, "Do others before they can do you."

A study of conditions existing to-day would go to indicate that most of the churches of different denominations are not only indifferent to the social and material welfare of the working classes, but occasional occurrences show that they antagonize them.

A few years ago a number of humane people, assisted by several men of wealth and influence, such as Robert Hunter, Jacob Riis and others, used their utmost endeavors to get the state legislature at Albany to pass a law to compel tenement-owners in New York and other cities in that state to put their places in good repair and good sanitary condition before renting them to any persons to live in. The bitterest opponents of the proposed

law were the trustees of Trinity Church, who then owned a large number of those disease-breeding tenements, and they succeeded in defeating it. Other less prominent cases could be cited.

Among a number of unjust and oppressive laws which are only enforced against the working classes, are the vagrancy laws of the various states, which make every workingman a criminal if he is out of work and in poverty. It matters not how good or respectable a man may be, or how hard he tries to get work to do, the fact that he is hungry and destitute renders him a criminal in the eyes of the law. He is hunted out of every town he goes into with an empty pocket. If found wandering on the streets of the larger cities at night without money or shelter, he is liable to be clubbed by the police, locked up, and the next day sent to prison. If two or three of them get together, the conspiracy laws can be used against him.

His wife and children, whom he left in some other place when he started to travel in the hope of finding work, may have been thrown out on the streets because they had nothing with which to pay the landlord his rent. In some states the law allows the seizure and sale of the tenant's household goods to satisfy a claim for rent.

There is no justice in classing any man as a vagrant who is willing to work but is deprived of an opportunity to labor through no fault of his own; and neither he nor his family should be made to suffer by conditions over which he has not the least control. He is without visible means of support because, in most cases, others have deprived him of the greater part of the value of his labor.

The more intelligent among the working classes in all countries have very good ground for believing that there are laws made and administered for the benefit of the rich, and other laws made and administered for the oppression of the poor.

There are millions of able, honest, hard-working men who in spite of their utmost exertions cannot obtain the bare necessities of life for their wives and children.

They are unable to procure food and shelter for those depending on them—which God commanded them to do by their labor—because the earth and its resources are claimed by a small minority as their private property. They cannot apply their labor to any part of the earth so as to get a living, without the so-called owner's permission, under penalty of the law. In these days of avarice, greed and profit-seeking, no one is expected to give a man a day's work unless some profit can be made by it, even if he and his starve to death for the want of it. When he does manage to eke out a bare existence, he, his wife and perhaps five or six neglected children are crowded into a tenement, into two small rooms, one of them perhaps without light or ventilation. The wife is compelled to work at anything she can get to do; she may take in washing or she may take in sewing from some sweat-shop, to help meet the family expenses. In such miserable, disease-breeding holes (where millions of human beings exist) no farmer would keep a hog, and no sporting man would allow his bull pup to remain over night.

There is plenty of money in this country; the natural resources and the ability to produce and manufacture are as great as at any time; and there are as many people in want of and able to consume the produce as at any other time; so it is evident that the present business depression, with its attendant poverty, misery and crime, is not due to natural causes. As long as conditions continue in the various countries of this world which create a few thousand millionaires and consequently hundreds of millions of paupers (millions of whom are existing under worse conditions than beasts) Christianity in any form cannot make much headway. Such conditions render decency or morality impossible, but physical and moral degeneration certain.

It is also well known that whenever the working classes attempt to improve their condition and raise themselves out of the slavery and misery in which they find

themselves, they always find themselves opposed—by the law actively, and by the church passively.

These and similar conditions existing among the proletarians of all countries, and a knowledge of the inconsistency, dishonesty, greed and rascality which go unpunished among the so-called upper classes, have convinced the working classes that the churches, no matter what the denomination, *are not their friends*. The preaching for the benefit of the working classes does not fit in very well with the hard, practical facts which confront them in the every-day struggle for existence. The churches, like any other institutions, work for the interests of the class which controls them, whose interests are opposed to those of the workers. Consequently they passively approve of the inhuman treatment of the working classes, because they do not raise hand or voice in their behalf. They stand self-condemned, because those who are not for them are against them.

In view of these facts, it is not easy to find tenable ground on which the churches can claim any favorable consideration from the working class.

To-day, in our complex social system, telephones, street-cars, railways and many other employments keep hundreds of thousands of people employed every Sunday. If it is all right for large numbers of people to be deprived of a chance to go to church on Sunday for the profit or convenience of others, it cannot be far wrong for them to stay away from church, when not employed on Sunday, if it suits their own convenience.

It is not easy to reconcile the actions of wealthy church dignitaries and ecclesiastical politicians with their claims to be followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene, who, during his sojourn on this earth had not where to lay his head.

There never has been any institution in which humanity was an integral part, that did not contain in itself the seeds of its own dissolution, unless it was based on and adhered to the principles of absolute



justice to all—a condition which has never prevailed on this earth. In ecclesiastical institutions, these seeds have been vegetating for some time, and the result is seen in the waning influence of the churches of all denominations with the people of all countries.

The propagation of Christianity depends, not on the wealth and luxury of millionaires, but on the material welfare of the masses. Every family must be able to supply itself with the necessaries of life by its own industry, and live under sanitary conditions which will promote decency, morality and self-respect, before religion can make much headway. Destitute, poverty-stricken people do not build or support churches, and seldom visit them. Dead people do not need churches.

The Psalmist said, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." In his wisdom he recognized a principle which applies to day, and will in the future as forcibly, if not more so than it did in his day. It is well known to secular and religious teachers that riches are as detrimental to the physical and moral welfare of humanity as poverty. On the one hand, riches often encourage idleness, extravagance, profligacy, intemperance, immorality, and a disregard for the rights of others. On the other hand, poverty compels ignorance, immorality, crime, drunkenness, and physical, moral and mental deterioration.

St. James said, "By their works ye shall know them." And by their works have the working classes judged the churches. The toilers realize that in their struggles for existence the churches are no friends of theirs. They also realize that the churches do nothing to restrain those who are grinding them and theirs; that in their struggle to better

their condition, the churches give them neither aid nor comfort, and that if left to themselves in adversity, they conclude that under more favorable conditions they are under no obligations to the churches and can get along without them as well one time as another.

It is generally admitted that whatever good there is in the world to-day is to a great extent due to Christian influences. Few men or women can be classed as irreligious. Nearly all are believers in a Supreme Being, and nearly all of them are inclined to do what is right and just if conditions allow them to act according to their free will. Very few people have anything against Christianity as taught by Christ; but churchianity, that version which favors all the interests which are against them, does not appeal to the respect or favor of the working classes.

If the churches wish to draw the masses to them, they must show themselves to be their friends and benefactors. They must cut loose from Mammon, business and politics, adhere closer to Christ's teachings, and take up the cause of the down-trodden and the oppressed. They must help to improve the material condition of the working classes, so that every family may be housed under conditions favorable to health, decency, and morality, and be able, by their own labor, to live above misery and poverty. Under such conditions, it should not be difficult for Christian workers to bring nearly all of them to be strong adherents of Christianity.

Under present conditions, the churches, as factors in human progress, are losing ground, and unless some radical changes soon take place in their present methods, they will find themselves among other institutions which have been tried and found wanting.

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# A TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMATORY MOVEMENT IN THE TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL.

BY REV. FRANK B. SLEEPER.

## I. JUDGE DANIEL W. BOND: A LEADER OF THE PROBATION MOVEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

**I**N WALTHAM, Massachusetts, on Linden street, a few miles from Boston, in a commodious residence shaded by fine trees, is the residence of Judge Daniel W. Bond of the Massachusetts Superior Court. Here the Judge, when not engaged with his important official duties, finds his happy home.

Daniel W. Bond was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1838. His mental inheritance was very strong. On his paternal side there was a sire of deep philosophical tendency. On his maternal side there was the scholarly culture of a clergyman of the Church of England, a graduate of an English university. As a youth Daniel was of studious habits. To him mental wealth was the best wealth and one great aim was the daily mastering of superior thought.

Judge Bond was a student at Plainfield, Connecticut, Academy. He also took a normal course and devoted some time to teaching. The academies of that period, before high schools became so general, excelled in classical training. They were the moulding force of many logical, brilliant minds.

In 1858 Daniel Frost, an attorney of Canterbury, Connecticut, advised Daniel Bond to become a lawyer. This appealed to his highest judgment and decided his future. His preparatory studies were in the office of Mr. Frost.

In 1860 we see him going as a stranger to New York city to Columbia Law School. Here, under Professor Dwight, was laid the foundation of his masterly course as attorney and judge. His purpose was not to be a surface or perfunctory

lawyer. For him the legal code had mighty principles for the indefatigable searcher. To fully understand the deep, eternal reason of wisest statutes from greatest statesmen was the passion of his soul. Those days in Columbia Law School proved his large equipment for the difficult and diverse problems of an attorney's life.

Judge Bond has great reverence for religion, is a strong believer in the mission of the church and in Christ. Yet he is not a religious-creed man. In his own characteristic way he seeks out truth for himself. He holds in profound respect the religious belief held by others. It is their inherent right. Yet this has but little weight with him except as his own mind can know its reasonableness and his own soul can test its power.

I have heard him speak very strongly against profanity. He said: "It is foolish; it is needless; it wounds the conscience of those who have their honest religious convictions and who do not like to hear God's name taken in vain."

It were well for the world if all attorneys were of the exalted character of Judge Bond, aiming to do justice by every one. The greedy sharks, a contemptible nuisance in an honorable law office, the oppressors of the weak and knaves seeking to cover their dishonesty, failed to find in him such a lawyer as they wanted. Men who hold that might, however cruel, is right, turned away from such a counsellor. To him the practice of law was not sharp, unscrupulous dealing. He brought his profession up to a high standard of right and usefulness and his experience both as prosecuting and defending attorney was very large.

From 1877 to 1889 he was district-attorney for Hampden and Franklin

counties, Massachusetts. His work in this important office was thorough, humane and true. There was not a merciless spirit of prosecution having no consideration for the accused. Two questions arose with him. (1) Is the man guilty or innocent? (2) If the former, what legal course is best for the community and for him? It was not always his ambition to gain a verdict of guilty. He realized that at times innocent men are placed in a suspicious environment. His great mission was the careful, helpful ends of justice.

At that time the probation cause was winning attention and obtaining power and influence. It was then a new proposition coming before the courts that sincere reformation is of far greater value than punishment. District-Attorney Aldrich, in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1853, the first pioneer of probation, began setting forth this new gospel of reformation. Men who had fallen in crime and sincerely desired a better life should be given a "second chance." District-Attorney Bond was of the same spirit. He was very deeply interested in the uplifting of unfortunate but repentant offenders. To him one great, leading purpose of the law was the restoration to righteousness of all who gave promise of this.

In 1886, Governor Robinson, who had known Hon. Mr. Bond exceedingly well as lawyer and district-attorney, tendered to him the position of judge of the Superior Court. This was declined for financial reasons. Mr. Bond, a great lover of agriculture, had purchased a farm as yet not wholly paid for and he needed his large salary to clear it from debt. It is a strange comment on the economy of our commonwealth that we pay such low salary to the judges of our higher courts. Our ablest, truest lawyers accepting this honored position, must sacrifice thousands of dollars from their legitimate practice.

In 1890 he was again tendered by Governor Brackett the office of judge of the Superior Court. It was accepted, and

Judge Bond removed to Waltham. Now began his most important life-work. All of his wide knowledge of law, all of his valuable experience as attorney, all of his sincere conscientiousness were in largest demand.

An officer of the court says of Judge Bond: "I have been deeply impressed with his sincerity, unassuming dignity and accurate balance of judgment. He aims only to do what is right. He is careful that the pendulum shall not swing too far one way. I honor the man to the highest for his wisdom and true-heartedness. If severe sentence is given any it is the one scorning both the law and the helpful attempt of probation."

Judge Bond is not known at first acquaintance. There are hidden depths, resources of mind and soul that appear only after long, close knowledge of him. In his search for pure justice he is continually revealing his higher self. This may appear to some as reserve, but it is the constant, daily seeking for the right.

We point with great pride to our Massachusetts judiciary. The noted Benjamin F. Butler, at one time in the Superior Court, tried before the presiding judge to set aside an indictment. He received an incisive and comprehensive answer with the decree that the case should at once go to trial. A friend, speaking to the judge said:

"You seem to have no fear of the ablest lawyers."

"Why should we fear," answered the judge. "Our position is for life. We need only to guard against making errors of court decision. We are thankful that there is a Court of Appeals where such cases can be carried."

Judge Bond's true position is on the bench. Certain intuitions are nature's gift to him. He has wonderful quickness to read character. He has accurate discernment of the right or wrong of a case. He is wise in allowing all testimony that is competent and in shutting out what is not. He has great ability in giving a clear, comprehensive charge to the jury.

These make up his characteristics as a judge.

He is very patient and genial. No man more so. Yet there is "a thus far and no farther." Presuming attorneys who attempt to pass over the line are conscious of a positive halt. A lawyer is not allowed under him as judge to manage his case in a selfish, incompetent way.

Coming near to Judge Bond, I have been impressed with his intellectual, moral and spiritual modesty. No man is more conscious of human limits than he. One of his expressions to me was the true revelation of the inner man. "I wish I could look deeper into the soul, character and the future of a man who comes before me for trial. The matter of decision and sentence in such cases requires more than human wisdom. I cannot look into their future." Here spoke both the man and the judge. It was the tone and sympathy with which this was given that revealed his moral honesty to me. To make a wrong decree against an offender would deeply pain his soul should it afterwards be known by him.

Judge Bond is chairman of the committee of judges of the Superior Court on Probation. Nothing has drawn him nearer to the hearts of lawyers, officers and the people than this. He gives large attention and faithful labor to this great cause. He has looked deeply into state legislation and has prepared many pamphlets concerning probation. How great his work along this line, time only can tell. To him justice is infinitely more than the grinding out of court machinery. It is, if possible, the uplift of fallen men.

Yet this is the most pronounced opposite of maudlin sympathy. It is clear, carefully-defined mercy that accomplishes what stern justice cannot. It has resulted again and again in the reclaiming of manhood and pure womanhood. To a purpose as high as this Judge Bond nobly devotes the best in his life, and it is the enduring crown of his work.

Judge Bond realizes the exceedingly

high character of his mission in life, holding himself responsible so far as any mortal can, to the supreme law of justice and of right. It is a growing conviction with him that prison cells are not the most effective means of reformation. If it be possible to find in the heart of the accused a great purpose for integrity Judge Bond would gladly afford all reasonable aid and encouragement. He loves humanity. To him it is an unspeakable and awful waste to have it overthrown by the ruinous power of iniquity.

## II. MASSACHUSETTS' ESTIMATE OF SOUL AND CHARACTER.

The probation system of Massachusetts is the latest expression of a higher civilization. We have had justice demanding punishment for every crime, no more, no less, according to a so-called just law. There is now a higher civilized justice taking into consideration man's sinful environment, his temptations and weaknesses, and that cares supremely for reformation of character. Judge Charles A. DeCourcy of the Massachusetts Superior Court and chairman of the Probation Commissioners of Massachusetts, has well expressed the thought. "It is not for one crime, stealing forty or fifty dollars, that we punish a man. It is because his character is wrong and likely to break out any time into serious offense." High, noble justice profoundly questions: Not how much imprisonment is obligatory, but can we render the man's future upright and free from the danger of crime.

An illustration will serve: A man, financially in a hard position as a broker and real-estate agent, by misrepresentation and a falsely-signed document, put himself where arrest was demanded. The probation officer talked with him. The fact of his crime was not disputed. What should be done with the offender? Some said it was a deliberate violation of law and intended to defraud others of their money; that such an act required punishment, or justice would be defeated

and society without protection. Others took a higher and nobler view: they said, The man is sorry for his crime. Give him time and he will make good the amount defrauded. He has wife and children, whom he sincerely loves and for whom he was in part, tempted to this evil. If imprisoned they will not have his support or presence and will rest under disgrace. He was never guilty of any other crime, and we owe to him in the kindness of heartfelt and loving justice, the possibility of reforming soul, character and life.

The latter reasoning prevailed, and probation was granted him. In the depth of his penitential sorrow the offender made restitution as fast as he reasonably could. Having a wife, the soul of his soul, and happy children to encourage him, and being a man of unusual business ability, he has been five years paying dollar for dollar to those who sustained the loss at his hands. Even his enemies are convinced. They say openly that probation in his case was very wise.

What is a human character worth? The probation system propounds that question and waits for a reply. A man whose hand has done the unlawful thing, if he can become upright in the sight of God and man, is not his moral change beyond price? Think, if it were your father or brother or son. Let such colored glass be before your eyes, not selfishly, but according to the brotherhood of man. The Christian world is awaking to duty. He who leads a man from crime up to the solid plane of honesty, proves himself the most just mortal we have.

A young man who had inherited the love of liquor, when under its influence foolishly opposed a policeman with insulting words, and was taken to the police station. It was afterwards found that he had been guilty, when in drink, of larceny. The case was serious. It would go to the Superior Court and was sure of a sentence of imprisonment. The young man, when he had sobered off,

was very sober. He realized that his life was surely tending to the bad. The worst ruin stood out before him.

The probation officer, having with him the kind pastor of the young man, talked with him. The clergyman said, "John, are you going to the bad? We would save you if we could. But you are the only man who can save yourself." John replied, "It is true. If I may have probation, I will tear this inherited tendency out of me by the roots." [I use his own words.] "I will live uprightly and make restitution." The probation officer felt that it was an encouraging case, and probation was granted. There was no more dissipation or drinking on the part of that young man. Being smart, active and of pleasing appearance, friends gathered about him, encouraged and helped him. His life was clean and prosperous and he has made full restitution. Afterwards, when he offered himself as a member of the church, he said, "Probation has made me a man." What greater trophy can be asked for?

Crime is not capable of being measured by feet and inches like a block of wood or stone. No two cases of evil are ever alike. Victor Hugo's words are essential truth, "To reform a man you need to begin with his grandfather." A judge of the Superior Court said to me, "I wish I knew how long or short sentence I should impose on those who must be imprisoned. But I do not. I am not able to look into the man's peculiar environment or to read his purposes of good or evil, or the moral standard of his future." Oh, true and wise judge! You hold up before us the hardest moral problem of the world.

At one time I was one of the speakers in a large temperance meeting, and listened to a young lawyer. I was held spellbound, not alone by the intense words he uttered, but by the strange magnetism through all of his sentences. He had the mightiest spiritual power over that large audience that I have ever known.

After the service I complimented him on his wonderful eloquence, and he told

me his story. He was born of a drinking father and mother, who practically drank up to the hour of his birth. He said, "There has never been a conscious time in my life when there was not the cry of 'Rum! Rum!' in my nature. As a boy I was fast going to the bad and was arrested for crime. The probation system was not then what it is now. The district-attorney put me on probation. I went to a wealthy uncle of mine and we had the following conversation:

"UNCLE—'Henry, what do you want to do? You cannot afford to waste your life.'

"HENRY—'I have done with drinking forever. I wish I could go through college and become a lawyer.'

"UNCLE—'If you will live free from liquor and all crime I will pay your expenses through college and the law school and give you a financial start in your profession.'

"HENRY—'Uncle, I will take you at your word. I will be entirely free from any violation of the law, and will seek to honor you.'

"UNCLE—'But have you the strength of character to do this? Will not temptation overcome you in spite of yourself?'

"HENRY—'The future will prove it one way or the other. I will strive for a complete victory.'

Henry was brave for his hard struggle. It was a battle during all the conscious hours and minutes. He knew that one slip in evil would ruin him forever. He went with honor through his preparatory course and college and the law school. Others might fool with wine or champagne. Not he. He did not dare to. The uncle, true to his word, paid his bills. He was kept well fed and clothed, building himself strong, physically, mentally and morally. At the time I knew him he was a practicing lawyer, very able and highly honored.

What wonder that he was the master-mind that evening, holding that audience as no other speaker could? The justice of the present measures along entirely

different lines from the past and with a radically different sense. It would be a fearful misnomer of justice sending that young man to prison, to grind out his sentence, disheartened and cursed, having no hold on God or man. It would have proven an everlasting blot on Christian civilization. To take a human being, throbbing with high and noble hopes for the future, and to deliberately consign him to the devil and evil and perdition is slaughter, not only of the body, but of the soul.

Probation is the most evenly-balanced system in the world. It has not the slightest alliance with crime. The probationer defeats his own case when he thinks he can carry mercy and evil hand in hand. Mercy will surely overthrow crime, or crime will overthrow mercy. It requires but little time to decide this. Probation and righteousness are wedded forever.

It is told of a man on board of a ship, in a most dangerous storm, crying out:

"Oh, good Lord! Oh, good devil!"

"But, Pat, why do you cry on to both?"

"I do not know into whose hands I shall fall. I want to make friends of both."

Probation, like the gospel of Christ, is an eternal vow of uprightness. There is no mingling of good and evil. If oil and water will not mix, neither will the pure water of righteousness mix with the dirty oil of crime.

Probation is the great surprise of the world. Study this system on every side. It has not one weak, defenseless place. True, there have been errors and mistakes. Probation officers, doing their best, are not infallible. They are honest, but they cannot avoid some mortifying failures. But the system itself seems inspired of holy prophets. I felt proud, speaking one evening on this subject, before an Emerson Club, and afterwards, when questioned on all sides there was not one that I could not fully answer.

The following is an illustration of the strictness and fairness of probation. A

man, untrue to his wife, who was of high character and sweet disposition, was guilty of intimacy with another woman, and was arrested. He was so skilful in his pleading for probation and promise of a true life that he could deceive the very elect. After he was granted probation he fled to another state. It was known that the woman was with him. The probation officer said, "We will see if justice can be defied like this." The man and woman were arrested, brought back to the court, and he was surrendered. His sentence followed at once. The following conversation took place:

PRISONER—"I thought that as a probationer I was to have mercy."

PROBATION OFFICER—"Mercy for what? To live your wicked life? To desert that loving wife of yours, of whom you are not worthy? Mercy in probation is never for such iniquity as that."

It may be a strong statement that probation is far stricter in the life it demands than justice or imprisonment. To have a probation officer almost read your thoughts, knowing all about your associations, your temptations and dangers and indiscretions, your home life and shop life and society life, whether you pay your debts or not, whether you drink a glass of beer or whiskey, or practice total abstinence—such watch care is impossible at the hands of the officers of the law. The probation officer is a true brother to the ward, searching into his inner life, and requiring integrity. I overheard a probation officer say to one of his wards:

"I was shocked when I knew of your being at a certain place and the conduct you were guilty of. I hope it will not happen again. In fact, it must not happen. If it does, it will be at *your peril*."

A girl, exposed to the dangers of city life, was not earning sufficient wages to live as she needed to, and was seduced by a man in the same store, on the promise of financial aid. The wife of the man found evidence of their crime and had her arrested. While somewhat patient con-

cerning her husband she manifestly had no mercy on the girl. The probation officer pitied her as all girls in such trying circumstances are to be pitied. She told him her story.

"I was brought up in the country, in a home that was straitlaced. I only blame my parents that they sent me out into the world so ignorant of danger. I surely do not excuse myself. I was hard-pressed for money, and yielded. I do not know why the wife blames me more than her husband. Is it true that woman is woman's worst enemy? If I may have probation I will live uprightly. There shall be no more crime."

Put justice in her case into the scales and weigh it. On one hand, a girl not entirely lost, but with strong hope and possibility of purity. Her future could be made spotless as the newly-fallen snow, and her soul radiant with joy. On the other hand, a stern decree of so-called justice locks her within prison walls. She is spotted forever as a moral leper. The earth, to her prayers, is like iron, and the heaven as brass. Are we not obliged to give a new dictionary meaning to the word "justice," as doing the highest, purest, truest and best for all?

In Charlestown prison there was a young man with the following record: When he was three years of age his mother deserted her home and went off to a bad life. The father soon married again, and the new mother hated the boy. He was brought up to swear, drink and steal. It was the devil's own atmosphere. His education was neglected, and this was completed when he was in prison. Chaplain Barnes was very kind to him. In spite of this the prisoner swore and was rough. He felt that fate, with a sure grip of steel, was fastening his life for evil.

Afterwards, in another prison, I became his chaplain and spiritual adviser. I carried to him the best books to read, some fine histories, romances, a Bible and Geikie's *Life of Christ*. He was deeply affected by what he read, and said, "I loathe a rough, swearing life." He

stopped his swearing and roughness.

After serving his sentence another indictment hung over him. The probation officer reported to the judge, "He is a different man. His soul is longing for an upright life. Will not your honor grant him probation?" What has been the result? All crime seems cast out of his life. It is deep, moral principle that controls. And I say, in all truth, that I feel morally proud of such a victory.

I doubt if the probation system could have been observed fifty or one hundred years ago. Under the old stern, fatalistic, Calvinism of that time it had no place. Men seemed to delight in seeing the wicked suffer. The great poet Tennyson had an aunt of hard-shell theology. Writing to him when he was but a boy she said, "Whenever I think of you, I am mindful of the words of Christ, 'Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his

angels.'" The age has gone by when we can take pleasure in the pangs of those who are unworthy. A nobler spirit sways the soul.

To have a system that saves twenty-five to thirty per cent. of criminals, making them into noble men and women, and twenty-five to thirty per cent. more somewhat reformed in life, is wonderful. When drinking men entirely forsake their cups, when the impure live uprightly, when thieves, gamblers and defaulters prove honest, when husband and wife are happily reunited, when restitution is fully accomplished, when taxes are rendered much less—these are the grand results of the probation system. What wonder that Massachusetts, England, Scotland, Sweden and Germany are adopting this wise plan of lifting men to uprightness.

FRANK B. SLEEPER.

*Rowley, Massachusetts.*



# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT AND THE POETS OF THE PEOPLE.

### Lincoln and the Fundamental Ideal of Popular Rule.

**T**O ONE who believes in fundamental democracy, no event of recent years has been so pregnant with inspiration as the nationwide celebration which marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Coming as it did in the flood-tide of the most dangerous and determined reaction from fundamental democratic ideals and principles that has marked our history, it has given a new inspiration and hope to thousands who were all but despairing of the success of popular rule in the presence of the aggressive, determined and powerful march of the feudalism of privileged wealth, operating through political bosses and money-controlled machines, and the pliant tools of predatory wealth in state, press, school and church.

True, the enemies of democracy,—the political bosses, the handymen of the interests, the usurpers of powers not granted by the constitution,—one and all, seeing the profound admiration of the people for the great champion of common humanity and popular sovereignty, of justice and human rights, made haste to bulwark their threatened popularity by the hollow praise that has ill accorded with their lives and actions as the long prayers of the Pharisees were inconsistent with their practice of robbing widows and orphans, in the days of the Great Nazarene.

But barring this fly in the ointment, this praise of those who, were Lincoln here to-day, would be his bitterest enemies and whom he would have scorned because of their assaults upon the fundamental principles of popular government, the Lincoln celebration has been the most significant and inspiring event of years. It has filled the popular mind with great ideals and truths that those who are so industriously and actively seeking to establish class rule under the robes of republican government most dread to see emphasized. It has flooded the imagination of the rising generation with the light of democracy, so hated and feared by the reactionary interests and up-

holders of monarchal, aristocratic, plutocratic, oligarchical or the modern hybrid despotic rule, which is born of a union of privilege-seeking classes with corrupt bosses and their money-controlled machines.

No great statesman since the days of Jefferson believed more implicitly or wholeheartedly in the genius of democracy than did Abraham Lincoln. He gave sincere and wholehearted allegiance to the great fundamental principles which differentiate a democratic republic or popular rule from all forms of class government,—the principle that the voter is the sovereign and master, and the official merely the representative, steward or servant, under sacred obligation to carry out the wishes and conserve the interests of his master, as opposed to the theory of despots, whether emperor, king, aristocracy, oligarchy, or the present-day political boss, that the officials are the masters and the people the servants.

Lincoln's ideal of the true position and the duty of the official in a government like ours was clearly set forth in his frank statement made to the electors when, as a candidate for the Legislature, he asked their suffrage.

"If elected," he declared, "I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me. While acting as their representative I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is."

In his admirable sketch of Lincoln, Mr. Brand Whitlock well says:

"The whole theory of representative government was never more clearly understood, never more clearly expressed. Even then he had an occult sense of public opinion, knew what the general mind was thinking. Always fundamentally democratic, he was so close to the heart of humanity that intuitively he measured its mighty pulsations, and believed that the public mind was not far from right. Years afterward, expressing his belief in the people's judgment as the one authority in affairs, he asked, 'Is there any better or equal hope?'"

**A Nation Under the Spell of the Great Commoner.**

No one can estimate the beneficial influence upon the idealism of the nation and the Republic of to-morrow which flowed from this country-wide celebration in which the millions of the public schools no less than the reading adult Americans had their mental vision centered in an informing way upon the noblest representative of the democratic spirit since it was so splendidly embodied and expressed by Thomas Jefferson. The genius, the ideals, the principles and the blessings of democracy were so embodied in the thought and the life of the martyred president that no man can read his history without having the broader, nobler and juster ideals born of advancing civilization aroused and stimulated; and here from ocean to ocean school children were studying the life of Lincoln in order that they might prepare essays, compositions, orations and discussions dealing with his life and its fruition.

**Lincoln as Viewed by a Southern Editor and an English Essayist.**

The great press for the hour seemed to forget the narrow limitations that too often mark it in this later day, and vied with school and forum in paying tribute to the man, his life and achievements. The familiarizing of the mind of the people with Lincoln and his ideals by the press has amounted almost to a new baptism of the people with the spirit of democracy. The editorials, life sketches and anecdotes have been complemented by the republication of master poems and tributes of other days and the giving of new estimates and characterizations of Lincoln and the great passages in his life, by men eminently fitted to accurately and dramatically deal with their subjects. To us two of the most interesting brief prose tributes and estimates were called forth by the celebration were from the pen of Herny Watterson, the famous Southern editor, and a critical characterization at once reminiscent and descriptive, from over-seas, penned by that highly intuitive thinker and graphic and incisive essayist, Francis Grierson.

Mr. Watterson in the *March Cosmopolitan* contributed one of the most notable essays on Lincoln that has appeared. Every paragraph is richly worth the reading. The article is marked by a broad, judicial and truly statesmanlike spirit very pleasing to the lover of that which is finest in human thought. Space renders it impossible for us to quote this most

interesting contribution of the distinguished journalist and old soldier of the Confederacy.

Mr. Grierson's tribute to Lincoln appeared in an English publication, *The New Age*. After mentioning the fact that his father had removed from the old country to Alton, Illinois, when the writer was a small boy, and that he enjoyed the rare privilege of hearing the last of the great historic series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas, Mr. Grierson gives some epigrammatic characterizations of the great President that were made by famous men with whom he was later acquainted in Washington during the administration of Lincoln. Among these he calls to mind Don Piatt's observation. "His body," said the brilliant editor of the *Washington Capital*, "was a huge skeleton in clothes; his face defied artistic skill to soften or idealize, yet it brightened like a lit lantern when animated. His dull eyes would fairly sparkle with fun, or express as kindly a look as I ever saw, when moved by some matter of human interest." While the well-known Indiana statesman, the Hon. George Julian, characterized the laugh of Lincoln as being like that of "Sartor Resartus," "a laugh of the whole man from head to heel."

Mr. Grierson then gives his impression of Lincoln,—an impression so graphic and unhackneyed that we quote somewhat at length from it:

"Abraham Lincoln belonged to that rare class whom Edmond Scherer calls '*les grands melancoliques*.' Of these I find two sorts: those who laugh because they can, and those who languish because they lack the faculty of laughter. Humor is the safety-valve of genius, a 'scape-pipe for the vapors of apprehension and melancholy. Statesmen and soldiers without this gift rush in where angels fear and devils dare not tread. A tragic gloom made Bonaparte a wandering lunatic, Bismarck a marauding minotaur, and Gladstone a man who saw everything with only eye.

"A practical humorist is a man who can see himself double, one who can stand outside his own body and behold himself as others would see him if for one moment he let himself commit the ridiculous. He can, if he pleases, be his own accuser, his own counsel, his own judge, and his own jury, and finish by discharging himself from the bar of his own reason without a stain on his character.

"Now, Abraham Lincoln was the greatest practical humorist of his time, perhaps of all

time. Where Disraeli used his wits for the advancement of his person or his party, Lincoln used his for the good of the whole country, the furtherance of a universal principle. He laughed at his own stories, but the moral remained; and a humorous story which points a moral is better than a moral that produces depression. Other men could very well have been mistaken for what they were not. Washington might have passed for a country squire, Disraeli for a lawyer or sculptor, Gladstone for a judge or bishop, Whitman for a country schoolmaster, Poe for an artist or musician. Alone, of all the great men of his own country, Abraham Lincoln bore the imprint of Nature on every feature, the sign of the Western soil, the virgin wilderness, the unsullied atmosphere, the untrammelled dominion of individual freedom. There was about his dark, rugged face and his gaunt figure something that harmonized with the dark, silent waters of the Mississippi in its least romantic aspects; for Lincoln, whose existence was one long romance, was the least romantic mortal that anyone could possibly imagine. He was not an artist, like Disraeli, nor a prose-poet, like Burke, nor a man of imaginative eloquence, like his great rival Douglas; and for a very good reason—he had no imagination. Humor and imagination were strong points in Disraeli, humor and logic in Lincoln.

“None of the American humorists were men who had the imaginative faculty strongly developed; and Mark Twain is so little of a poet that only once in his most serious book, *Life on the Mississippi*, does he speak adequately of the great river, and then only in ten lines. While Disraeli displayed humor and imagination, humor and logic held Lincoln to mother earth, to plain statements, plain facts, and plain people. Mark Twain has been successfully imitated, Whitman is far from insurmountable, Poe’s detective stories have engendered a host of successful emulators. To imitate Lincoln one would require to be born again; no one ever looked like him, no one ever acted like him, no humor was ever so intimately related to far-reaching vision, moods of melancholy, and moments of incommensurable and incommunicable power. Beside him the academical politicians of Virginia and Massachusetts appeared provincial rhetoricians, book-worms, or fanatics. His long, lank body, awkward hands and feet, his ill-fitting clothes, the inexorable individuality of his head and face made the senatorial aristocrats at Washington look like tailors’

dummies from London or intellectual automatons from Boston. He spoiled reams of their classical rhetoric by a page of witty reason, conciliated party fanaticism by the suave logic hidden in his outbursts of pleasantry, and sterilized the poison of patriotic bigotry by a combination of patience, tact, and prophetic intuition such as was never known before in the history of politics.

“When, in May, 1861, three months after the outbreak of War, Secretary Seward prepared a carefully worded despatch to the American Minister at the Court of St. James it was Lincoln who took the despatch in hand and, with erasures and additions, proved himself a past grand-master in the mystical diplomacy of words, an adept in the art of phraseology. This despatch, corrected by the backwoods President with so much cunning and wisdom, prevented the irreparable calamity of a war with England.

“A high-pressure education means a low-pressure of knowledge. One of the secrets of Lincoln’s power lay in the fact that no one ever pressed him to learn anything. A university is a forcing-tube where the brains of genius go in at the big and come out at the little end, like patent tooth-paste or refined vaseline, the free application of which is supposed to inoculate others with the divine virus of a lingering classicism. Lincoln had the miraculous good fortune to escape the filleting process. He went through life with all his awkward bones untwisted, with his lank frame, his languid movements, heavy countenance, quick wit, dreamy moods, and clear vision. Although he was always observing and always learning, no one could add an iota to the will, the character, or the substance of the man. At the age of thirty-six he was alluded to as ‘Old Abe,’ and what he was at twenty he remained to the day of his assassination.

“Abraham Lincoln changed not only the customs, habits, and opinions of the major portion of the American people, but the opinions and sentiments of millions of people in other parts of the world. He was not a type. He loomed unique and solitary, like a sphinx in the desert of Democracy, a symbol of destiny and disruption in the Ethiopian night of modern slavery.”

#### Lincoln and the Poets of the People.

Fine as has been much of the voluminous prose writing on Lincoln that has appeared in

connection with the centenary of his birth, we doubt if anything has appealed to the popular imagination, especially that of the rising generation, in so compelling a manner as the many fine poems called forth by the occasion, and the republication and wide dissemination of the distinctly great personal poems relating to Lincoln's life and death that appeared long ago. Some of these poetical writings are so richly worth preserving and are so instinct with inspiration for our young that we reproduce them in this paper. The most distinctly great poem that the Lincoln centenary called forth was, as we would naturally expect, from the pen of democracy's laureate, Edwin Markham. It was entitled "The Coming of Lincoln" and appeared first in the *New York American* and Mr. Hearst's other papers.

Men saw no portents on that winter night  
A hundred years ago. No omens flared  
Above that tall-built cabin with one door,  
And windowless to all the peering stars.  
They laid him in the hollow of a log,  
Humblest of cradles, save that other one—  
The manger in the stall at Bethlehem.

No portents! yet with whisper and alarm  
The Evil Powers that dread the nearing feet  
Of heroes held a council in that hour;  
And sent three fates to darken that low door,  
To baffle and beat back the heaven-sent child.  
Three were the fates—gaunt Poverty that chains,  
Gray Drudgery that grinds the hope away,  
And gaping Ignorance that starves the soul.

They came with secret laughters to destroy.  
Ever they dogged him, counting every step,  
Waylaid his youth and struggled for his life.  
They came to master, but he made them serve.  
And from the wrestle with the destinies,  
He rose with all his energies aglow.

For God, upon whose steadfast shoulders rest  
These governments of ours, had not forgot.  
He needed for his purpose a voice,  
A voice to be a clarion on the wind.  
Orying the word of freedom to dead hearts,  
The word the centuries had waited for.

So hidden in the West, God shaped his man.  
There in the unspooled solitudes he grew,  
Unwarped by culture and uncramped by creed;  
Keeping his course courageous and alone,  
As goes the Mississippi to the sea.  
His daring spirit burst the narrow bounds,  
Bore resolute; and like the sea-called stream  
He tore new channels where he found no way.

The tools were his first teachers, sternly kind.  
The plow, the scythe, the maul, the echoing ax  
Taught him their homely wisdom and their peace.  
He had the plain man's genius—common sense,  
Yet rage for knowledge drove his mind afar;  
He fed his spirit with the bread of books,  
And slaked his thirst at all the wells of thought.  
But most he read the heart of common man,

Scanned all its secret pages stained with tears,  
Saw all the gulle, saw all the piteous pain;  
And yet could keep the smile about his lips,  
Love and forgive, see all and pardon all;  
His only fault, the fault that some of old  
Laid even on God—that he was ever wont  
To bend the law to let his mercy out.

Mr. Markham complemented the service to the cause of democratic progress which he rendered in preparing the above poem, by giving to the public a carefully revised and greatly enlarged version of his justly popular personal

poem on Lincoln,—a poem which in its present revised form is, in our judgment, without question the greatest personal poem in American literature.

When the Norn Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour  
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,  
She left the Heaven of Heroes and came down  
To make a man to meet the mortal need.  
She took the tried clay of the common road—  
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of Earth,  
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy;  
Tempered the heap with thrill of human tears;  
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff,  
Into the shape she breathed a flame to light  
That tender, tragic, everchanging face.  
Here was a man to hold against the world,  
A man to match our peaks and plains and seas.

The color of the ground was in him; the red earth;  
The smack and tang of elemental things;  
The rectitude and patience of the corn;  
The good-will of the rain that falls for all;  
The friendly welcome of the wayside well;  
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;  
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn,  
The mercy of the snow that hides all scars;  
The secrecy of streams that make their way  
Beneath the mountain to the cloven rock;  
The underlying justice of the light  
That gives as freely to the shrinking sower  
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—  
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn  
That shoulders out the sky.

Sprung from the West,  
The Great West nursed him on her rugged knees.  
The strength of virgin forests braced his mind;  
The hush of spacious prairies stilled his soul.  
Up from log cabin to the Capitol,  
One fire was on his spirit, one resolve—  
To send the keen ax to the root of wrong,  
Clearing a free way for the feet of God.  
And evermore he burned to do his deed  
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king:  
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,  
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow.  
The conscience of him testing every stroke,  
To make his deed the measure of a man.

So came the Captain with the thinking heart;  
And when the judgment thunders split the house,  
Wrenching the rafters from their ancient rest,  
He held the ridgepole up, and spiked again  
The rafters of the Home. He held his place—  
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—  
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.  
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down  
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great about upon the hills,  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

Lincoln's place in the Valhalla of democracy is assured. He was one of the noblest apostles of freedom, justice and popular rights that has arisen since the dawn of the democratic era. He came on the stage in one of the greatest crises known to modern history,—an hour big with fate, and he discerned fundamental principles so clearly that none were able to becloud his mind, even at a time when the clamor of discordant and warring voices had confused the thought of many and obscured the basic truths even to the vision of most statesmen of the time. To clarity of thought were wedded single-heartedness and transparent sincerity, love of justice that amounted to passion, reverence for truth, and tenderness of heart, combining to make him a noble personification of the genius of democracy.

## COLORADO SPRINGS' NEW MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, SAFEGUARDED BY THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RIGHT OF RECALL.

**A**T a time when Massachusetts is presenting to the world one of the most shameful and humiliating spectacles that has marked her history, in the refusal of the legislature to grant to Boston the fundamental right which distinguishes a popular representative government from all forms of despotic class rule, other American cities are embodying democratic provisions in their charters for safeguarding popular rights and the interests of the citizens from corrupt political machines and their master corruptors, the great privileged interests that render the political boss well-nigh invincible.

Colorado Springs is one of the latest of the growing American cities to adopt a municipal charter properly safeguarding popular or democratic government. The new measures were adopted by the overwhelming vote of 3,161 to 263. The new government is of the commission type. The mayor and councilmen are elected by the people, and these men are the responsible servants of the people, each one heading one of the five departments of the government, namely, water and water-works, finance, public health and sanitation, public works and property, and public safety.

Special provisions are made to preserve non-partisan rule. A majority of all votes cast is essential to an election. If there is no majority, a second election is held.

The features of the government that are of special interest to friends of popular rule and which will work to the immense benefit of the citizens of Colorado Springs may be briefly summarized as follows:

No franchise can be granted except on the

vote of the people. The electorate reserve the right to regulate fares and rates, and may license street cars, meters, poles and similar features. Each corporation is required to make a detailed annual report, and the city receives on all franchises 3 per cent. of the gross receipts for the first fifteen years, and five per cent for the remainder of the life of the franchise. The city may purchase any public utility, and no franchise can be granted for a period of more than twenty-five years. On the petition of 30 per cent. of the voters an elective officer may be removed from office through the Recall. The Initiative and Referendum require the signature of fifteen per cent. of the voters. No official is allowed to receive any free service from a corporation.

The weak point in the above is found in the great number of signatures required for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Especially is this regrettable in the case of Direct Legislation. Experience has amply proved that the number of signatures provided for in Oregon, Switzerland and in other places where Direct Legislation is efficiently and effectively in operation is ample, and there is no probability of the popular right being abused. On the other hand, where great interests desire to compass their ends, they are not only able, as has been the case time and again, to procure legislation adverse to the interests of the people, but their influence over the press and other public opinion-forming agencies is sufficiently large to render it difficult in cases where it is most important for the friends of clean, pure and just government to get the proper number of signatures. Hence the excessive percentage as provided in Colorado Springs is most unfortunate.

## AN APPEAL TO AMERICAN MANHOOD IN BEHALF OF FREE INSTITUTIONS.

**The Rapid Rise and Steady Encroachment of Reactionary Ideals and Class Interests.**

**N**O ONE can have followed closely the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth and

its steady encroachments everywhere, without observing that there has been a corresponding decrease in the sturdy, liberty-loving, independent and justice-dominated spirit that made the Republic in her early days the moral leader of

the world in the family of nations and the beacon-light for the oppressed of every land and clime.

The reactionary tide setting toward the ideals of the ante-democratic era, with the tolerance of classes and privilege, is visible in all the ramifications of society; in politics, in the church, in the colleges and in business circles. But nowhere is it so clearly in evidence as in the great daily press of the land, where the opinions of millions upon millions of American people are being daily subtly influenced along the lines broadly marked out by the masters of privileged wealth. Slowly yet surely the chains of a deadly despotism are being forged around the people. This fact has been long apparent to a comparatively few men and women who are accustomed to consider problems in relation to fundamental ethical verities and democratic theories of government; and happily during the last few years an ever-increasing number of people have become aware of this creeping death that is approaching a sleeping nation, or, rather, the masses who are supposed to be the sovereigns in a government like ours. Slowly the masses are beginning to realize that the locks are being clipped from the head of the sleeping Samson; but for many this realization is not accompanied by any clear or definite idea of what is to be done, though many are already clamoring for some of the numerous palliative remedies with which privilege seeks to drug the awakened.

We have recently received many inquiries from those who at least see the peril, the deadly peril to the principles for which the fathers sacrificed fortune and life and to which the heroes of latter days consecrated their lives, as Lincoln so aptly expressed it, "that government of the people, by the people and for the people" should "not perish from the earth." There are several things demanded of every patriot and lover of free institutions and clean government to-day.

#### **Educational Agitation for Fundamentally Democratic Measures.**

In the domain of government one thing rises above all others in overshadowing importance. It is the establishment of Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, and the companioning of these vital measures with the Right of Recall and Proportional Representation. With these safeguards to bulwark popular rule, the machinery of a democratic popular

government will be secured and the ends for which the fathers fought and which they sought to secure will be adapted to the changed conditions of the present time that the huge conspiracy of the feudalism of privileged wealth and class interests and the corrupt political boss and his money-controlled machine will be frustrated or robbed of its power to destroy democracy. Every patriotic citizen should study these great measures and familiarize himself with the beneficent effects which have followed wherever they have been honestly tried. When equipped with these facts, he should vigorously agitate for their adoption, appealing to all his friends who have the capacity and inclination to think for themselves; while he should be ready to meet with facts and arguments the sophistries of those who are merely the parrots of the prostituted press.

#### **The Free Press.**

While the daily journals can no longer be considered free, there are a number of weekly news and editorial sheets of sterling worth and a few magazines that are yet free and untrammelled. It is the bounden duty of every loyal friend of republican institutions to take one or more of these papers, even though it be at serious sacrifice.

If he be a Lincoln or "conscience" Republican, let him take Senator LaFollette's new magazine, a sterling weekly newspaper and editorial sheet that stands for the fundamental principles of free government and human rights. Though appealing to the conscience element of the Republican party, it stands for the great fundamental principles of free government for which Thomas Jefferson fought and Abraham Lincoln stood.

Among the weekly and editorial newspapers representing fundamental democracy and the economic gospel of Henry George, the ablest is *The Public of Chicago*, edited by Louis F. Post. Mr. Bryan's *Commoner* and *The Star of San Francisco* are other able weekly editorial sheets devoted to progressive and fundamental democracy.

The Socialist press is doing an immensely important work in awakening the proletariat to a sensible realization of the steady encroachments of privileged wealth and the rapid destruction of the fundamental rights that were supposed to be guaranteed to the toilers by the Constitution of the United States. It is also awakening millions of men and women to the essential injustice of economic conditions which

enable the creatures of privilege to enjoy fabulous wealth that is unearned, while hundreds of thousands of willing hands are frequently denied even the privilege of work. Among the strong representatives of the Socialist press *The New York Daily Call* deserves special notice. The *Chicago Socialist* is also carrying forward a vigorous propaganda. *The Appeal to Reason* reaches weekly more than a quarter of a million toilers with its always vigorous and thought-stimulating agitation; and *The Christian Socialist* of Chicago is doing an inestimably valuable work among the recreant churches of America, by preaching the Gospel as proclaimed by the Founder of Christianity. All of these papers stand for those great fundamental present-day demands of free institutions and democratic government,—the Initiative, the Referendum and the Right of Recall.

This free and untrammelled press is standing to-day between the people and an intolerable and advancing despotism of privileged wealth, more deadly in character than constitutional monarchy or hereditary aristocracy, and the duty of thinking men and women to liberally support this press is so apparent that no serious-minded patriot should hesitate to make great sacrifice in his effort to save that which is essential to the maintenance of free institutions.

#### Clubs and Public Meetings.

Nothing is more needed at the present time than the awakening of a sense of responsibility in the individual, and this can be done in no way so well as by the formation of clubs for the discussion of vital issues relating to government and the great ethical, economic and social questions that are pressing for solution. It is a very significant fact that the decline in democratic sentiment and the rise of reaction were coincident with the decline in the lyceum and the general popular discussion of municipal state and national issues.

A nation of mere readers will never be a free people. It is necessary that there should be discussion in the old town-meeting form and according to the fashion of the lyceums of the days of our fathers. Discussion arouses the personal interest and sense of responsibility on the part of the citizen. It stimulates his moral enthusiasm and quickens his intellectual processes. He ceases to be the mere parrot, echoing phrases that have been written at the dictation or under the direction of privileged interests which control the daily press. He reasons upon the great questions fundamentally

and from the view-point of his interest rather than arguing against his interests and in favor of those who are seeking his impoverishment and enslavement for their own enormous gain.

Mr. J. J. Enneking, the prominent Boston artist, is urging the formation of groups of ten in every hamlet, town and city of the Union. His contention is that no group should be more numerous than ten, so that they can meet in a room in some private house once a week, or once in two weeks if it is impracticable to meet oftener, and there familiarly talk over and discuss questions that are vital to the interests of free institutions and clean government. At these meetings some member can from week to week outline some of the great problems that are pressing for solution, after which the opinions of all present can be freely exchanged; or a digest of a vital book can be given, followed by general discussion. If a number of these groups were formed in every town, it would be an easy matter at intervals for each group to select some speaker and have a public meeting, say once a month, held under the auspices of the groups, at which representatives of each group should give ten or fifteen-minute addresses on questions relating to municipal, state or national issues. Such meetings would enormously stimulate the civic spirit in every community.

Here again lies a duty for the conscientious and liberty-loving citizen. Let each one seek to interest his friends and if possible form one of these small groups.

The Committees of Correspondence which kept the patriots informed throughout the various Colonies during the days when the despotism of the English government were aggressively encroaching on the rights of the Colonists, rendered possible the American Revolution and its successful issue. We are in the presence of a crisis quite as serious as that which confronted the fathers,—a crisis that carries with it the fate of democratic institutions in the New World; and in the presence of such a peril as to-day confronts free institutions, no man or woman is quit of responsibility. No one can remain inactive and live guiltless.

#### *A Misleading Statement.*

A valued friend in England sends us an advertisement taken from his daily paper, which describes a pamphlet attacking the founder of Christian Science, and calls my attention to this part of the advertisement:

“Reprinted from *The Arena* of May, 1909. Boston, Mass., U. S. A.”

He writes to know if such a paper has appeared in *The Arena* under my editorial direction. In reply I wish to state that the above statement, whether intentionally or not, is untrue and on a par with the persistent campaign of falsehood, slander and calumny that has for years been carried on by certain American publishers and personages against the founder of Christian Science and the governing board of that church. The article in question was published many years ago, when I had no connection in any way whatsoever with *The Arena*. I founded that magazine and up to the end of 1896 was its sole editor. At that time the maga-

zine passed into hands unfriendly to much that *The Arena* stood for. I severed all connection with the journal and lost all my financial interest in the publication. It then passed under the editorial management of a number of different parties and also into the hands of several owners. During this period, when the magazine did not represent my views or policies and when I had no interest of any kind in the publication, the attack on Mrs. Eddy in question appeared. The statement made in the advertisement in question that the article appeared in *The Arena* of May, 1909, is of course a gross falsehood and calculated to mislead the public.

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD

of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Some Facts and a Few Figures.

IN THE ARENA for February, 1909, were quoted the United States Census for cities of 30,000 and over, showing that 116 cities out of 158 owned and operated their own water works and that of these 114, or over 98 per cent., were financially successful. Smaller cities and towns have also met success, as is shown not only by their reports, but by the number of towns that after careful examination are at this moment preparing to follow the example of their more progressive neighbors. No such complete figures exist for municipal lighting plants, but here, too, the example is attracting many followers. The lack of complete statistics, however, together with the rapid strides of the electrical industry and the consequently changing values (i. e., reduction in cost) have tended to wrap the whole subject of municipal lighting in a cloud of mystery. This would-be mystery is enhanced by lists of "failures" and "defunct plants" published by the press bureaus of the public service corporations for just this purpose. Such lists include some strange examples—plants that have moved into new buildings, causing the old plant to become "defunct," plants that have scrapped old boilers or other machinery, which are the basis for "abandoned plants," and so on. Now, there have been municipal plants that have failed, just as there have been private plants that have failed, and there have been occa-

sions when, because of the location of natural resources or because of the nature of some corporation or other cause, it has been wise for a town to adhere to a system of private ownership, and where conditions are similar these are legitimate examples. But to "fake" a list of towns for the sole purpose of confusing and misleading the citizens of a town that is considering public ownership is quite another matter. That these lists have their basis largely in the constructive imagination of their publishers has frequently been shown. In a pamphlet issued in the Syracuse controversy (Syracuse, by the way, is a legitimate case of private operation) Mr. Joseph Bondy published the answers he received from towns which had been reported in one of these lists as having failed in the operation of their public utilities. The answers show that not only were the conditions of many plants misrepresented, but that many of the towns reported as having been burdened with failures did not have any such plants at all. A more recent list was investigated by the *Municipal Journal and Engineer* (January 1, 1908) with the same results. Another list was exploded by *The Municipality* for March, 1909. And so it goes. Fortunately much of the evidence in these lists shows its poor authority. Much of it comes from men who have been unable to manage plants entrusted to them, or from people whose bias, at least, is not open to question. Very little of it is based on actual



figures. Much of it, on the other hand, has trickled from a prejudiced beginning—press agent stuff and the like—through two or three prejudiced publications, and is not so blatant in its weakness. For instance, a recent number of *Concerning Municipal Ownership*—the bulletin of the New York corporation bureau—contained a very readable quotation from the *Electrical World*, which got it from a special write-up in the *Boston Herald*, telling how Boston had abandoned its “municipal lighting and heating plant” at the city storehouse. Now, if you did not happen to remember at the moment that Boston never had a municipal lighting plant and never even considered a municipal heating plant this article might easily strike you as plausible—though of course you might stop to wonder why the plant was in the storehouse. As a matter of fact this “plant” was not a plant at all; it was merely part of the machinery of the storehouse, and it was discontinued for reasons not connected with the “plant” at all. It has not the slightest bearing on any phase of Municipal Ownership,—but the phraseology made it available for *Concerning Municipal Ownership*. A “defunct lighting plant,” you see.

Confusion about public ownership is frequently produced by the use of an apparent dilemma. If a plant is financially successful, say its opponents, that means extortion on the part of the city. If, however, a city operates its light or water plant as a service indispensable to the welfare of the citizens regardless of cost, if such a plant fails to pay expenses from light or water receipts, why then of course you can see for yourself that it is a (financial) failure. That would seem to get you coming and going, wouldn't it? Let us look below the surface. In the first place if we had a private plant instead of a public one we would have to pay such rates for the service as would make the venture profitable to private parties. By a public plant we eliminate the desire for profits above those necessary to safeguard the payment of expenses. Whatever profits there are belong not to special individuals, but to all the citizens, who are both the producers and the consumers. But the tendency is for profits to take the form of reduced rates or improved service rather than of surplus accounts. Where, therefore, a plant is on a good financial basis the advantage lies with the public plant, and this is at present the common case. Many cities, on the other hand, feel that the problem is not a financial one at all; that in the protection of health and

safety the city owes its inhabitants light and water. This course, though somewhat startling to us after many years of paying profits, is really quite common in other lines. All roads were once paid for by tolls, because formerly roads were private property, and when the governments took them over they knew no way of charging for them other than the way the private owners had used. But later came the realization of the value of roads to the whole community, and then tolls were reduced and reduced until they disappeared. The same is true of bridges and of many other means of communication. A similar truth presents itself in many things which we now take for granted in our daily life. The elevator in an office building is free; that is, its cost is born by the community, not by the individual user. In a hotel we expect light and water and heat. In some European cities you can still find the old feudal idea of these services. There you pay board and then pay separately for light and for heat and for water. I was at one hotel where for a room and bath they gave me a bathroom with a bed in it. Then they charged me every time I used the bath. The very fact that such a practice strikes us as ridiculous shows how far we have moved from the feudal idea. Cities are beginning to realize, moreover, that no amount of bookkeeping will bring all the benefits of public ownership into the accounts of their public plants. Like all phases of city administration this is not “a mere business proposition”—though it generally is a good one—but is a question of service. The Staten Island ferries in New York, for instance, while just approaching a paying basis, have not only increased the commercial activity of this outlying borough, but have increased real estate values on Staten Island by millions—paying their cost many times over. Lighting systems by their mere police function have a value that cannot be put into dollars and cents at all. By the parking of water works sites many cities have gotten not only new land values, but new “health resorts” and beauty spots that could be acquired in no other way. Then there is the co-operation of water and health departments which has made possible the routing of grave diseases. Thus in Harrisburg last year, situated on what was formerly considered one of the worst rivers in the country, typhoid was reduced to only 74 cases in a city of over 50,000, and of these only ten were free from outside probable sources of contagion. That, too, is a value worth considering. Then, again, there

are the advantages, not all monetary, that come through reduced insurance rates, a result which interests a public plant much more than a private one. The efforts of the Water Commissioners of Attleboro, Mass., for example, led to a reduction of insurance rates last year of at least ten per cent., to say nothing of the advantages of increased protection to life and property not marked by fire insurance rates. None of these indirect benefits of public ownership necessitate or even tend to produce financial loss, but at the same time they reduce the financial argument to minor importance.

Another issue that has been purposely clouded is the resemblance between water works and lighting plants, so that while there is a pretty general agreement that a town should own its own water works, there is a certain hesitation in regard to lighting plants. Yet the two services are very similar. Just as a water system is the development of the private well into the concentrated source with a universal distribution system, so a lighting plant is a growth from the individual light to a concentrated source with its distribution system. In both services we seek the same factors, availability and dependability, and in both respects we have reached a standard never before approached. In both services we have the same control of one of the chief factors of public health and public safety. It is only lately that we have come to realize just how important a part light plays in matters of health through its effect not only on the eyes, but on the whole nervous system. Furthermore, both services are alike in their mechanical aspects, a feature which is doing more perhaps than any one thing in bringing out the likeness between them. Thus we get plants situated near convenient water power that use the same source for water and for electricity, plants with a central boiler that operate a water system in one wing and a lighting system in the other, and in many smaller towns, plants that use one boiler for operating the water works in the daytime and the lighting system at night. Lastly, it must be remembered that both services are in the main dependent on the use of public property, the streets, for their distributing systems, and this alone is no small reason for the cities owning those systems.

The argument is frequently advanced that political conditions in our American cities are such as to make public ownership a great risk, firstly because of the increased number of city workmen, and secondly on account of political

appointments. The former of these is a myth, for the "City Hall Vote" has rarely materialized, has never been dependable, and has been a constant disappointment to ambitious politicians. Compared to the dangers of a "Corporation Vote," where the men also vote as they are ordered, but have no personal interest in the result, the best organized "City Hall Vote" is insignificant and harmless. As to political appointments, that is a bugaboo that generally chases itself. The experience of nearly all "political" cities has been that unless some corporation is particularly desirous of some other result, political appointees as managers of municipal plants rapidly give way to honest, efficient men. No better example is necessary than the lighting plant in Columbus. Originally it was looked on purely as a source of spoils. Its present manager holds office on his own provision that he shall be absolutely free from political interference. Even Seattle, probably the worst city politically in the country, is beginning to show signs of such a change. It must be remembered that we are just beginning to break away from a line of false reasoning that was popular for many years. Starting out with the postulate that "any man can be President," we went on the basis that any man could be an officer of the government. So for many years we were willing to appoint anybody as city engineer, or superintendent of water works, or manager of a lighting plant. Now, however, we realize that men must have some special fitness for these positions, and at the same time we find developing an increasing number of men actually equipped to undertake these responsibilities.

Under the old plan, when anybody could be anything, we used to hear a good deal about the undesirability of all forms of work for the city. The two went hand in hand. With the new order this has all changed. Where formerly engineers fought shy of city work, now more and more appear as "municipal engineers exclusively," and the same is true of other departments of city work. So formerly it used to be said that public ownership must fail because it could not satisfy individual ambition. If that is true now it is true only because "individual ambition" has become town enthusiasm. Take up, for instance, the light and water reports of the Illinois cities. See how every superintendent in the state has his eye on the progress of his plant toward "the best of its class in the state." Take up the reports of cities like Richmond, Ind., or Greenwood, S. C.,

whose plants have been attacked in the corporation literature. Take again the reports of the Attleboro Water Commissioners as they gradually built up their plant,—and so on through the list, and you will find one of the finest enthusiasms that exists in this country to-day. Nor is this a blind enthusiasm, but on the contrary it comes from a careful study of results and a clear analysis of the situation. As witness Mayor Arwin E. Price's preface to the 1908 report of the water works of Elgin, Illinois:

"The City Water Works, owned by the City of Elgin, from its meager beginning in 1888, the total expenditure for its installation being \$118,000, to the magnificent proportions now attained, with a valuation of over a million dollars; the additions, extensions and enlargements have nearly all been inaugurated and completed from the receipts of the water rates paid by the consumers, without any tax on the general public, until within the past year, when the small sum of \$10 for each fire hydrant has been collected from the Fire Department, while the other departments of the city are required to pay the same rates for water used as is paid by private consumers.

"And during all these years, from its inception to the present, the rates have been as low or lower to the private consumer as the rates in any other city in the state where water was furnished by private companies.

"This magnificent showing is an object lesson to the taxpayers of this city in Municipal Ownership, the paramount issue for the cities of the United States.

"Private corporations are at present almost invincible. The management of the same is in sore need of conversion. The laws under which they exist need revision and readjustment to the advanced civic progress of American cities, and a more perfect enlargement of control by the people. Under the ambiguous and unnatural laws now existing, we are fast becoming their helpless slaves.

"But as municipalities throw off the yoke of oppression and become owners, members and masters of their own corporations, where all the people share in the benefits, private corporations working in fields where they do not rightfully belong, must and will make room for and be succeeded by the common people in mutual public ownership, at the same time

creating a place where private property can exist and does rightfully belong."

### Harrisburg, Pa.

(This and the following statements are made without comment other than to call attention to certain special features.)

EARNINGS OF THE WATER DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1908.	
Cash received from water rents, schedule rates (yearly)	\$30,007.50
Cash received from water rents, domestic meters,	98,883.83
Cash received from water rents, manufacturers meters	57,416.27
Cash received from ferrules, permits, etc., profit on meters	2,369.37
	2,150.46
Total cash Received	\$190,827.43
Credit allowed for water pipe assessment	13,420.65
Water rent due and payable Dec. 31, 1908,	31,822.97
Water furnished free as per statement	37,295.90
Total earnings	\$273,366.95
Current expenses	\$50,359.16
Extraordinary expenses and betterments	13,010.88
Total expenses	\$63,370.04
Interest on bonded indebtedness (total)	\$32,088.00
Total interest and expense	\$95,458.04
Gross earnings	\$177,908.91
Less credit allowed on water pipe assessment, free water, and rent due	\$82,539.52
Net Cash Earnings	\$95,369.39

Population in 1900, 50,100. Average revenue from metered taps, \$8.60, from unmetered houses \$8.66  
186 houses not having any water connection paid a protective tax.

### Elgin, Ill.

WATER DEPARTMENT—RECEIPTS. 1907	
From assesses rates 1907	\$27,333.03
" " 1906	198.21
" " 1905	2.75
Meter rates, 1907	16,256.95
Meter rates, 1906	2,428.27
Water permits	455.05
Plumbers licenses	70.00
Miscellaneous	202.77
Total Ordinary	\$46,746.06
From advanced water rates \$440.00	
From sale of meters	4,587.88
From service connections	1,566.90
From sale of bonds	10,000.00
Total Extraordinary	\$16,154.78
Total Receipts	\$62,900.84
Total Expenditures	62,295.07
Balance to Water Bond Sinking Fund	\$606.77
EXPENDITURES.	
Superintendence	\$1,600.00
Service and meter men	1,416.60
Water Office salaries	874.00
Water Office Stationery, etc.	\$360.74
1-5 Corporation Counsel	300.00
1-4 City Collector	325.00
Pumping stations salaries	5,100.00
Coal and unloading	833.50
Engine room supplies	529.06
Repairs pumping station	596.59
Boiler repaired, machinery	3.52
Station and filter repairs	323.30
Interest on bonds	5,930.00
Miscellaneous	1,525.79
Bonds paid	5,000.00
Coal house	1,494.72
Pipe extension	22,095.23
Meters paid for	6,583.17
Service Connections	1,398.95
Total expenditures	\$62,295.07
Receipts over expenditures	\$606.77
Operating expenses total	\$18,280.21
Population 25,050. Free public use	\$2,009.75.

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA.

LIGHTING PLANT—RECEIPTS				
	1904	1905	1906	1907
From Commercial Service .....	\$125,929.65	\$150,980.71	\$184,798.24	\$221,869.69
From Service supplied Board of Public Works .....	30,000.00	30,000.00	35,000.00	35,000.00
From Service to other City Departments .....	817.03	1,680.21	3,003.90	2,587.22
From Miscellaneous Items .....	295.06	3,408.56	882.15	2,517.43
<b>Total Ordinary Revenue .....</b>	<b>157,041.74</b>	<b>186,069.48</b>	<b>223,684.29</b>	<b>261,974.34</b>
Deposits from Consumers .....	3,679.00	5,642.50	7,286.00	7,107.00
Balance Cash on hand, January 1st .....	27,402.17	14,516.21	3,986.09	52,812.78
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$188,122.91</b>	<b>\$206,228.19</b>	<b>\$234,906.38</b>	<b>\$321,894.12</b>

EXPENDITURES				
	1904	1905	1906	1907
Superintendence and Office Exs. ....	\$5,786.57	\$6,691.91	\$8,444.16	\$9,347.02
Expenses of Power Station—				
Salaries .....	1904 \$10,641.63	1905 \$12,085.00	1906 \$15,072.13	1907 \$21,119.19
Fuel .....	35,351.31	41,844.66	50,375.62	63,557.21
Supplies and Repairs .....	3,859.52	5,094.25	5,960.04	8,567.59
Inspection and Maintenance of Lines and Service—	49,852.46	59,023.91	71,407.79	93,243.99
Inspectors and Lamp Trimmers ..	5,710.95	6,402.15	6,779.48	7,237.30
Other Labor .....	5,664.93	7,168.84	10,583.86	9,040.03
Renewals and Repairs of Lamps ..	1,372.83	1,735.08	2,338.20	2,528.72
Purchase of Carbons .....	2,345.15	2,350.34	2,521.35	2,424.11
Feed, Care and Hire of Teams .....	1,678.12	1,737.72	2,226.80	2,893.19
Line Supplies and Repairs .....	2,861.02	1,744.59	2,732.68	5,268.69
Miscellaneous—	19,633.00	21,138.72	27,182.37	29,392.04
Fire Insurance .....	745.50	1,550.46	1,618.29	3,064.30
Liability Insurance .....	593.75	585.89	851.26	321.72
Boiler Insurance .....	63.22	67.35	92.18	158.85
Fly-wheel Insurance .....		270.00	162.00	108.00
Purchase of Current .....			2,320.38	743.74
Sundries .....	451.11	2,559.78	886.69	117.89
<b>Total Operating Expenses .....</b>	<b>77,125.61</b>	<b>91,888.02</b>	<b>112,965.12</b>	<b>136,497.56</b>
Extensions and Improvements—				
New Street Arc Lamps .....			1,054.77	524.52
Copper Wire for New Dines .....	3,271.00	4,900.34	9,763.63	4,986.80
Transformers .....	2,229.88	5,274.98	5,441.44	4,108.18
Meters .....	6,039.07	7,695.41	8,566.06	7,833.97
New Chimney .....				5,575.50
Boiler-room Extensions .....			123.73	5,612.34
New Machinery .....	44,417.23	19,445.63	22,040.07	59,398.61
New Switch Board .....	143.79	318.72	2,024.80	95.97
Poles and Cross Arms .....	170.50	709.28	1,269.80	503.65
Insulators, Brackets, &c. ....		180.79	322.60	112.14
New Shop and Equipment .....			4,929.90	
New Coal Bin .....			1,030.13	1,605.86
Labor and Sundries .....	3,344.07	1,277.65	3,561.55	7,658.59
Refund of Deposits .....	59,615.54	39,802.80	60,128.48	98,016.13
Amount turned over to City Treasurer to pay—	1,865.55	2,842.78	4,000.00	6,644.00
Interest on Bonds .....	15,000.00	30,000.00		
Extension of Sewers .....	20,000.00	31,308.50	5,000.00	26,508.60
Board of Public Works .....		3,750.00		35,000.00
Police Department .....		2,700.00		
Fire Department .....				13,491.40
<b>Total Expenditures .....</b>	<b>173,606.70</b>	<b>202,292.10</b>	<b>182,093.60</b>	<b>316,157.68</b>
Balance Cash on hand Dec. 31st ..	14,516.21	3,986.09	52,812.78	5,736.44
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>188,122.91</b>	<b>206,228.19</b>	<b>234,906.38</b>	<b>321,894.12</b>

	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Ordinary Revenues .....	79,362.46	110,348.49	136,798.19	157,041.74	186,069.48	223,684.29	261,974.34
Operating Expenses .....	47,788.43	56,587.22	62,791.53	77,125.61	91,888.02	112,965.12	136,497.56
Net Profit, twelve months .....	31,574.03	53,761.27	74,006.66	79,916.13	94,181.46	110,719.17	125,476.79
Average per month .....	2,631.16	4,480.10	6,167.22	6,659.67	7,848.45	9,226.60	10,456.39

WATER-WORKS—RECEIPTS				
	1904	1905	1906	1907
From Commercial Service .....	\$52,142.92	\$59,246.38	\$67,120.64	\$75,701.37
From Fire Department (Rent and care of Hydrants) ...	17,600.00	17,640.00	17,840.00	19,120.00
From Service supplied Board of Public Works .....	1,227.65	1,227.65	1,227.65	1,227.65
From other City Departments .....	1,584.00	1,491.74	1,673.78	1,626.76
From Tapping .....	985.25	2,331.07	5,390.21	5,081.00
Miscellaneous .....	434.65	291.90	233.45	889.18
<b>Total Revenues .....</b>	<b>\$73,924.47</b>	<b>\$82,228.74</b>	<b>\$93,485.73</b>	<b>\$103,645.96</b>
From Sale of Bonds .....			90,000.00	
Balance Cash on Hand, January 1st ..	871.86	1,618.09	246.66	47,999.60
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$74,796.33</b>	<b>\$83,846.83</b>	<b>\$183,732.39</b>	<b>\$151,645.56</b>

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA.

EXPENDITURES.				
	1904	1905	1906	1907
Superintendence and Office Expenses .....	4,977.22	5,348.22	5,833.53	6,496.48
Pumping Service .....	11,839.22	12,123.04	12,861.65	14,338.13
Maintenance and Repairs.....	4,109.09	6,074.00	7,633.40	8,908.88
Care and Inspection of Meters .....	1,728.85	1,672.45	2,528.21	2,109.66
Tapping.....	813.42	1,570.67	4,990.19	5,621.33
Care of Grounds.....	3,892.72	5,623.93	4,785.63	2,758.96
Refunds.....	199.92	271.70	318.49	301.16
Miscellaneous.....	833.21	279.37	723.79	1,331.61
<b>Total Operating Expenses .....</b>	<b>28,393.15</b>	<b>32,963.38</b>	<b>39,574.89</b>	<b>41,865.71</b>
Extensions and Improvements .....	11,785.09	30,886.79	64,925.40	72,800.00
Turned over to City Treasurer for Sewer Department .....	13,000.00	16,000.00	4,732.50	8,500.00
"    "    "    "    to pay Interest on Bonds .....	20,000.00			
"    "    "    "    for use of Bd. of Public Wks. ....		3,750.00	26,500.00	25,000.00
<b>Total Expenditures .....</b>	<b>73,178.24</b>	<b>83,600.17</b>	<b>135,732.79</b>	<b>148,165.71</b>
Balance on Hand, December 31st .....	1,618.09	246.66	47,999.60	3,479.85
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>74,796.33</b>	<b>83,846.83</b>	<b>183,732.39</b>	<b>151,645.56</b>

	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
<b>Total Revenues .....</b>	<b>53,870.77</b>	<b>60,893.62</b>	<b>66,591.39</b>	<b>73,924.47</b>	<b>82,228.74</b>	<b>93,485.73</b>	<b>108,645.96</b>
<b>Operating Expenses .....</b>	<b>22,168.31</b>	<b>25,419.16</b>	<b>25,317.93</b>	<b>28,393.15</b>	<b>32,963.38</b>	<b>39,574.89</b>	<b>41,865.71</b>
<b>Net Profit, twelve months .....</b>	<b>31,702.46</b>	<b>35,474.46</b>	<b>41,273.46</b>	<b>45,531.32</b>	<b>49,265.36</b>	<b>53,910.84</b>	<b>61,780.25</b>
<b>Average per month .....</b>	<b>2,641.87</b>	<b>2,956.20</b>	<b>3,439.45</b>	<b>3,794.27</b>	<b>4,105.44</b>	<b>4,492.57</b>	<b>5,148.35</b>

Wallingford, Conn.

**ELECTRIC LIGHTING PLANT (JULY 31, 1908)—ASSETS.**

Station & Buildings.....	\$12,357.58
Steam Equipment.....	21,432.80
Electric.....	13,552.90
Line.....	27,814.08
New Construction.....	2,212.05
Transformers.....	3,711.71
Real Estate, Quinnipiac property.....	4,846.00
Station Buildings, Quinnipiac property.....	1,733.27
Electric Equipment, Quinnipiac property.....	1,582.78
Water Wheel, Quinnipiac property.....	9,979.64
Incandescent lamps, operating.....	2,681.99
Tools.....	851.90
Furniture and Fixtures.....	270.39
Arc lamps.....	563.39
Automobile truck.....	500.00
Boiler Insurance (unexpired).....	17.50
Building Insurance (unexpired).....	64.30
Carbons.....	53.53
Fuel.....	2,500.97
Incandescent lamps.....	1,967.89
Inner globes.....	40.00
Liability insurance (unexpired).....	269.12
Meters.....	978.71
Meter Equipment.....	741.85
Motors.....	145.80
Neret Lamps.....	251.01
Oil & Waste.....	281.01
Outer Globes.....	19.58
Real Estate (Cherry St. entrance).....	175.00
Shades & holders.....	28.89
Supplies.....	796.10
Consumer & Ledger Accounts.....	6,356.81
Cash.....	1,649.91
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$120,406.46</b>

**LIABILITIES.**

Bonds.....	\$55,000.00
Bond Interest unpaid.....	160.42
Bills payable (Bond outstanding).....	5,000.00
Ledger Accounts outstanding.....	2,619.01
Depreciation 1907.....	\$19,247.03
Depreciation 1908 on \$82,052.55.....	4,102.63
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>23,349.65</b>
Surplus 1907.....	30,030.56
5 per cent, 1908, on \$82,052.55.....	4,102.63
<b>Total gain 1908 above law's requirements.....</b>	<b>144.19</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$120,406.46</b>

Charge off 5 per cent depreciation on \$82,052.55.....	\$4,102.63
Charge off 5 per cent profit on \$82,052.55.....	4,102.63
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>8,205.26</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$605.51</b>

**LESS**

Interest on \$6,000.00 Bond.....	\$221.88
Land Damages.....	25.00
Loss on Consumers Accounts.....	68.02
Expenditures in excess of receipts at Grist Mill.....	146.42
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>461.32</b>

**Total gain for the year above the law's requirements..... 144.19**

**GRIST MILL—EXPENDITURES.**

Labor.....	\$115.33
Expense.....	27.30
Insurance.....	114.76
Repairs.....	51.18
Taxes.....	39.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>347.57</b>

**RECEIPTS.**

Grinding.....	\$131.15
Rentals.....	70.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>201.15</b>

**ELECTRIC PLANT—MANUFACTURING ACCOUNT INCOME**

Arc Lighting (streets).....	\$6,219.20
Incandescent Lighting (commercial).....	21,158.74
Fire Alarm System.....	500.00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>27,877.94</b>

**OPERATING EXPENSES.**

Maintenance Electric Equipment.....	7.78
"    Steam.....	877.30
"    Line.....	335.28
"    Station & Buildings.....	4.90
"    Arc Lamps.....	418.32
Labor, Steam.....	2,717.49
"    Line.....	51
"    Water Power.....	783.19
Fuel.....	6,142.81
Oil & Waste.....	137.92
Building Insurance.....	241.38
Boiler Insurance.....	45.00
Liability Insurance.....	288.00
Bond Interest.....	1,925.00
Water.....	10.03
Office Rent, to the borough.....	30.00
Salaries.....	2,404.94
Expense.....	1,375.98
Stationery and Printing.....	384.74
Expense Maintenance Arc Lamps.....	460.85
Maintenance Fire Alarm System.....	500.00
Expense Quinnipiac Station.....	6.08
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>19,067.18</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$8,810.76</b>

Wallingford, Conn.

**WATER WORKS (NOV. 1908)—ASSETS.**

Construction Account 1907.....	\$213,292.96
Added current year.....	4,322.22
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$217,715.18</b>
Pumping station & water rights.....	21,568.80

Lane's Pond, permanent investment.....	10,121.84	Engineer's work for Borough.....	202.93
Meters.....	4,052.22	Labor and materials for borough street sprinkling.....	54.50
Water rents due.....	606.90	Sale of pipe and specials.....	18.57
Bills receivable.....	43.60	Interest on Loans.....	598.33
Office furniture.....	185.00	Interest on Saving Bank deposits.....	52.24
Notes receivable.....	6,000.00		<u>\$25,125.00</u>
Cash on hand.....	3,053.76		
<b>LIABILITIES.</b>		<b>DEBTOR.</b>	
4 per cent Bonds, due 1924.....	\$90,000.00	<b>OPERATING EXPENSES.</b>	
3½ per cent Bonds, due \$6,000 each year.....	24,000.00	Bond Interest.....	\$4,650.00
Orders drawn and outstanding.....	2,020.70	Maintenance Pistapaugh Pond.....	82.75
Profits for current year.....	15,295.91	Maintenance & operation pumping station.....	2,121.87
Surplus account.....	132,020.69	Maintenance Distribution System.....	1,217.78
	<u>\$263,337.30</u>	Maintenance Meters.....	67.19
		Office and current expenses.....	1,481.11
		Borough Engineering.....	208.48
			<u>9,820.18</u>
<b>PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT.</b>		Profits for the current year...	<u>\$15,295.91</u>
<b>CREDIT.</b>			
Income from Water Rents.....	\$24,049.59		
Sale of grass and rental of Land.....	90.00		
Telephone rentals, sale of paper, etc.....	33.73		
Sale of meters.....	25.20		

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## DIRECT LEGISLATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.

President of the Massachusetts Direct Legislation League.

### Massachusetts.

THE Boston *Transcript* gives the following summary of the Direct-Legislation measure now before the Massachusetts Legislature:

"Senator Ross of New Bedford has introduced a measure which looks to the establishment of the Initiative and Referendum in Massachusetts. This measure has been drawn up by the Massachusetts Direct Legislation League.

"An amendment to the constitution is necessary before such a system can be established. Under the provisions prepared by the league, the legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a General Court, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and resolves and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls independently of the General Court, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act or resolve of the General Court.

"The number of legal voters necessary to propose a law by petition shall not be greater than eight per cent. of the vote cast for governor at the last preceding election, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed in the office of the secretary of state within six weeks after the General Court assembles. If the measure thus petitioned for is not passed without amendment in that session, or if vetoed by the governor is not passed

over his veto, it shall be referred, together with any amended form or substitutes recommended by the General Court, to the people at the next state election. If passed without amendment it shall still be subject to a referendum petition.

"It may be ordered either by the General Court, as other bills are enacted, or, except as to emergency measures, by petition requiring the signature of legal voters of not more than five per cent. in number of the vote cast for governor at the last preceding election and filed in the office of the secretary of state within ninety days after the signature of the act by the governor or its passage over his veto. A referendum may be ordered against one or more sections or parts of an act.

"No law shall take effect till ninety days after its signature by the governor or its passage over his veto, except such as by a two-thirds yeas and nays vote of all members in each house shall be declared to be emergency measures. But no grant of any franchise shall be declared to be an emergency measure. Any measure, or part thereof, against which a referendum has been ordered shall thereupon, either for the whole or part thereof, be suspended from taking effect.

"The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures passed by the people."

On petition of Grenville S. MacFarland the following has been presented:

"AN ACT

"To authorize a Referendum on the Question

of the Expediency of electing United States Senators by Direct Vote.

*“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:*

“SECTION 1. All persons qualified to vote for state officers shall at the next state election have an opportunity to express their opinion by voting yes or no in answer to the following question: Is it expedient that United States Senators be elected by direct vote of the people?

“SECTION 2. The secretary of the commonwealth shall prior to said election caused to be placed on the official ballot the words: Is it expedient that United States Senators be elected by direct vote of the people?

YES.	
NO.	

SECTION 3. The vote upon said question shall be counted and returned in the same manner as are ballots for the election of state officers.”

**Playground Referendum in Massachusetts Cities.**

A SIGNIFICANT illustration of the interest manifested by the people in questions relating to the ethical and physical welfare of the young was afforded in the recent referendum in various Massachusetts cities relating to the provision of ample playgrounds for the children. All the cities voting, with the exception of Northampton, favored the establishment of these playgrounds. Most of the cities voted for the playgrounds by overwhelming majorities. Thus, for example, Springfield, one of the most intelligent cities of the commonwealth, voted Yes, 10,342; No, 1,006; and this is typical of the general result, as will be seen by the following table:

	Yes.	No.	Majority.
Worcester.....	14,570	4,849	9,721
Lynn.....	11,122	1,083	10,039
Fall River.....	10,940	1,484	9,456
Lowell.....	10,253	2,424	7,829
Springfield.....	10,342	1,006	9,336
New Bedford.....	7,105	1,187	5,918
Lawrence.....	7,533	1,406	6,127
Brookton.....	7,468	1,046	6,422
Holyoke.....	5,087	787	4,300
Haverhill.....	4,825	1,116	3,709
Salem.....	5,129	606	4,523
Taunton.....	4,181	910	3,270
Quincy.....	3,721	1,762	1,959
Pittsfield.....	3,783	727	3,056
Fitchburg.....	3,593	761	2,778
Beverly.....	2,139	703	1,436
Everett.....	2,102	248	1,454
Marlboro.....	2,064	463	1,601
Woburn.....	1,994	437	1,557
Northampton.....	1,140	1,235	*95
Chicopee.....	1,445	754	1,691
Melrose.....	1,386	452	934

\*Against

**Roger Sherman Hoar on the Recall.**

ROGER SHERMAN HOAR, president of the National Democratic League of College Clubs, sends in the following strong and timely utterance on the Recall:

“There are two possible views concerning a republican form of government; first, that it is a government of deputies; or, second, that it is a government of representatives. Deputies, because of their superior wisdom, are chosen by the people to rule over them, and are designed to give a government of the people and for the people, but not by the people—a benevolent despotism under elected despots. Representatives are designed to give a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and under the theory that, although the populace may err, the combined judgment of the people may be more safely trusted than the judgment of individuals. If the people are not to be trusted, then give us deputies elected by an aristocracy; if the people are to be trusted, let us keep what now we have, representatives elected by the people.

“The people are to be trusted. Then let us see that our representatives truly represent us. And if a given representative refuses to represent his constituents, if he insists on putting his own will ahead of the will of the people, his own opinion ahead of the popular consensus, if, in other words, he usurps the power entrusted to him, and ceasing to be a representative, becomes a despotic deputy, he has outlived his usefulness and had better be recalled.

“Some persons consider it a sign of strength of character to ‘be above the petty clamor of the rabble,’ as they put it. Would these same persons consider it strength of character for a clerk, however competent and however great the incompetency of his master, to refuse to run the business as the master saw fit, after the master had distinctly expressed his opinion on the subject. This trait of character is usually known as obstinacy.

“The old idea of popular government was for the people actually to do the governing, but with growing population this had to be given up, as being too cumbersome, except in the case of town-meetings. The good result of this change has been the simplification of the legislative department; the bad results have been the growing irresponsibility and unresponsiveness of the legislators and the lack of interest of the populace. Although it would be out of the question to return to the old system of total Direct Legislation, yet these

evils of the present system can be partly cured by adopting the Initiative and Referendum. They can be entirely cured by adopting the Recall in addition; and even the Recall alone would be more effective than the other two together.

“Under the Initiative and Referendum alone, it would be impossible to refer to the people more than one-twentieth, or even a smaller per cent., of the important measures; in the rest, the legislators could have their way, regardless of popular opinion. Under the Recall, the most venal legislators would bow to the popular will, for fear of instant removal. The Initiative and Referendum would correct part of the results of the evils of delegated legislation; the Recall would remove the evils themselves. Under the Initiative and Referendum, the people could make some of the laws as they saw fit; under the Recall, the people could force the legislators to make all the laws as the people saw fit. Deputies would become truly representative representatives.

“Under the three forms of Direct Legislation together, the people shall be able to express their exact will on the more important measures of the day, and to control the general trend of legislation in minor matters. There shall no longer be the selection once in four years of picked men, and then the giving them free rein to disregard the people’s will until just before the next election. The people shall rule all the time, instead of only at elections. Initiative, Referendum and Recall, but the greatest of these is Recall.”

**Where the Recall is Needed.**

ACCORDING to the *St. Paul Pioneer* a queer state of things exists on a bridge question in St. Louis. The *Pioneer* says:

“Dodging the verdict of a referendum is one of the new arts which are coming into vogue in places where such verdicts are troublesome to politicians and vested interests. Owing to the general antipathy of property-owners and business men to an increase of the municipal burdens of St. Louis, the politicians thought they could tickle the people who wanted a free bridge across the Mississippi—while at the same time they kept on the good side of the interests—by submitting to a referendum the question of issuing \$3,500,000 in bonds for building the bridge. They had no thought, apparently, that the proposition would carry, but it was carried by an immense majority. This was more than two and one-half years ago. The people have ever since been clamoring for

that bridge. But the politicians in the municipal assembly and in the mayor’s office have maintained their alliance with the existing bridge and terminal monopoly, and at every attempted step the friends of the proposed new bridge have somehow been thwarted. Congress has three times extended the time in which the bridge was to be built. As suggested by the *Globe-Democrat*, that body may be inclined to query, if the request for an extension is made the fourth time, whether the citizens really know their own minds; since, while voting for a bridge, they persist in electing officials who prevent it from being built.”

Under circumstances like the above, the Recall would prove invaluable.

**Notes.**

THE PERCENTAGE of voters required to sign referendum petitions should not be too high. The proposal to require twenty-five per cent., as is the case in Buffalo, is unreasonable and designed to defeat the purpose for which the referendum is instituted. The object of the referendum is to give the people a chance, without too much labor and expense, to defend themselves against corrupt politicians.

THE *Montreal Star* is authority for the following on the referendum for Britain:

“From Conservative sources comes the proposal that differences between the Commons and the Lords in Britain be settled by a referendum to the people. That is, the Lords, when they disagree with a bill which has passed the Commons and which the Commons refuse to withdraw at their request, would, under this system, simply add a clause to it declaring that it shall not come into operation until a poll of the people be taken thereon, and a majority of votes polled be showed to be in its favor.

“It is difficult to see how the Liberal party could refuse to accept such a proposal. It would not be open to the objection which lies against permitting the Lords to absolutely veto popular legislation that the Peers are thereby allowed to either nullify the will of the people or compel a Liberal government to dissolve whenever they please.”

The *Star* further says:

“Almost the last word in democratic agitation on this continent is the ‘Initiative and Referendum.’ The Western states, which are usually pioneers in such matters, are being appealed to, to try these twin methods for bringing the influence of the people to bear directly on legislation. If they are adopted, it is considered that a great victory is won for



radicalism. Yet here this very system is proposed by so conservative a journal as the London *Spectator* for the solution of the troubles which arise from time to time between the Commons and the Lords. We do not know how the Lords themselves would regard such a scheme; but certainly the Liberal government should accept the proposal with alacrity, for it would be only proposing to cure the ills arising from deadlock between 'the masses and the classes' by referring the whole matter to the masses alone and without appeal."

THE FOLLOWING news item illustrates a condition of things throughout the country. The

"people's rule" is the absorbing political question of the hour. The item is as follows:

"M. L. Boyd, attorney, addressed the Farmers' Institute at Hilliard yesterday on the 'Initiative and Referendum.' A large audience listened attentively."

THE PEOPLE of Austin, Texas, have expressed themselves in favor of a commission form of government with the Initiative, Referendum and Recall features. The total vote cast for the two charters was 2,167, and the majority for the commission was 599 votes.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## CO-OPERATIVE NEWS.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

A GREAT deal of attention is being paid nowadays to the organization of the farmers, and the reading public who has never heard of the associations which have grown so rapidly in the last five years, is realizing what tremendous strides have been made in this direction. Secretary Wilson's report, which appeared at the beginning of the year, tells concisely of the spreading of co-operative organizations, and gives a closer approximation of the large number of farmers that are actually members of some form of co-operative association, than has ever before been officially recognized. This report of the Secretary illustrates the unlimited field of development which is the specific privilege of a democracy of the people. There is a growth in the actual functions of government which no hide-bound conservative may deny and which no intelligent radical can afford to overlook. The services of the Department of Agriculture at Washington are a significant indication of the sort of thing government can do and will do within increasing scope and effectiveness for a long time between here and Socialism. Mr. Roosevelt thinks it is worth while for the government to encourage co-operation among farmers. Good! The government is already telling the farmer how to make better crops, how to make money, and now it would show him how to escape from the trusts and railroads. These farmers' organizations, by the way, as the readers of THE ARENA

know, are just as much in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law as are the labor unions which are under Mr. Roosevelt's displeasure. They boycott the railroad line of grain elevators and other institutions which have hitherto exploited them mercilessly. It is to be admitted, however, that their method is a better one than the method of the unionists. The co-operative movement, however, is in no sense the work of Mr. Roosevelt or of the Republican party. It is a movement which has grown to the dimensions so recently discovered by Secretary Wilson, not only without any help from Washington, but in spite of the policies of the Washington government.

Secretary Wilson's report is as follows:

"Farmers' economic co-operation in the United States has developed enormously during the period under review, and it is safe to say that at the present time more than half of the 6,100,000 farms are represented in economic co-operation; the fraction is much larger if it is based on the total number of medium and better sorts of farmers, to which the co-operators mostly belong.

"The most prominent object of co-operation is insurance, in which about 2,000 associations have probably 2,000,000 members. This kind of insurance costs the farmers only a very few cents per hundred dollars of risk above the actual losses.

"The co-operative creameries number more

than 1,900, and the cheese factories about 260, the membership of the two classes being very large and representing an immense number of cows.

"With the exception of insurance, the greatest success in the farmers' co-operative movement is in selling. Associations to regulate, promote, and manage the details of selling the products of co-operating farmers are found in all parts of the United States. There is co-operation for selling by fruit growers, vegetable growers, nut growers, berry growers, by live-stock men, by the producers of cotton and tobacco, wheat, sweet potatoes, flax, oats, eggs, poultry, and honey. Farmers co-operate to sell milk for city supply, to sell wool, cantaloupes, celery, cauliflower, citrus fruits, apples, and so on with a long list.

"Co-operative buying is conducted by about 350 stores in this country, a majority of which are mostly owned by farmers. This is chiefly the result of a very recent movement. Another form of co-operation for buying is based on the discount plan, as carried on by the granges, farmers' clubs, and various other associations of farmers with co-operative buying as either a primary or secondary object. Things bought in this way are all sorts of store goods; potatoes, wheat, etc., for seed; coal and wood, and a great variety of farm and family supplies.

"Warehousing is conducted by farmers on the co-operative plan with success, particularly for the storage of wheat and corn. A co-operative cotton-warehousing movement is of recent date.

"Co-operative telephone service has permeated vast regions, and the co-operative feature has kept the cost at the lowest figure, both of equipment and of service.

"Co-operative irrigation is carried on by many thousands of associations in the arid and semi-arid regions.

"The progress of farmers in forming and expanding associations of an educational and semi-economic character has made great advances during the period under review. These associations are national in their scope, or are confined to state lines or to sections within states, and are devoted to the interchange of ideas and experiences, the assembling of information for common benefit, the holding of competitive exhibitions of products, the devising of plans for the common good, and business of a like character, and are concerned with special subjects, such as horticulture, floriculture, dairying, plant-breeding, live-stock breed-

ing, poultry breeding, the scientific aspects of breeding, forestry, agricultural education, fraternal associations with incidental educational and economic features, seed breeding, agriculture, vegetable growing under glass, and the nursery business.

"Important associations of the social sort, with incidental economic features, are farmers' clubs, many hundreds of which exist.

"Altogether the number of farmers' co-operative economic associations must be fully 75,000, and may easily be many more, with a membership rising above 3,000,000 without counting duplicates.

"Contrary to his reputation, the farmer is a great organizer, and he has achieved remarkable and enormous successes in many lines of economic co-operation in which the people of other occupations have either made no beginning at all or have nearly if not completely failed."

In summing up his report, Mr. Wilson says: "The foregoing review of agriculture in the United States during the last dozen years and of the progress made by the farmer has necessarily been highly condensed, and from it has been omitted a vast amount of information which, being in the form of details, would detract from the review as it stands. Enough has been presented, however, to establish the fact that agriculture has made wonderful progress and permanent advancement, and that the farmer in results of information, intelligence and industry has thriven mightily. The progress that has been made is in the direction leading to popular and national welfare, to the sustenance of any future population, as well as to a larger efficiency of the farmer in matters of wealth production, and saving, and in establishing himself and his family in more pleasant ways of living."

The report of the Country Life Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, indicates in a most decisive manner the need of more co-operative effort among the farmers. The commission found the three most pressing needs of the farmer to be:

"First, effective co-operation among farmers, to put them on a level with the organized interests with which they do business.

"Second, a new kind of schools in the country, which shall teach the children as much outdoors as indoors and perhaps more, so that they will prepare for country life, and not, as at present, mainly for life in town.

"Third, better means of communication, including good roads and a parcels post, which

the country people are everywhere, and rightly, demanding unanimously.

"To these may well be added better sanitation; for easily preventable diseases hold several million country people in the slavery of continuous ill-health."

On the need of organization, the report places greatest emphasis. While stating that "there has never been a time when the American farmer is as well off as he is to-day, the commission finds, nevertheless, that agriculture is not commercially as profitable as it is entitled to be for the labor and energy that the farmer expends and the risks that he assumes and that the social conditions in the open country are far short of their possibilities."

Thirty public hearings were held, which farmers and farmers' wives from forty states attended, and 130,000 sets of questions were sent out from the Department of Agriculture. It

is on the information received through these channels that the Commission bases its report.

In his message to Congress of February 7th, Mr. Roosevelt says: "Where farmers are organized co-operatively they not only avail themselves much more readily of business opportunities and improved methods, but it is found that the organizations which bring them together in the work of their lives are used also for social and intellectual advancement.

"The co-operative plan is the best plan of organization wherever men have the right spirit to carry it out. Under this plan any business undertaking is managed by a committee; every man has one vote and only one vote; and every one gets profits according to what he sells or buys or supplies. It develops individual responsibility and has a moral as well as a financial value over any other plan."

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

## THE VALLEY OF SHADOWS.\*

A BOOK STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE London publishers characterize this volume as a romantic autobiography. This description is unfortunate, being at once misleading and inadequate. *The Valley of Shadows*, though autobiographic, is not an autobiography, but it is far more than a volume of personal reminiscences. For the general reader it will hold a compelling interest. In the first place, it presents an unsurpassed pen-picture of the life, habits and thought of the men and women of rural Illinois during the second quarter of the last century,—the common people so dear to the heart of Lincoln, who made Illinois one of the greatest commonwealths in the great Republic. Here, in a series of chapters describing typical characters in a community of the Lincoln district into which the author's father had recently moved, we are brought into sympathetic rapport with the time, the place and the people that produced the great leader for the crisis; and here we have as faithful a pen-picture of primitive or pioneer life in the Middle West as we have ever read; a description

\*"The Valley of Shadows." By Francis Grierson. Colth. Price \$2.00 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.

as realistic—using this much-abused term in its best sense, as it is idealistic; a faithful presentation that bears much the same resemblance to a painting as does the landscape which the artist has copied, or as does the living, breathing model to the pulseless marble. For Mr. Grierson possesses the interior vision of the true mystic and poet. His is the rare faculty of imbuing his scene with life, of revealing the spirit that animates the form seen by the physical eye.

We were born in Illinois during the closing years of the period described in this book, and our early years were spent in an environment much like that described in this volume. At our grandfather's home Lincoln, Douglas and other men who in the great crisis became national figures, were frequent guests. In our early years the stirring scenes and strenuous deeds that marked life in Illinois from 1818, when our grandfather settled in the state, were frequently described to us by our mother, father and neighbors with the vividness characteristic of narrations of experiences by those who are personally acquainted with what they relate.

Thus we feel qualified to testify to the wonderful accuracy of these graphic pen-pictures of Illinois life in the Mississippi Valley during the period here described.

To the philosophic student of American history, and especially to those who seek to know the subtle and compelling moral and mental influences that played around the great Emancipator during the stirring days that preceded his call to the presidency, this volume will prove invaluable, affording a key that will explain much that has been obscure; for in all moral crises the great simple mind whose strength is at once elemental and yet luminous with spiritual truth or the finer and diviner qualities that mark moral leadership, as was that of Lincoln, is always largely the creation of the social consciousness of the society or people with whom he develops. He is the lofty interpreter of the higher aspirations, dreams and ideals of the conscience element that lifts him to leadership. And this volume shows more clearly than any work we have read the moral exaltation, the mental stimulation and the popular interest that are always a marked characteristic of a people when a nation is hurrying toward a crisis in which the conscience side of life is deeply stirred. And this is done with consummate art in a series of sketches in which simple but typical characters of the day enter the stage and live before the eyes. With little speculation or moralizing even on the part of the actors, we are brought into perfect rapport with the rural population that was the back-bone of society in central Illinois; the thoughtful or conscience-guided element of the simple, sincere voters in the country of Lincoln during the years that immediately preceded his nomination to the presidency.

Life in the country is always more normal and genuine than life in the city, where there is so much that excites and distracts the mind and imagination; where artificiality goes hand in hand with abnormality and fierce competition; where there is ever present the materialistic spirit aggressively asserting itself,—the passion for gold, for prominence in society, for power to dazzle the eyes of others. In the cities “the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life” assail the individual at every turn. Not so in the country. Nature is often a stern and hard mother, but she tends to develop that which is strong, sincere and just in man. Moreover, in the pioneer society of Illinois in the time described by Mr. Grierson,

there was an unusual amount of sturdiness and native strength of character among the people; for it is the strong-hearted and in a way the picked men and women who settle a new country when the master incentive is a home and a livelihood won from the cultivation of the soil. In such communities are often found men of scholarship and culture, mingling with numbers innocent of book learning but schooled in other ways, and with clean minds and that native love of right and justice that marks the true man. The people of Lincoln’s country, therefore, if rude and unlettered, and though embracing a number of intellectual and moral ciphers, such as are present in all communities, were as a whole marked in a striking way by sturdiness, courage and moral rectitude. As with all simple people who are largely schooled in the open by the great mother, and whose faith in Sacred Writ is deep-rooted, they were inclined to regard every extraordinary natural phenomenon as a heaven-sent portent of impending change and a warning to the individual.

Now, at this time there appeared in the sky Donati’s great comet. Night after night its luminous tail became more noticeable. It seemed to be sweeping toward the earth. To the people, or a large proportion of them, it was a portentous warning direct from God. Peter Cartwright and other revivalists who exerted an extraordinary hypnotic power over great congregations,—a power never equalled since the days of Wesley and Whitefield, swept through this region holding memorable revival meetings and warning the already alarmed and apprehensive people of wrath to come.

The great religious meetings, however, stirred men less perhaps than did the pending political crisis; for with them the moral element had become dominant. The struggle in Kansas; the execution of John Brown; the Dred Scott decision; the murder of Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, were but a few of many things that had fanned to flame the Abolition sentiment throughout the North; and the Lincoln and Douglas debates had made the Prairie State a political theater of national interest, directing the attention of the more thoughtful people of the North to the gaunt, uncouth rail-splitter statesman who hitherto had acquired little fame beyond his state. For from the first it was the prophetic insight and the moral exaltation present in Lincoln’s utterances that compelled the attention of those who had the interior

vision. Long, indeed, before he became famous beyond central Illinois, discerning men acquainted with him felt that he was to be the Moses or the Washington in the dread struggle that they felt inevitable long before they voiced their fears in public.

Now, all these things and more are impressed upon the mind in the early chapters of Mr. Grierson's book. They are voiced unobtrusively, emphasized in such a way that the reader feels the truth while following the homely conversations of the simple folk with whom the author deals. The treatment is that of a master; the art is consummate. Here is a simple narration of simple happenings as viewed by an English lad lately come to this country. On the surface we are perusing an interesting autobiographic reminiscence, marked as it is by the insight of the mystic and made fascinating by the poetic spirit that companions the crude and homely talk of unlettered men and women and the very realistic pictures of the life of the people. And yet from the opening chapter the reader is made to feel he is in the presence of a great crisis in the larger life of the people; that a mighty storm is slowly gathering strength and that it is destined ere-long to break in fury on the land; that swift as the waters of the Mississippi are racing to the Gulf, is the nation moving to a momentous catastrophe; and that this coming crisis will call for some great leader. Here also is felt the common faith that God reigns, that He loves the Republic, and that at the appointed time the leader will step forth. More than this, from the early pages we feel the presence of the leader,—the colossal, primal, simple yet essentially great man who is destined to rise out of oblivion, out of the bosom of this very people of which the author writes, and take command of the ship of state in the hour of her deadly peril.

There is, as will be seen, something epic about the work. The coming of the great crisis is at all times felt and the presence of the colossal leader is as vividly indicated. Yet, as has been observed, this is by implication and indirection rather than by the more objective method that would have changed the character of the book without making the profound impression which this apparently incidental treatment produces on the mind of the reader.

Mr. Grierson is a master of style, but this is one of the least of his excellences as a writer. He is a mystic and an idealist. He goes to the heart of things and sees them stripped of their masks and robings. He has the poet's art of

divination, and thus he is able to give an epic quality to a volume of as charming reminiscences as we have read in years.

Some of the most thrilling pages of the volume deal with the active workings of what was popularly known as the underground railway; and here again those cognizant of the facts will appreciate the compelling realism of the author. Among our most vivid childhood recollections are the stories told by our parents of how the free slaves of southern Illinois were frequently the victims of bands of backwoods settlers who would seize them and take them South and sell them, and how on several occasions one of my grandfathers and his brother and friends had rescued the unfortunate victims; how in other instances fugitive slaves, being tracked by blood-hounds, fled to the house of the leading English settler of the district, where they would be lifted and carried some distance into a clump of trees and shrubs and then let down into a dry well, which was hidden from view. After the pursuers had left they were taken out and hurried to a Quaker settlement further north and from thence by stages to Canada.

Never has this chapter in the history of the anti-slavery struggle been more vividly described than by Mr. Grierson. Here Elihu Gest, the Load-Bearer, one of the grand old Cromwellian characters, stands out as clear and strong as the great prophets of old,—a leader of humanity's forlorn hope in a time of deadly peril. Zacariah Caverly, another remarkable character, popularly known as Socrates, plays an important part, or rather appears continually on the scene, relieving the tense and strained situation with his naive and strikingly graphic observations. Azariah James, the minister who delivered the discourse just described, and Isaac Snedeker were aggressive Abolitionists, the latter a militant worker who, overmastered by the conviction that he was called of God to save as many as possible of the fugitives, took his life in his hands and devoted his days to the perilous work, ever in imminent danger of death or the iron grip of the law. He was spurred on by his conscience and worked, of course, for no material reward. On the other hand, there was Lemuel Stephens, whose house was the rendezvous of the pro-slavery men, animated chiefly by purely mercenary motives. Stephens had a pack of blood-hounds and he and his associates reaped rich harvests by catching the runaway slaves for the rewards offered. The work was perilous, however, for

the Abolition leaders were as completely dominated by the conviction that they were carrying out the command of Jehovah as were the others spurred on by greed for gold. The Cromwellian Abolitionists held their lives of less value than the performance of what they believed to be their heaven-sent mission, while they regarded the slave-catchers as emissaries of Satan, to be resisted in much the same spirit manifested by Elijah in dealing with the prophets of Baal. The terrible suspense of the wives of the Abolitionists who operated the underground railway is admirably shown in the following lines, in which the author is describing a visit paid to the house of Elihu Gest. He had come with provisions which his mother had prepared for the fugitive slaves and also to relate some important news which had come to his ears on the preceding evening when at the cabin of Socrates.

"'Bless ye, sonny, ye ain't come with bad news, hev ye? My ole man's been gone two full days en nights' !

"It was Cornelia Gest, the Load-Bearer's wife.

"I told her who had sent me and what I had brought; but it did not allay her anxiety when I recounted the incidents at the cabin of Socrates.

"All this time I was wondering what she would do if her husband failed to return before evening.

"I'm right glad ye've come to cher a body; the hours air longer when ye're mos' dead worryin'. When he stayed away afore he 'lowed he would n't hev time to git back, en I war n't noways a-feared he'd got hisself into trouble.'

"There was something in her voice and look that aroused my sympathy.

"I set up all las' night prayin' en readin' in the Good Book,' she went on; 'twar n't in mortal natur' te sleep.'

"She seemed far away in thought. Her eyes were fixed on the floor, and I began to ask myself why everyone had so much trouble. As I only sat and listened she had become unconscious of my presence in the house; but after a while she straightened up and resumed:

"I reckon he tuck the runaways over te Uriah Busby's en from there he'll take 'em on te the nex' station.'

"She mused for a time again, and then continued:

"'But it ain't easy; the resks air turrible;

but then, ez Elihu sez, when the Lord en His hosts air with ye thar ain't no call te feel skeered. Elihu en Ike Snedaker en Ebeneser Carter en Tom Melendy, they don't none o' them know what it air te fail.'

"After sitting for some time without speaking, all of a sudden she clasped her hands and rose from her seat, and stretching out her thin, bare arms, with trembling body and quivering lips, her voice went up in a long, loud wail:

"'Lord, help a pore fersaken woman! Help me this day, fer my troubles air more 'n I kin bear without Ye. Make it so I kin sit here alone without repinin'; send Elihu home, oh my Lord en my God, fer I cain't live without him.'

"Her look appalled me. I saw grief manifest in words and gesture . . . I pictured to myself my mother pleading with the Eternal. I imagined what the Log-House would be with my father absent and his whereabouts unknown.

"How I wished to say something comforting to the lonely woman standing there, but I, who could never express to my mother what I thought and felt when she was in trouble, could not find words to comfort a stranger. I was overcome with a pity and sympathy which I was powerless to express in words, and I wondered what would become of the little home in the woods if the Load-Bearer never returned. It seemed as if I had known this house and its occupants all my life, that we were in some way closely related.

"I proposed to ride over to the Busbys for any news I could gather there. It would take about an hour and a half. But we could arrive at no decision, and I was thinking of returning when we saw Elihu Gest slowly wending his way home through the most unfrequented part of the woods. He had followed the creek a good part of the way, and his wagon seemed full of farming implements and sacks of grain.

"Cornelia Gest stood at the door awaiting his arrival.

"'Fer the Land's sake!' she ejaculated when he got within talking distance, 'whar hev ye been?'

"She paused a moment and then continued:

"'I don't know whether I'm looking right at ye er whether it's yer ghost a-drivin' them hosses. How d'ye 'low I 've been settin' here two endurin' nights through without ye?'

"'Now, Cornely,' he pleaded, 'do n't ye take on so. When I tell ye all about it ye 'll be 'sprised en mighty glad I did n't come right

home from the post-office. But I want ye to help me unload right here, fer it do n't matter whar we set these things.'

'We all went to work. The implements, or what I took to be such, were soon placed on the ground, but the sacks, instead of containing grain or potatoes, were filled with straw. We lifted off those nearest the dash-board, the Load-Bearer flung back a horse-blanket, and three faces, frightened, haggard, and woe-begone, looked out from the hay underneath. It was the quadroon mother and her two octoroon children.

'White folks!' gasped Cornelia, stunned by the unexpected.

'I 'low the two air white enough, more 's the pity,' assented Elihu.'

One of the most faithful and typical pictures of scenes very common in the Illinois home of those who conducted the underground railway is found in the chapter entitled "The Flight." Here the grave character of the struggle is most impressively presented. The chapter is as interesting as a powerful romance and as typical as it is absorbing. It presents a leaf in the conscience history of the Illinois of the fifties that students of our national life cannot afford to overlook; and, happily, we are now far enough from those terrible days to view the question in a fair and judicial spirit impossible at an earlier day. Inasmuch as this description gives so vivid a pen-picture of scenes that must be appreciated if we are to understand Lincoln and the society in which his character was evolved, and because here we have an admirable illustration of Mr. Grierson's artistic blending of idealism and realism, we quote as extensively as our space will permit.

'The Indian summer had come, the season of seasons, with its golden memories, its diaphanous skies, its dream-like afternoons, its gossamer veils spread over the shimmering horizon, transforming by its own transcendent magic the whole earth and atmosphere.

'Smoke rose from wooded places in long, thin columns of hazy blue, and once in a while a whiff of burning grass and leaves filled the magnetic air with fragrant odor. The settlers ceased to fret and worry; there was neither reaping nor repining.

'The sun was near setting when I arrived at the Load-Bearer's home, two days after Isaac Snedeker's visit to the Log-House. I had brought more provisions for the fugitives.

'Dear me! but yer ma is good to send all these vittles fer the runaways,' exclaimed Mrs.

Gest, as I emptied my saddle-bags on the kitchen table.

'As I was going to stay there till morning, we sat about here and there waiting for the hours to pass and the coming of Isaac Snedeker, who was to take the fugitives to the next station that night. We expected his arrival some time between ten and eleven o'clock.

'How calm and peaceful was the evening!

'Now and then a gentle current of wind stirred the branches, and the leaves fell in flaky showers like snow on the ground already strewn with the dead foliage of autumn.

'Far away, the tinkling of bells told of cattle peacefully grazing, and the prairie, immense and tranquil as a golden sea, inspired a feeling as of ages and ages of repose.

'In the west a bank of filmy clouds edged with silver floated against a sky of glassy green which gradually melted into serried ranks of flaming amber, and the sere, crisp leaves of the beech were interlaced with the red and purple of oak and maple, while the trees by the creek glistened and sparkled in the genial rays of the setting sun.

'And there was something in the early hours of the evening that throbbled in ceaseless unison with the constellations overhead. After darkness closed in all the witchery of Nature seemed at work in earth and sky. Above the tree-tops a host of twinkling stars looked down on the anxious watchers and refugees. Presently a thin mist descended about us through which the starry vault and dark masses of trees could be discerned, with tracings of dim, fantastic forms in the scattered underbrush.

'The slanting rays of the rising moon came reaching in long gleams across the roof of the little frame house, while its weird shafts shot through the narrow interspaces of wood and thicket, and gleamed in small round patches on the green moss underneath. The scarlet vines all around on the boughs were tipped with a soft, glistening pallor that fell as from some ghostly lantern from a distant world, while just above the horizon, poised like an aerial plume in the deep indigo blue, the vanishing comet waned amidst a wilderness of glittering lights under a shimmering crown of stars.

'During a moment of profound quiet, when it seemed as if all Nature had sunk to rest, a wolf beyond the creek began a series of long-drawn-out howls. The woods began to vibrate with low, clamorous calls. The howling drew nearer, one of the wolf-hounds answered back in pitiful cries, then another and another.

Everywhere call answered call. A rushing sound filled the space above us where vast flocks of wild fowl cut the air with the swish and rustle of a thousand wings. The honking came and went as flock after flock passed over us in whizzing waves. The whole world was stirring. Earth sent up a chorus of lamentations that mingled with the voices above. The fugitives huddled together in the cave in expectation of some unimagined calamity, and at last, unable to withstand the feeling of terror, they began to creep up towards the house.

"The Load-Bearer, who had gone into the kitchen, fell on his knees, with the Bible open before him on the chair, while his wife sat just inside, with her hands tightly clasped, peering intently through the open door across the clear patches of moonlight.

"Soon he rose and hurriedly walked out.

"'Whar be ye goin'?' stammered his wife, noticing his dazed look.

"He walked as one in a dream, while Cornelia followed.

"'Elihu, whar be ye goin'?"

"There was a clinking of the chains at the kennels and a cry from the wolf-hounds told us they were free. They sped round and round the house in a whirl of excitement, then into the woods and back again to the house, giving the last shudder to the climax of confusion before they made off towards the main road leading southwest.

"Then, as by a wave of some invisible wand, the tumult ceased. The woods and house lay plunged in an all-pervading stillness. The country round about seemed suddenly dipped in a gulf of silence.

"The Load-Bearer came back to the kitchen and again fell on his knees. After some moments he began to read aloud:

"'Alas, for that day is great; so that none is like it; it is even the time of Jacob's trouble; but he shall be saved of it.'"

"'Whar be they?' mused Cornelia, not listening to her husband. 'It's gettin' late . . . Brother Snedeker said he'd be here at ten o'clock.'

"Her hair had fallen down on one side of her face; she looked sad and very troubled. She was overburdened with the loads of others, with loads which she had not sought, which life and death had heaped together in one short, swift period of time, and she felt crushed under their weight. But Elihu Gest, absorbed in prayer, heard nothing, saw nothing, thought of nothing but the Eternal.

"Now he read aloud from Isaiah:

"'Awake, awake, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk of the hand of the Lord the cup of His fury; thou has drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling and wrung them out.'"

"He remained silent for a moment, and when he continued it was with a voice full of prophetic faith:

"'Thus saith the Lord thy God that pleadeth the cause of His people, behold I have taken out of thine hand the cup of trembling, even the dregs of the cup of My fury; thou shalt no more drink it again.'"

"The last words had sunk deep into Cornelia's soul. She seemed to have caught all the mystical power of those seven magical words: 'Thou shalt no more drink it again.' Her eyes grew brighter, her face was lit by a placid smile, all the old religious faith came rushing back.

"The Load-Bearer rose from his knees; as he stepped to the door one of the wolf-hounds, covered with blood-stains, was there to greet him. The others were not far off, and all had evidently done their work.

"'Somethin' hez happened down on the road,' said Cornelia.

"'They hev nipped some evil in the bud,' returned Elihu.

"But Cornelia peered without ceasing in one direction, anxiously awaiting the arrival of Isaac Snedeker.

"'Thar's someone a-comin' now,' remarked the Load-Bearer.

"But we still waited, gazing into the distance. The last hour had seemed endless. We walked down towards the creek to pass away the time, then returned and stood in the moonlight. Elihu Gest was trying to make out what the object was that we now saw approaching from the east. It came looming up in the thin mist that hung over the road, growing bigger as it drew nearer; and the fugitives, seeing it approach, sought refuge in the darkness behind the house, some running as far as the creek.

"Not one was visible; not a murmur was to be heard. A ghostly silence greeted Azariah James, the preacher, as he came ambling up on a horse that seemed to glide over the surface of the ground. There he sat for some moments, speechless, and at first I did not recognize him, clad as he was in hunting costume, with a fringe about the cape, a coon-skin cap on his head, a rifle slung over his shoulders, and a pistol and dirk before him. But the man him-



self had not changed. It was the same face, naively absent-minded and wonderingly mute, that I had seen at the meeting-house—the man who began his sermon by a series of blunders and then glided along by some miraculous means to an unexpected and memorable triumph. Now, as then, he looked as if he were floating along with the tide and the hour, ready for the unforeseen without expecting it, armed for trouble without fearing it.

"We stood looking at the preacher and he at us, but no one spoke.

"What an enigmatical group we must have been to the peeping fugitives a little distance away! There sat Azariah James, the preacher, twin brother in spirit to Elihu Gest, the Load-Bearer; yet what a contrast they presented! The preacher appeared double his natural size, clothed in a hunter's garb, awaiting some mysterious command; and the Load-Bearer, thinner, smaller, almost wizened, seemed to be awaiting some word or sign on the part of the preacher.

"And a sign did come; but not from Azariah James. Down to the south, through the thick grove of beech, a yellow light rose and fell and rose again in slow waving flashes over the horizon, its glow reaching above the wooded cover, and even beyond the belted line of timber to the east.

"What kin thet be?"

"It was Cornelia who spoke, for the two men were still rapt in a kind of mystical quandary.

"Thar's sunthin' goin' on down thar er myt name ain't Elihu Gest, en the Lord ain't sent ye, Azariah," remarked the Load-Bearer.

"I 'low ye 're right," replied the preacher; "the prairie's a-burnin' el'ar from a mile beyon' Lem Stephens's, plumb te the bend in the creek."

"The prairie on fire, en at this time o' night!" exclaimed Cornelia; "what kin it mean?"

"Why, it means that the Almighty air with we uns, en agin Lem Stephens en the slave-catchers."

"Air it runnin' him clost?"

"Ez fer ez I kin judge it must be closin' in on him about now," responded the preacher, with surprising nonchalance. "A passel of good-fer-nothin's banded tharselves together to come over en take off the runaways en git the rewards. They 'lowed te be hyar by this time so ez te head off Brother Snedeker. I come right by Lem Stephen's en see 'em let the blood-hounds loose, en jest ez the hounds lit

out over this way the prairie began to blaze, so all hands stayed right thar te watch the place."

"The Load-Bearer began to shake off his seeming lethargy.

"Whar be the blood-hounds now?" he asked.

"Whar yer dogs en my pistol left 'em down the road thar."

"They air dead!" cried Cornelia.

"They air dead!" echoed a mournful voice behind the house.

"The cry was taken up by other fugitives, who imagined that Isaac Snedeker and his friends had been assassinated.

"Dey's all dead! Dey done killed 'em off!" arose on all sides from the dark forms now emerging from their hiding-places.

"An ever-increasing glamor shone through the woods to the south, and the runaways now saw it for the first time. It hushed their cries and murmurs as if a damper had suddenly been placed over their mouths.

"Azariah James got off his horse, tied up, and followed Cornelia Gest into the kitchen.

"Pears like they won't never git here to-night," she sighed.

"'Bout how many d' ye expect?"

"Brother Snedeker en two er three more; but he's a-comin' te carry the runaways te the nex' station. I don't calc'late he 'll stay more 'n long 'nough te load up en git away ez quick ez iver he kin."

"Meanwhile the Load-Bearer had quietly slipped away to have a look over the prairie.

"When he returned, Elihu Gest found Isaac Snedeker—who had brought several more refugees with him—the two Higgins', Azariah James, and Cornelia, all sitting in a semi-circle in the kitchen, and after greeting Mr. Snedeker he took a seat at one end.

"There followed a period of deep, devotional quietude in which each one sat if alone. There was the grey-bearded Squire Higgins, with his big brows and kindly face; there was Cornelia Gest, slender, frail and shrunken in her seat; there was Azariah James, whose brooding defied all divination; there was Isaac Snedeker, stern and restless as an eagle about to take wing; and Martha Higgins, whose high, massive forehead and arching nose contrasted strangely with the bountiful kindness of her dreamy eyes, while her smile expressed a faith that was infinite and undying.

“At one end sat Elihu Gest, obscure carrier of other people’s loads, impulsive and enigmatical seer, last in the long procession of the *ante-bellum* prophets of old Illinois.

“A shout was heard, and Elihu looked at Martha Higgins as he said:—

“They ain’t calc’lated te understand what it air thet’s workin’ out te save them.”

“Martha had a presentiment before we came,” observed Squire Higgins. “I have never known her te be wrong.”

“Who lit thet fire?” queried Cornelia Gest. “Twar n’t you, Brother Snedeker?”

“That’s what I’ve been wanting te know: I came near bein’ caught in it, and now I’ll have te wait till I see how far it’s going te spread.”

“It hez plumb licked up Lem Stephens’s house,” said the Load-Bearer. “I see it from the big tree.”

“I want te know!” exclaimed Cornelia.

“Thar ain’t nothin’ left by this time. If Lem Stephens en the slave-hunters ain’t hidin’ in the water they air burnt up. Thar’s a mighty power movin’ over the yearth; I ain’t see a night seech ez this since the comet fust appeared.”

“It air about time,” said the Load-Bearer, rising and placing his hand on the preacher’s shoulder. “It air time te begin,” he intimated to Squire Higgins and Isaac Snedeker.

“They all left the kitchen except Cornelia Gest, Martha Higgins, and myself. Cornelia’s face assumed a pensive look; she wiped away a tear, and said in a quavering voice:

“God be praised! He allowed her te pass out o’ this world in peace. I’m right happy te hev ye here, Sister Higgins, en I jes’ knowed ye’d come over when Elihu sent ye word.”

“I don’t know of anything that could have kept me from coming, Sister Gest,” replied Mrs. Higgins. “I had a presentiment that she would die right here.”

“Now for the first time I knew that the quadroon had passed away and that this night was appointed for her burial.

“We had not long te wait, for presently Squire Higgins came and announced that all was ready. When we got te the graveside, near the creek, all the fugitives stood around, some of them holding lanterns, the black faces appearing strangely unnatural in the flickering light, the faces of the quadroons and octoroons more ghastly. Under the trees, half in the

moonlight, half in shadow, it seemed as if a great multitude were crowding up from behind, eager te catch every sound that might pass from anyone’s lips.

“A soft breeze moved among the last sere leaves of autumn. Now and then a gentle gust swayed the lower branches te and fro, and an infinitely tender sighing came and went and melted away in the eerie moonlight.

“The preacher took off his tightly fitting cap and with it his hair stood out in wild rumpled locks. He seemed te loom taller and taller. He looked as if he had forgotten all he had intended te say, and was standing there helpless and forsaken at the brink of a grave, over the dead he had come te bury.

“‘Praise God!’ murmured the Load-Bearer, who alone of all the persons there seemed te understand.

“Azariah James closed his eyes for one or two seconds; a slight shiver passed through his frame; then he opened them wide and searching, and a wondrous light flashed out over the awed and speechless company. He was no longer an awkward, hesitating dreamer, but a lion aroused, a prophet in his own country. His listeners began te move and sway in unison with his immeasurable compassion, and after he had spoken for ten minutes the Load-Bearer offered up a short, fervent prayer. Then, when the last scene was about te begin, the voice of Martha Higgins rang out above the open grave:

“On Jordan’s stormy banks I stand  
And cast a wistful eye—

A loud, rolling wave of song passed in long, reaching echoes through the woods as the twenty-nine persons present sent their voices calling—

“To Canaan’s fair and happy land  
Where my possessions lie,

for now every voice was attuned te the old matchless melody of the meeting-house and the camp-ground.

“As the hymn proceeded the sense of time was obliterated. A far-sweeping chorus, tinged here and there with a nameless melancholy, floated upward into the white silence of the night. On and on they sang, and the old hymn rolled out in a miracle of sound, on a river of golden melody, vibrating far into regions of infinite light and love.

“Isaac Snedeker gathered up the runaways and prepared for flight. He separated them into two groups—one he would carry in his own wagon, the other was for Squire Higgins. It did not take long, and the two wagon loads

set out in the clear moonlight. A little way towards the north they would separate, each going according to a prearranged plan; and every fugitive arrived at last safely in Canada, which was, after all, the land of Canaan for them."

The great debates conducted by Lincoln and Douglas loom large in the history of the meridian period of the last century, and we know of no more graphic pen-picture of one of these memorable discussions than is found in the chapter entitled "Abraham Lincoln." Mr. Grierson's parents had moved from the Sangamon district to Alton shortly before Lincoln and Douglas appeared in the last of the debates of the series. It was the author's good fortune to be present on this memorable occasion; and the following pen-picture of Lincoln and Douglas cannot fail to interest all lovers of American history:

"Regarded in the light of historical experience, reasoned about in the light of spiritual reality, and from the point of view that nothing can happen by chance, it seems as if Lincoln and Douglas were predestined to meet side by side in this discussion, and unless I dwell in detail on the mental and physical contrast the speakers presented it would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the startling difference in the two temperaments: Douglas—short, plump, and petulant; Lincoln—long, gaunt, and self-possessed; the one white-haired and florid, the other black-haired and swarthy; the one educated and polished, the other unlettered and primitive. Douglas had the assurance of a man of authority, Lincoln had moments of deep mental depression, often bordering on melancholy, yet controlled by a fixed, and, I may say, predestined will, for it can no longer be doubted that without the marvellous blending of humor and stolid patience so conspicuous in his character, Lincoln's genius would have turned to madness after the defeat of the Northern Army at Bull-Run, and the world would have had something like a repetition of Napoleon's fate after the burning of Moscow. Lincoln's humor was the balance-pole of his genius that enabled him to cross the most giddy heights without losing his head. Judge Douglas opened the debate in a sonorous voice plainly heard throughout the assembly, and with a look of mingled defiance and confidence he marshalled his facts and deduced his arguments. To the vigor of his attack there was added the prestige of the Senate Chamber, and for some moments it looked as if he would

carry the majority with him, a large portion of the crowd being Pro-Slavery men, while many others were 'on the fence' waiting to be persuaded.

"At last, after a great oratorical effort, he brought his speech to a close amidst the shouts and yells of thousands of admirers.

"And now Abraham Lincoln, the man who, in 1830, undertook to split for Mrs. Nancy Miller four hundred rails for every yard of brown jean dyed with walnut bark that would be required to make him a pair of trousers, the flat boatman, local stump-speaker, and country lawyer, rose from his seat, stretched his long bony limbs upward as if to get them into working order, and stood like some solitary pine on a lonely summit, very tall, very dark, very gaunt, and very rugged, his swarthy features stamped with a sad serenity, and the instant he began to speak the ungainly mouth lost its heaviness, the half-listless eyes attained a wondrous power, and the people stood bewildered and breathless under the natural magic of the strangest, most original personality known to the English-speaking world since Robert Burns. There were other very tall and dark men in the heterogeneous assembly, but not one who resembled the speaker. Every movement of his long, muscular frame denoted inflexible earnestness, and a something issued forth, elemental and mystical, that told what the man had been, what he was, and what he would do in the future. There were moments when he seemed all legs and feet, and again he appeared all head and neck; yet every look of the deep-set eyes, every movement of the prominent jaw, every wave of the hard-gripping hand, produced an impression, and before he had spoken twenty minutes the conviction took possession of thousands that here was the prophetic man of the present and the political savior of the future. Judges of human nature saw at a glance that a man so ungainly, so natural, so earnest, and so forcible, had no place in his mental economy for the thing called vanity.

"Douglas had been theatrical and scholarly, but this tall, homely man was creating by his very looks what the brilliant lawyer and experienced Senator had failed to make people see and feel. The Little Giant had assumed striking attitudes, played tricks with his flowing white hair, mimicking the airs of authority with patronizing allusions; but these affectations, usually so effective when he addressed an audience alone, went for nothing when brought face

to face with realities. Lincoln had no genius for gesture and no desire to produce a sensation. The failure of Senator Douglas to bring conviction to critical minds was caused by three things: a lack of logical sequence in argument, a lack of intuitional judgment, and a vanity that was caused by too much intellect and too little heart. Douglas had been arrogant and vehement, Lincoln was now logical and penetrating. The Little Giant was a living picture of ostentatious vanity; from every feature of Lincoln's face there radiated the calm, inherent strength that always accompanies power. He relied on no props. With a pride sufficient to protect his mind and a will sufficient to defend his body, he drank water when Douglas, with all his wit and rhetoric, could begin or end nothing without stimulants. Here, then, was one man out of all the millions who believed in himself, who did not consult with others about what to say, who never for a moment respected the opinion of men who preached a lie."

The author's father removed his family from Alton to St. Louis a short time before the election of Lincoln, and the chapters dealing with St. Louis at this period, the great fair at which the Prince of Wales was a special guest, Camp Jackson, and the stirring days that marked the opening of the Civil War, are as vivid and impressive as the pages devoted to life in Lincoln's country, while the shadow of the coming Civil War fell with ever-lengthening shade over the land, when lifted as on the wings of fate rose the gaunt and rude form of the Great Commoner,—he who since Jefferson was the master interpreter of pure democracy and human rights.

While at St. Louis the author, who it will be remembered was only a lad at the time, became a page in the service of General Fremont, who from hardy path-finder and radical leader of the Abolitionists blossomed out into a general absorbed in all the outward signs and symbols of power that marked Old-World generals and aristocratic leaders. Here the boy listened with eager ears to the stories told by old companions of Fremont, in which they narrated his terrible trip to the Pacific in 1848, when he and his band suffered incredible hardships. Some memorable and tragic incidents of this terrible journey are given with thrilling effect in the chapters entitled "General Fremont," "The Dance of Death" and "In the Maze;" while in the chapter depicting General Grierson's Raid, one of the memorable events of the Civil War, we have another illustration of the power

of the author to make scenes and events about which he had only the testimony of others, as real to the reader as if the author had himself been a spectator of the things he describes. This furnishes an additional evidence of the fact that Mr. Grierson possesses the rare imaginative power that marks the true poet and man of genius; the power to become a part of that which he describes and to feel and understand the varying emotions of those about whom he writes; their hopes and fears, their dreams and aspirations, their passions and motives.

We have known more than one writer who could reproduce with almost photographic accuracy scenes that they had witnessed, and invest them with a power and virility that indicated a certain degree of poetic insight and imaginative power; yet when they came to portray scenes with which they were unfamiliar, they became dull, uninteresting and unconvincing narrators,—dry-as-dust annalists. Not so with Mr. Grierson; and in reading this work we have found ourselves more than once heartily wishing that circumstances and inclination had led this man to devote several years of his life to a work that we have long felt to be one of the most vitally important and urgently demanded messages of the age—a history of the democratic era from those stirring preparatory years when in England and France and some other lands the seeds of democracy were being sown by philosophers, poets, and profound students of human life; down through the great American struggle, and that in France, followed by the Latin-American revolutions; and the subsequent history of democracy's subtle influence in various lands; and the great message of hope it bore on its wings; and finally, the story of democracy during later years, especially in the great American Republic, embodying its battle with foes within and without; the great Civil War and the entrance of the assassin of democracy into the temple of freedom during the hours when the thought of the noblest of the land was centered upon the terrible struggle, rendering it possible for privilege-seeking apostles of the materialism of the market to gain a strong foothold in government, from which, step by step, they have advanced, until what was once a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" has become a government of privileged interests, corporate power and monopoly, acting through political bosses and party machines, for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

Such a work, written as it should be, would

prove a trumpet-call to the conscience and patriotism of all friends of a democratic republic and human justice. And we know of no one so superbly equipped for such a work as Mr. Grierson. He is himself a clear-seeing, fundamental democrat,—an all-important requisite. He possesses the imaginative power of the poet and the insight of the philosopher; the knowledge of the historian and the vision of the mystic; while he is a master of style.

Such a work, from such a pen, would do more for the cause of democracy and human progress, more for the re-establishment of the fundamental principles of Jefferson and the fathers, than almost anything that could be brought before the imagination of the people; and it

would do more—far more—to re-establish a government “of the people, by the people and for the people” than all the make-shift measures proposed by present-day politicians to check the aggressions of privileged wealth and curb conscienceless cunning. It would do more to render a truly great and just republic invincible than all the millions annually spent on armaments, all the flood of wealth that is poured out to increase the army and navy.

It is a great loss to the world when a man gifted as is Mr. Grierson is not enabled to give to civilization all in his power to give of that in which she stands most in need.

B. O. FLOWER.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Gay Gnani of Gingalee.* By Florence Huntley. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 205. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: The Indo-American Book Company.

SOME years ago Miss Florence Huntley published a fascinating psychical or occult romance entitled *The Dream Child*. Later she became a prominent member of a group of students in Chicago who devoted much time to the study of East Indian philosophy. Her principal work since engaging in this research is a deeply thoughtful and intellectually stimulating volume entitled *Harmonics of Evolution*. It is an attempt to reconcile the physical science of twentieth-century Occidental life with the ancient spiritual thought of the Orient. This book has now been followed by *The Gay Gnani of Gingalee, or Discords of Devolution*, “a tragical entanglement of modern mysticism and modern science.”

The book is written in the bright, breezy style of a typical American journalist. Its early pages are replete with amusing or humorous situations and bright dialogue sprinkled with the popular slang of the day, the whole being an extravaganza, at once a satire on the over-credulous devotees of Oriental and mystical philosophy, who blindly accept all manner of absurdities and the most arrant pretenders who claim to be versed in the lore of the East, and also indicating that there is a great and noble philosophy in the Far East

which is based on fundamental spiritual laws which cannot be broken without bringing upon those who offend a terrible retributive justice. One accustomed to Miss Huntley’s writings might well be perplexed at the light and humorous way in which she treats the story throughout its early chapters; but as the reader approaches the tragic fate of the false student, it is seen that one of the author’s chief purposes is to point out the philosophy of the East in regard to the great spiritual law of compensation—the ultimate justice that obtains throughout the universe.

*Satisfied at Last.* By Martin Sindell. Cloth. Pp. 377. Price, \$1.50. Boston: The Reid Publishing Company.

THIS is a Christian Science romance that belongs to the class of religious novels in which the purpose of propaganda is evidently a master motive with the writer. The story deals with the life of a beautiful girl, Ernestine Maxfield, who from the position of heiress awakes to find herself penniless through unfortunate investments on the part of her guardian. She eventually secures a position in a dry-goods store; later works as a domestic in a country home, and finally finds employment as a mill-hand in a large factory, when the wheel turns for her, bringing peace, plenty and happiness into her life.

Running parallel with the story of Miss Max-

field is that of the Rev. John Love, a brilliant clergyman who long fights Christian Science but whose life and works are marked by great nobility. He finally is forced to accept Christian Science and in so doing loses for a time the favor of a beautiful and wealthy young woman to whom he is deeply attached.

Several other characters enter into the warp and woof of the romance, chief of which are Mrs. Stanley, a prominent Christian Science practitioner; Mr. Mayhorn, the owner of the mill in which Miss Maxfield finds employment. He is also the mayor of the town and later becomes a suitor for Miss Maxfield's hand. Mr. and Mrs. Randolph and their daughter Eula, and Mr. Tremaine, who marries Miss Randolph.

There are many religious discussions in which the views of Christian Science are clearly presented.

Though far inferior to *Paul Anthony, Christian*, as literature, as romance and as a convincing presentation of the dominant ideals held by Christian Scientists, this book is very superior to *Out of the Depths*.

One of the chief defects of Mr. Sindell's story is its padding. There is a vast amount of space taken up in trivial talk or ruminations on the part of the principal characters, which in many instances has little or no bearing on the religious thought the author presents very fully in the latter part of the novel. A man must be gifted with insight and imagination—something of the rare power of the poet or painter, to invest the common talk of his characters and their musings with charm and interest for the general reader. A Tolstoi can do this: Mr. Howells possesses in a large degree this power; and not a few of the great veritists or realistic novelists of Europe have succeeded in a marked manner. But the work of novelists wanting in strong imaginative power becomes dull, commonplace and tedious when they indulge to any great extent in attempts at this kind of portrayal.

This criticism, we think, may be fairly urged against *Satisfied at Last*. If the 377 pages had been condensed into 150, or at most 200 pages, the story would have gained immensely in strength, interest and effectiveness.

*Comrades: A Story of Social Adventure in California.* By Thomas Dixon, Jr. Illustrated by C. D. Williams. Cloth. Pp. 320. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company

THOMAS DIXON, JR., erstwhile preacher, more recently fictionist, is a writer of vivid imagination, fertility of resource, abundant word flowage, and of sensitiveness to everything except the truth. In his story of social adventure he conjures up an absurd situation, builds a mighty man of straw, and then thrashes it with all the enthusiasm of a Don Quixote charging a windmill. The situation would be humorous and the book might pass as a mere pot-boiler of an impecunious author, or as the passing extravagance of a cheap notoriety-seeker were it not for the seriousness of the subject with which it deals.

No man, not even an irresponsible Dixon, has any right, just for the sake of creating a sensation, to so falsify a great social movement as has this irrational teller of tales.

Socialism is a great, deep, world-wide, rational, scientific, Christian movement for the betterment of the race. On its surface drifts the scum of fanaticism, misunderstanding, greed-selfishness and folly. Dixon's fault is that he takes this scum, forces it into unnatural and ever-impossible conditions, exhibits it to the world as a monstrous failure and then labels it by implication at least, as Socialism.

It is as if some one should take all the vagaries that have ever pertained to Christianity, segregate them, put them into impossible relations, describe their absurdities, announce their failure and then affirm that in them, the Christian movement, having been seen at its best, is found utterly wanting.

Now we know that the Christian movement is not truly represented by literalists, ascensionists, holy jumpers, Sandfordites, Dowieites and Dixonites, but by the great truth-seekers, liberty-lovers, and good-will bringers of all ages, before as well as since the time of Christ. By the same token the great Socialistic movement is inspired and guided by our profoundest minds in literature, philosophy, science, music and art. It is astonishing that processes of reasoning starting from so many different standpoints, should head to the same goal.

This does not mean that a complete Socialistic program can be or should be carried out at once or even attempted. It means rather an ideal to be conceived and followed by slow processes and through the quiet adaptations of time. It is, of course, admitted that there are so-called Socialists who claim otherwise just as there are so-called Christians who claim

extravagant things, but both Christianity and Socialism are much deeper movements than many even of their followers perceive.

A shallow-minded, sensation-seeking, notoriety-loving, truth-disregarding man like Dixon has, of course, no power to conceive of such great movements and relations. He is, perhaps, after all, rather to be pitied than blamed.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The Mystery of the Pinckney Draught: A Study in Constitutional History.* By Hon. Charles C. Nott, former Chief Justice of the United States Court of Claims. Pp., 300. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Century Company.

THIS is an attempt to vindicate the memory of Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, a member of the convention which framed the Constitution for the United States. Of this Pinckney the author says:

"For more than seventy years he has been a condemned and misrepresented man, and what is strange, though not inexplicable, his disgrace was primarily caused by the indispensable work which he unselfishly performed for his country without honor and without reward."

Such a statement immediately arouses interest and sympathy. That any great historic character should permanently suffer injustice is repugnant to the feelings of the American people.

Though, whether Pinckney deserved a long-withheld credit for the construction of the Constitution or not makes no practical difference, it does make a moral difference; and whether or not the author has proved his case, his work cannot be slighted by the future historian.

"The 'Pinckney Draught' is the draught of the Constitution of the United States in the State Department in Washington. It has been there for a long time and for a long time has been discredited as a false and worthless document, though it was placed there by Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, himself."

It is the purpose of this review simply to call attention to the matter, but not to discuss it at length or to attempt any definite analysis of the evidence. It is sufficient to say that Judge Nott makes out a strong case.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The Coming Science.* By Hereward Carrington, with an introduction by James H.

Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 394. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

AT LAST we have a rational and well-written work on psychic research by an author who knows his business and keeps his feet on solid scientific ground. This is the highest possible praise and I am glad to give it. It is refreshing to read an author who is willing to confess that the unproved is unproved, and who does not claim to know the unknowable.

According to Mr. Carrington the coming science is psychic research. "This is the logical outcome of modern thought and will represent an extension of our present-day science in the right and logical direction."

The existence of discarnate spirits is not yet absolutely proved, but certain phenomena are better explained by this theory than by any other. A negative to this theory has never been proved and cannot be on a *priori* grounds above. It can only be answered after a lengthy personal investigation and course of study. One may encounter a hundred fraudulent mediums before one is discovered who is honest; but that is no reason for asserting that all are dishonest.

Among the themes treated in the book are the philosophy of life, the origin and nature of consciousness, hypnotism, telepathy, sleep and dreams, modern spiritualism, the case of Mrs. Piper, apparitions, weighing the soul, haunted houses, and premonitions.

The author's conclusion is that if one simple fact which the psychical researcher defends is proved to be true, then the fundamental conceptions of science, as at present held, must be completely shaken. It will not be necessary to retract any of the laws or facts which have been won with such great exertion, at such a cost, but merely to remodel our conceptions of science and enlarge its boundaries so as to include the new facts—and possibly to include a spiritual universe, a world of forces and causes of which we see the resultants merely.

The importance and significance of the work is so great "that it should be endowed a thousand times more lavishly than any of the churches since it is, or soon will be, the only means and the sole weapon with which to successfully combat materialism."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The Educational Ideal in the Ministry.* By William Herbert Percy Faunce. Cloth.

Pp. 286. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE AUTHOR of this highly thoughtful volume is president of Brown University and one of the leading scholars of the Baptist church in America. The volume, which contains the series of lectures given in the Lyman Beecher course at Yale University in 1908, has been prepared with a special view to being of practical value to progressive, earnest orthodox clergymen in their important life-work. One may not agree with the author's religious points-of-view at all times, but about the practical worth of the volume to those for whom it has been prepared there can be no question.

The lectures concern the following subjects: "The Place of the Minister in Modern Life," "The Attitude of Religious Leaders Toward New Truth," "Modern Use of Ancient Scriptures," "The Demand for Ethical Leadership," "The Service of Psychology," "The Direction of Religious Education," "The Relation of the Church and the College," and "The Education of the Minister by His Task."

All these lectures are pregnant with vital thought for earnest men and women of every faith. The author possesses an admirable style, clear, forcible and marked by beauty of diction. The following closing paragraph in the lecture on "The Attitude of Religious Leaders Toward New Truth" will give the reader a fair example of Dr. Faunce's style and the spirit of the work:

"We may sum up our whole discussion of the minister's mediating work by saying that he is to keep alive man's faith in an ever-present God. He is the coupler between the generations, uniting past and present in a common vision of the indwelling Spirit. Goodness does not consist in reading how other men were good, and religion is not describing the altars which other generations have built. Rudyard Kipling has a story entitled: 'The Man Who Was.' There are sincerely devout men who seem to believe in a God who was. He was with Moses, they say, opening up streams in the flinty rock; but now men must dig wells or build aqueducts if they want water. He was with Israel, granting the people bread from Heaven; but now if a man wants bread, let him work for it. He was with David and anointed him to the kingship; but now He anoints nobody, and those who want high office must secure the votes. About the year 100 A.D. all inspiration ceased,

and about 200 A.D. all miracles ceased, and now in a world bereft of divine voices we stumble and grope till the end. O young prophets of the truth, such an idea is the master falsehood of humanity! It is the one fundamental untruth which will put unreality into every sermon and impiety into every prayer. Our God was, and is, and is to come. In your familiar garden you may hear His voice in the cool of the day. Moriah is to him not more sacred than Monadnock, nor did Aaron's rod bear diviner blossoms than our golden-rod. Why seek we the living God only among the dead symbols? The Bible is not the story of a vanished splendor, the melancholy memorial of departed powers. It is the revelation of powers that now play about us, victories that may be won, and a life which in every nation and every age may be lived by faith in the 'Strong Son of God, Immortal Love.'"

*An Essay on the Distribution of Livelihood.*  
By Rossington Stanton.

THOUGH written in a condensed and somewhat obscure style, this book is a contribution of some value to the discussion of a problem that will never be settled until it is settled right.

"The sense of this essay," says the author, "from its corrective aspect, is that interest should be eliminated from the economic organization of society, and, upon the assumption that the evil is the natural heritage of the citizenship in general, without consideration of prior occupancy, that rent should be absorbed and used for the general benefit. If when the first, or both of these have been effected, there exists conditions of distressful livelihood, then population should be restricted."

The book is of interest to close students of economics only.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Entering the Kingdom.* By James Allen.  
New York: R. F. Fenko & Company.

"HE WHO earnestly resolves to find the Kingdom," says the author, "will commence to meditate, and to rigidly examine his heart and mind and life in the light of that Supreme Perfection which is the goal of his attainment. On his way to that goal he must pass through three Gateways of Surrender. The first is the Surrender of Desire; the second is the Surrender of Opinion; the third is the Surrender of Self."

The book turns on the author's explanation



of what he means by these three great steps in spiritual experience.

Some will consider the book theoretical rather than practical, and yet those who rightly understand it will find it helpful. It is a valuable addition to the literature of spiritual things.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*A Junior Congregation.* By James M. Farrar, D.D. Cloth. Pp. 220. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS book will be welcomed by many a perplexed pastor who has been troubled because of the poverty of the literature upon the child's relation to the church's service. In this book we have the results of a pastor's experience of twenty-five years with a junior congregation. The book is thoroughly practical. The opening chapter is given to "General Purposes and Methods," and the remaining space is taken up with a year's sermons to children, just as they were delivered by the pastor. More could not be asked by one who is interested in training the children in the church and for the church than to have a man who has made a success of this work lay down in clear English his purposes and methods, and then give a sample sermon for each Sunday of the year. And one of the most remarkable things is the brief space in which the work is done.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*The Marooner.* By Charles Frederick Holder. Cloth. Pp. 305. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

PROFESSOR Charles Frederick Holder is one of our most versatile popular writers. His works of a semi-scientific character have given him an eminent place among the comparatively few authors who can invest natural science with the charm of fiction. His serious essays are always scholarly, but never dull. Many readers of THE ARENA will recall with pleasure the essays that appeared in this magazine on "The Dragon in America," "The United States of South America: A Dream of Empire," and "The Quaker and the Puritan."

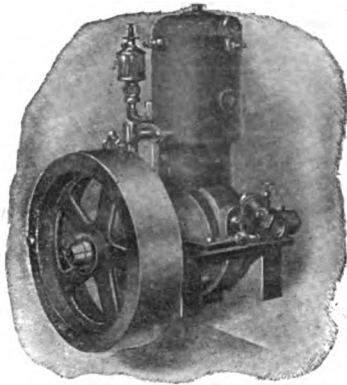
In the present volume Dr. Holder has given

us a piece of fiction that will make glad the hearts of youths who revel in hairbreadth escapes and deadly perils by sea. Many years ago, as a young man, the author followed a seafaring life for a time, and some of the extraordinary events described in *The Marooner* he personally witnessed during this period. His knowledge thus gained also enables him to give us many vivid pictures of seafaring life, and especially of ships in a hurricane, storm-tossed and at the mercy of the reefs.

In the first few chapters apparently two independent stories are carried forward: one being a tragic tale of wrecks on the Florida reefs, brought about by a band of desperate characters who systematically compass the destruction of vessels for the spoils that may thus be secured: the other a love story of the North, in which a beautiful Canadian girl who has been educated in a convent and who supposes herself to be the daughter of a French trapper, and a handsome and wealthy aristocratic New Yorker fall in love and are married. The pictures of New York life fifty years ago are vivid and well drawn, and into the heart of the story is introduced a sweet little Christmas tale in which the hero is a newsboy who becomes a great portrait painter. The love romance of the hero and heroine of the novel has a rude awakening, not, however, owing to serious faults on the part of either party, but from the flight of the beautiful girl-wife from New York to the amazing ending of the tale, the action is swift. There are many highly dramatic and improbable, not to say impossible, situations, in which the melodramatic element preponderates.

In spite of the fact that the story will tax the credulity of the most credulous if he stops to consider various events and dramatic happenings described, owing to the rapid action and the changes in scenes, situations and the personnel dealt with, the effect on the reader is not unlike that of a well-acted melodrama, when the audience is carried along so swiftly that it does not realize the elements of improbability entering into the play.





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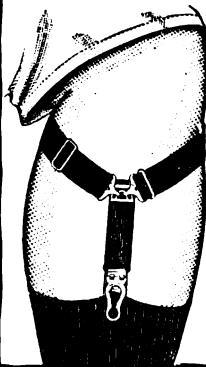
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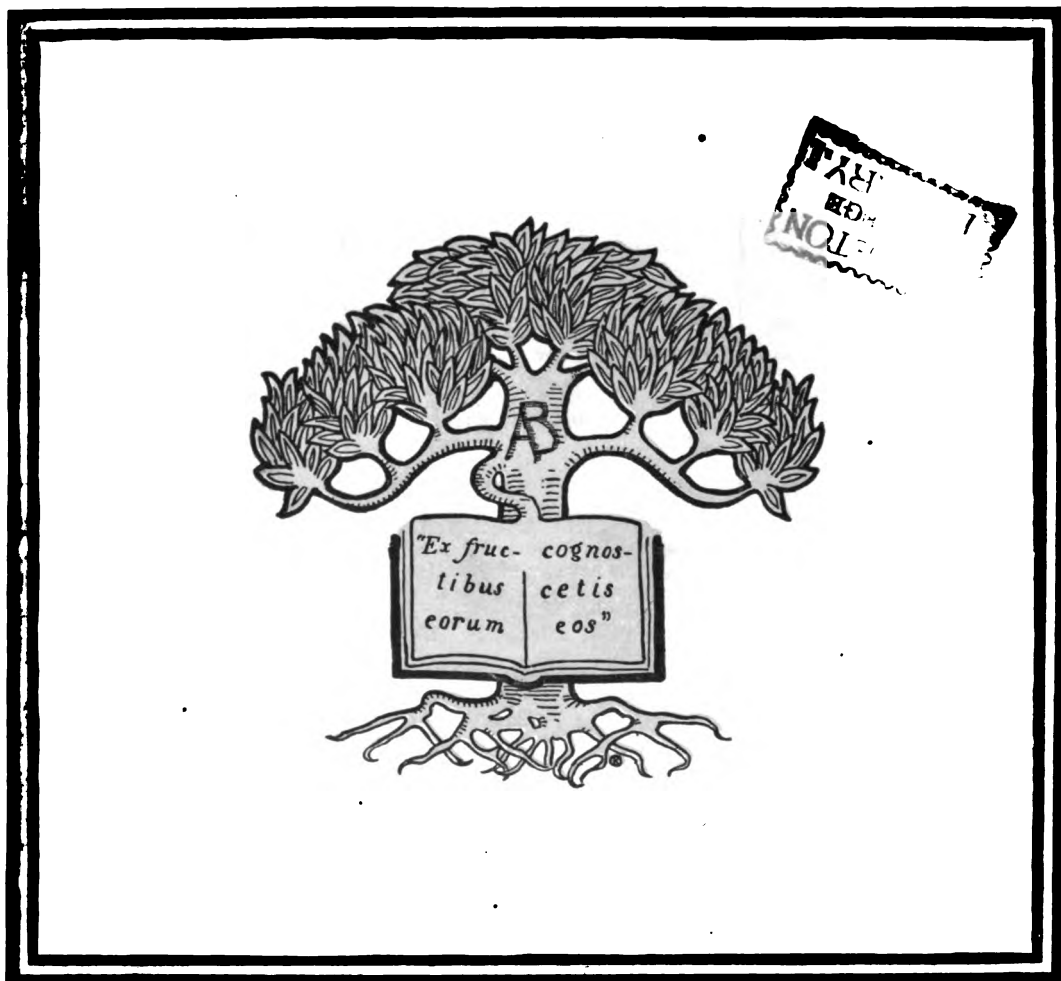
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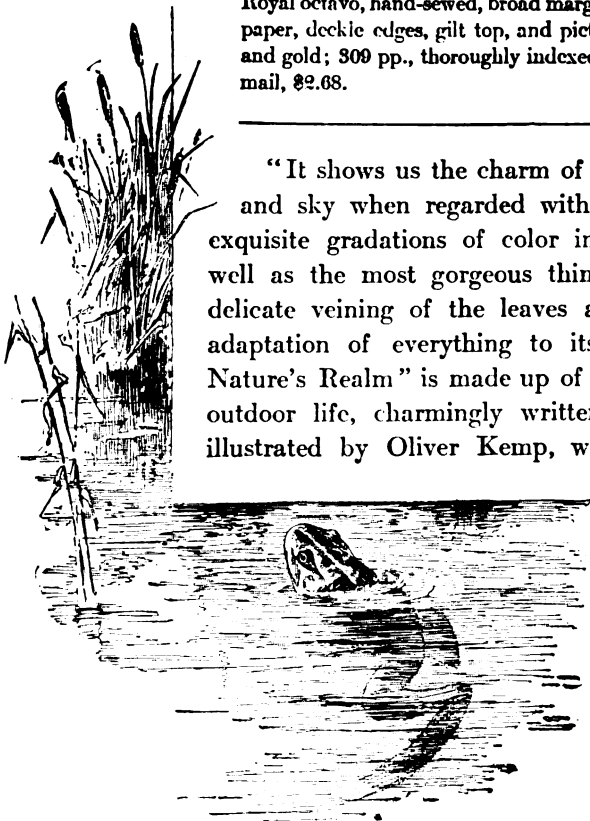
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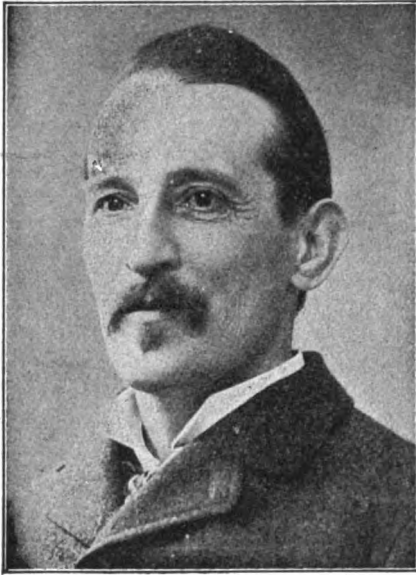


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LIEUTENANT LYMAN A. COTTEN, U.S.N.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

# The Arena

VOL. 41

AUGUST, 1909

No. 238

## MUNICIPAL ART IN WESTERN CITIES: EUGENE, OREGON.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

IT IS hard for Westerners, much more for Easterners or Southerners, to realize the gigantic strides the awakened West is now taking. A month makes a difference. Not only do new settlements spring up almost with the rapidity of mining-camp days, but camps become villages, villages towns, and towns cities, with a rapidity that startles even those who are used to seeing the speed of American development. Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana are now on the crest of an ascending wave that is flooding their areas with a tide of incoming population that in ten years more will completely change the face of the country. The "Wild and Woolly" days are past; the mining-camps of Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller are no more; the frontier has disappeared; the stage-coach is practically a thing of the past, and in these States, at least, the public library,—artistic from an architectural standpoint, and well equipped from the bookman's viewpoint—the opera house, the art museum, the city park system, supplement the electric light, telegraph, telephone, water-system, and railways,—steam and electric—and give

proof that the old things are become new.

In this series of articles, written as the result of careful investigations made on the ground, it is my purpose to show what some of the new Western cities are aiming at, how they are accomplishing their ends, what they have already done in the line of democratic civic art, in the hope that thereby other cities may be stimulated to high endeavor; may learn lessons; and, mayhap, the cities themselves, the subject of consideration, in seeing themselves through the eye of another, may take suggestions to their advantage and profit.

Eugene is neither the capital city nor the metropolis of Oregon; yet I have purposely taken it for the first city of the series. It is merely one of a type—I think, perhaps, the best of its class,—of Oregon interior cities, which a decade ago had existence, and had apparently settled down to be a quiet, sedate, unprogressive, old fashioned country village. But Eugene of ten years ago reckoned without wisdom. It did not take in consideration the Divine law which, from the dawn of history on the banks of the



EUGENE CHERRIES.

Hindu Kush, has kept pushing men westward. It did not consider the rapid growth of other countries, which, becoming crowded, began to look for new fields of endeavor. It neglected the fertility of the soil of its encompassing country and failed to take note of the fine crops of apples, cherries, berries, peaches, etc., which its few everyday farmers were yearly bringing into market,—each year in increasing quality and quantity. And, finally, it did not take into account that, even if it hid its own light under a bushel, there are curious and peering men whose joy it has been in late years to go overturning bushels everywhere, seeking what light they might discover thus hidden.

All these things combined to reveal Eugene, first to one, then to another, and finally to a score. Then this score said to themselves: "Is this really the Eugene of the past? Have we this and that and the other that we

had not thought of?"

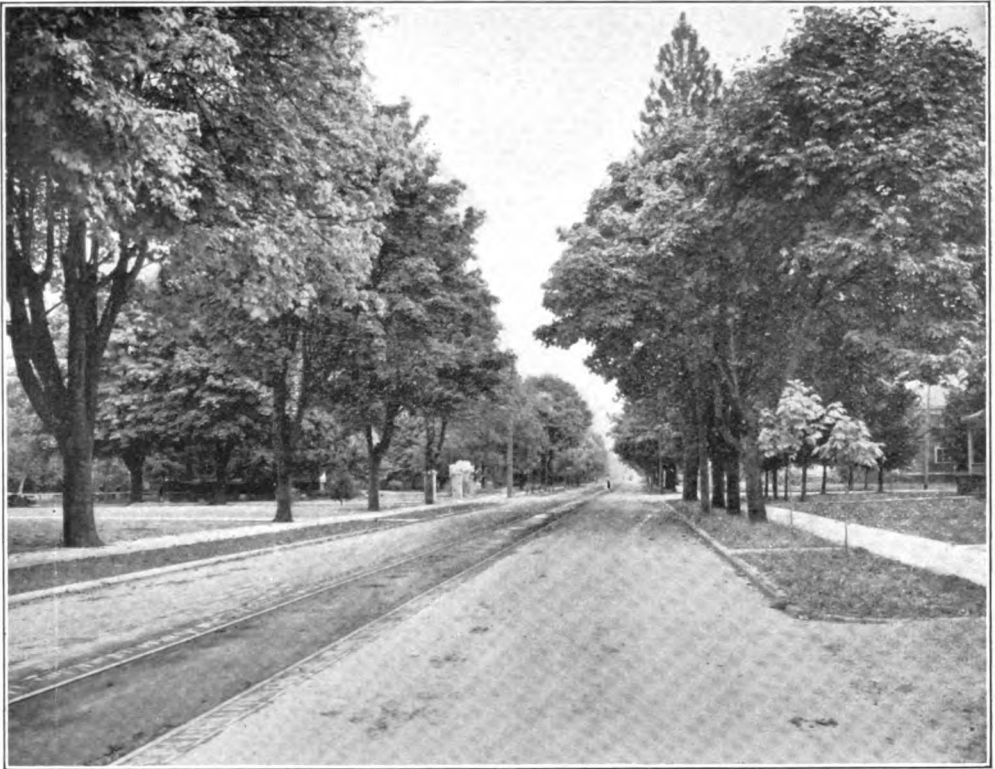
And then, like a true woman, fully awakened from girlhood, scarce knowing that she had passed the age of puberty, until men sought her to wife, Eugene awoke to self-consciousness, to recognition of her own, and began to put on the garments of adornment, to beautify herself the more to be admired because

of the tasteful garments she had given to her natural beauty.

Leaders of the State helped her in her scarce gained self-consciousness. They established the State University there, but up to within the last two or three years, while good and true students have been turned forth, they were few in number, and the equipment of the institution was practically much less than that of many an eastern High school. But now all is changed. Everything has



EUGENE APPLES.



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A RESIDENCE STREET, EUGENE, OREGON.

experienced the electric touch. Progress, advancement, are felt the moment one steps foot into a city. For many years Eugene, like nearly all other American towns, paid no attention to its railway approach. Around and near the depot were the usual shacks, tumbled-down fences, livery stables, with their accompanying piles of decaying filth, giving to the visitors every emotion and sentiment save those of pleasure of enjoyment as they descended from their incoming trains. A year or so ago the Eugene Commercial Club organized a Promotion Department under the management of Mr. John H. Hartog, a gentleman of refinement, culture and education, who had inaugurated and successfully carried out a campaign of city cleaning-up in one of the cities on San Francisco Bay. One of his advertising "hobbies" was

beautifying a city. This was undoubtedly the result of the civic neatness of his native land—Holland—for all travelers who have wandered through the land of canals and quaint windmills, of artists and simple-hearted peasants, know how neat and clean, as well as artistic, the cities of Holland are. Early in his Eugene experience Mr. Hartog began to agitate for the improvement of the city, beginning at the grounds of the railway station. He contended—and wisely too—that not only does civic beautification and adornment pay the citizens in the enjoyment they experience in seeing the new beauty, but it pays from a commercial and advertising standpoint. It attracts visitors, induces them to remain longer, gets them out-of-doors, and, when they leave, sends them away loud and enthusiastic in their praises of



UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN VACATION TIME CURBING A TO-BE-PAVED STREET.

the city that values itself enough to expend time, money and energy upon its adornment. He said, too, that the best place to begin was at the railway station—the place where visitors get their first impression of the city, and where their last glances fall upon it as they return to their homes. Accordingly he interviewed the members of the City Council, and saw the authorities of the railway company, as well as conferred with the officers of his own Club. Finding them easily convinced of the enormous benefit that would accrue from the improvement, the Club engaged an experienced landscape architect to prepare a plan for the beautification of the grounds and the streets close by. Armed with this he secured the hearty coöperation of the railway company, his club made a liberal appropriation, and then the Governors of the Club appeared before the City Council and asked their approval, endorsement and financial assistance in the scheme. It happened to arrive in the City the same day that the project came up before the Council, and at the request of Mr. Hartog was invited to address them upon the subject. I did not have to urge them to accept the plan; that was already done;

thus a laudible competition in the spirit of improvement would be aroused, which, once awakened, can never be quelled.

Less than two weeks after the city had agreed to contribute its share to put in water mains, alter the streets where necessary, undertake to supply all water needed for irrigation, put up the needful electric lights for this small park, I returned to Eugene and found the work well under way. Men were grading, hauling in manure and earth for the rose garden, rocks for the fernery and the curbing, and within two months of the time the plan was agreed upon I venture to think it will be successfully carried out. The accompanying plan shows how the evergreen trees are so planted as to form a complete barricade, shutting out of view the stables, barns and other unattractive features. In front of these evergreens will be planted fancy deciduous trees, such as silver birch and the like, trees which are ornamental even when devoid of foliage. Along the tracks or platform will be flower beds, while between these and the driveways will be lawn, dotted here and there by shrubs, flowers and trees, making shady nooks and cosy walks. A person then arriving

but I congratulated them upon their action as an epoch-forming event in their civic history. Their example would be followed by all progressive Oregon cities, and they would thus help on the work of general beautification of the great centers where "men and women most do congregate." Furthermore, having begun the specific adornment of one part of their city, other sections would demand attention, and



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MILL RACE, NEAR UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE.

at Eugene will land in a five acre park. with the picturesque depot standing out by itself, and it will be quite a novelty for the average traveler to land in a bower of beauty instead of in the usual mass of débris, fences, tin cans and other such things which abound in the back alleys around so many stations.

From an article in the *Portland Oregonian* of March 7, 1909, I learn that the Eugene Commercial Club devised the scheme and pays for its accomplishments, the Southern Pacific Railway Company allows the use of its grounds (5 acres), delivers the loam for top-dressing, and agrees to maintain the grounds in order and beauty, and the City Council builds the curbs along the driveways, purchases and sets up eighteen ornamental lamp-posts, and furnishes electricity for light and water for irrigation gratis. The

total cost will be some \$4,000.

For location Eugene is ideally situated. It is built about 125 miles south of Portland, on the banks of the Willamette River, the valley of which is noted as one of Oregon's chief charms. Indeed to the dweller in the Pacific Northwest the Willamette Valley is as noted as is the Connecticut River Valley in New England. It is equally as picturesque and beautiful in its quiet and pastoral character as is the noted New England Valley, with the addition of the wild, rugged picturesqueness of the forest-covered foot-hills leading the eye to the Cascade Mountain range on the East and the Coast Range on the West; where snowy peaks tower twelve and more thousand feet into the blue. The whole valley is rapidly becoming one vast apple and cherry orchard. A few years ago it was discovered that





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the soil and climate were marvellously adapted to the growth of apples and cherries and the crops are almost beyond ordinary belief. The apples are fine, but the cherries and walnuts are simply perfection. Imagine, therefore, a city with such a location. A good site on the banks of a beautiful river; rolling hills destroying monotony in the suburbs, while the city proper is of level grade and suitable elevation; the surrounding country one vast orchard; forests in the foothills beyond, with a horizon bounded in every direction forty, sixty, a hundred miles away with virgin snow-white peaks that companion the stars.

The town was founded in the "forties" or "fifties" of the last century, for in one of the main streets is a huge boulder on which is inscribed: "first jury trial held here under an oak in 1853." What a landmark, and how suggestive. In 1900 the official census gave Eugene a population of 3,200 souls,—half a century to grow up to a 3,000 population. In 1905 the report was 5,500. In 1909 it is over 10,000, and the ratio of increase is growing. The State Legislature of 1907 increased the annual appropriation for the State University to \$125,000 and the result is immediate expansion of the university and upon artistic lines. The

campus has been enlarged some forty acres, and several new buildings are being erected. The present president, Mr. P. L. Campbell, is an active and ardent supporter of civic beautification, and his influence has already been most beneficial as shown in the improved style of architecture of the new buildings, and the comprehensive plan he has formulated for the im-

provement of the University grounds. The residences and churches, as well as business blocks show keen appreciation of the beautiful and good taste as the various photographs show.

To many of my readers it may sound strange when I say that until two years ago there was not a mile of paved city street in any Oregon city save and except Portland, its metropolis. Eugene was the first city to destroy that antique and not very creditable record. In 1907 she began the laying of pavement and within fourteen months this city of but 10,000 inhabitants paved 58 blocks in the principal streets and residential suburbs at an outlay of nearly a quarter million dollars. Other towns have thus been spurred into action, and now several Oregon cities are preparing to lay pavement as rapidly as they can accomplish it.

Eugene has two libraries, one belonging to the city and the other to the University. Both are dignified and pleasing structures, very different in architecture, yet equally attractive and in good taste. The new Court House and High school are also noteworthy buildings. A few weeks ago the citizens subscribed in the short time of eight days over fifty thousand dollars for a Y. M. C. A. building. It has already voted \$300,000 worth of bonds to



WILLAMETTE RIVER, EUGENE, OREGON.

purchase the water works and establish its own water supply.

The progressive among the citizens are now advocating a full system of parks, city squares, boulevards and scenic outlooks. Nature has given Eugene the opportunity to work out such a system to perfection. In the center of the city is the small city square. It is useless as a park, but is admirably adapted for a civic center. The County Court House, and County Jail already overlook it, as well as the "White Temple" of the Odd Fellows. One lot is to be occupied by a hundred-thousand dollar hotel, and a whole block can be utilized for the new City Hall which it is contemplated building. Other public buildings can be massed here such as an Art Museum and a theater, and thus a Civic Center assured while the city is in the infancy of its uplift. From here a parkway or tree-lined street leads to the University grounds, which President Campbell ere long hopes to have

laid out after the plans of a first-class landscape architect. Within a stone's throw of the campus is the Mill Race originally designed merely for commercial purposes, but already beautified by trees, shrubs and flowers along its banks, and pressed into the service of the city as a feature of pleasure and beauty. Boats and canoes float to and fro, with their animated burdens of youth and beauty, giving a life and joy to the scene, and affording an enjoyment many a less-favored city would give a good deal to possess. Along this Mill Race the boulevard can be extended to the Fairmount Hills, two miles away in the heart of which nestles Hendricks Park, a naturally beautiful unimproved property of nearly eighty acres, forty-eight of which were presented to the city in 1905 by the Hon. T. G. Hendricks, one of the oldest settlers, and now President of the First National Bank, and the other thirty-two purchased by the city. Here among the arrow-



COUNTY COURT HOUSE, EUGENE, OREGON.

straight fir trees, and other indigenous trees, and surrounded by millions of wild flowers, the boulevards and parkways will be made, affording outlooks towards the mountains, the city, and the river. The general panoramic view is sublime, including all these elements, with the addition of glimpses of the pastoral McKenzie river, which empties near here into the Willamette, the snow-clad mountain summits, above which tower those three sentinel peaks, the Three Sisters, in supernal majestic and virgin purity. In blossom time, twice a year, once for the apples and once for the cherries, the whole valley is an exquisite Turkish carpet, spread out in dazzling beauty, responding to the ardent caresses of the brilliant sunshine. It is a scene of rich beauty as well as one denoting prosperity and plenty.

Passing now through these many orchards, the boulevard will lead to the banks of the Willamette, and follow its

winding course back to the city, to a magnificent butte, which immediately overlooks the architecturally pleasing railway station. This butte belongs to the city. On the city side it is green and open, but on the river side it is a dense mass of fir trees. It is the intention to construct winding drives around this butte, passing in and out of the forest and planned in such fashion as to afford the most delightful scenic surprises. Part of it can be converted into a children's recreation ground, and part for the delectation of the citizens who love to sit or walk or enjoy the flowing river at their feet, the expansive valley view beyond or the aspiring mountain summits of the far-away distance.

To the park at the railway station is but a stone's throw, and from thence to the civic center the street will be parked somewhat, and thus a complete drive enjoyed of fully eight miles of most interesting



DEADY HALL, STATE UNIVERSITY, EUGENE, OREGON.

boulevards, affording a remarkable and pleasing variety of scenery. That so young a city has so elaborate a plan in view and with every reasonable hope that it will ere long be carried out is a matter for congratulation to the citizens of Eugene.

There is an abundance of trees in the residence section of Eugene, with lawns, flowers, pampas grass and the like, and when the improvement spirit took possession of the town it was found that the hideous telegraph, telephone, electric light and trolley poles did not add at all to the charm of the city's streets. Not being able to relegate them to an underground conduit the citizens determined to render them as unobtrusive as possible by painting them green. It is really remarkable how much less hideous they are when thus disguised by a coat of paint. It is now proposed to discontinue the use of the overhead arc lights on some of the most prominent streets and sub-

stitute therefor side lights,—large opaque globes, sustained by ornamental iron-work brackets. Instead of putting up special poles to hold these brackets an arrangement has been entered into whereby the existing poles may be utilized for the purpose.

The ladies of Eugene are an important factor in this work of civic improvement and beautification. They have aided in every direction and urged upon the men fuller participation in the movement. Sometime ago they erected a pretty and comfortable Rest Cottage in the city square where the wives and children of the farmers who come to town to trade may be able to rest after doing their shopping. They are now planning to erect an artistic electric fountain in the new depot park, and in their regular meetings they keep up the agitation for the further and continued beautification of the city.

The growth of the improvement spirit and its infectious character is well illustrated by the outcome of the mere commencement of the work upon the depot park. Many of the owners of lots backing upon the park, who hitherto had been content with the shacks, hovels, barns, stables, etc., that had for so long been an eye-sore to incomers to Eugene,

are now planning to remove these objectionable structures and are discussing the erection of fine residences upon these same lots. Planting of trees has already begun, and ere long all the old débris will have disappeared. Thus the good work goes on.

I have been somewhat explicit in this recital of the doings at Eugene, because it is a small city. It is going to work in the right way. It is beginning well. What it is doing other new cities may do. I commend its spirit to others. Indeed it has already begun to exercise a marked influence throughout the State. I often heard the expression, as I traveled about, "The Eugene Way," and men would say



EUGENE HIGH SCHOOL, EUGENE, OREGON.

to each other "that's the way they do things in Eugene," etc. At the same time I wish to make a suggestion to Eugene, namely, that in the planning of its park and boulevard system it call upon some expert who has had knowledge of what other cities have done, and let him lay out a far-reaching and comprehensive system, which shall provide for the needs of the city for fifty or more years to come. Thus, by foresight, much can be gained, errors avoided, and all work done in accordance with a large and comprehensive plan, which it may take half a century, or even a century, fully to complete.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

*Pasadena, California.*

## “I CANNOT KEEP SILENT.”

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF COUNT LEO H. TOLSTOI.

Translated expressly for THE ARENA by W. G. Hastings and Felix Newton.

### I.

“SEVEN death sentences, two in St. Petersburg, one in Moscow, two in Penza and two in Riga. Four executions, two in Cherson, one in Vilna and one in Odessa.”

Information like the above is repeated by all the newspapers from day to day, not for a week, not for months, not for a year, but for years; and this is in Russia, that same Russian nation which looks upon every criminal with sentiments of mercy and where until recent times capital punishment was not recognized by law. I recollect how proud of this I felt in talking with persons from Western Europe. Yet now for three years how unceasingly have gone on among us executions, executions and executions.

I glanced into to-day's paper. To-day, May 22d, what a dreadful stroke! The paper states in a few words: “To-day on the shooting ground at Cherson twenty peasants were hanged for their attack with intention of robbery upon the estate of a landholder in Elisavelgrad county.”

Twenty men of those by whose labor we are fed, of those same people whom we deprave and continue to deprave, so far as we can, beginning with intoxication by poisonous vodka, and ending with a horribly lying religion in which we ourselves do not believe, though we bind them with it, not respecting our own understandings. Twenty such people were strangled by a rope in the hands of those whom they fed, clothed and sheltered, and who had themselves depraved and continually depraved their victims.

Twelve men, fathers and sons, from that number whose goodness, laboriousness and simplicity is the basis of the entire Russian national life, were seized,

thrown into prison and chained in irons. Then, their hands were bound behind their backs, that they might not catch the rope on which they were to hang, and they were driven to the gallows. Several peasants, similar to those collected to be hanged, but clothed in clean military uniforms, and with good boots on their feet, and guns in their hands, led out the convicts. In the same row with them goes a man with long hair on his head, clothed in stole and chasuble, with gold and silver threads interwoven, and with the cross in his hands. The procession stops.

The commandant says something. The secretary reads a certain paper. When the paper is read through, the long-haired man turns to those whom the others were gathered to strangle with ropes, and says something about God and Christ. Immediately after these words the executioners—several of them—dissolves a little soap and rubs on the rope's noose in order that it may draw tighter, seizes the persons in chains, puts on them a face cloth, leads them on the scaffold, and fits around their necks the well-soaped noose. After that he pushes the living people from the bench, pulling the latter from under their feet, and by this means, through their own weight, at once tightens the noose around the neck and strangles them painfully. For a minute, after this, those persons are still alive; their bodies turn and twist upon the ropes. Then they rock slowly. Presently they stop and remain motionless.

All this was carefully thought out and arranged by the instructed and educated people of the higher classes. They take pains that such things be done secretly at daybreak, that no one may see how they are done. Besides this, they arrange

it so that responsibility for this injustice shall be divided among those who have performed it, so that each of them can think and say that the fault is not his.

They find out the most debased and unfortunate of men, and compel him to perform this work, devised by them for him, and with which he is pleased. At the same time they show him, however he has answered their purpose, a countenance which inspires dread and disgust. They resort to such a transparent artifice. The decree is rendered by a military court, but the participants in the punishment come, not from military, but from civil life. This entire work is brought to accomplishment by the unfortunate, the deceived, the perverted, the despised people, who have nothing left but to smear well with soap the rope, that it may be strong, and without fail catch the neck; and after this that they may drink, to utter sottishness, that poison which is sold to them by those same educated people of the higher class, in order that they may the quicker and more fully forget their own souls, and personal characters as men. A doctor walks around the body, feels of it, reports to the government that the job was done according to all the rules of science, and that all the twenty are undoubtedly dead. The government approves, ordinarily, upon such information, and says that they have performed an unpleasant but necessary act. As soon as the bodies become cold they are taken from the rope and consigned to the earth. All this is terrible, and this is not done simply once with those twenty unfortunates, stricken from men's path and from the very best class of Russian population, but during a whole series of years it unceasingly goes on, over hundreds and thousands, stricken from the path of humanity, stricken by the same people who practice on them, too, the same terrible things. Not only are those same terrible acts done, but they are done under the same pretenses, and with the same cold-blooded cruelty, as are done all sorts of torturing and violence in the

dungeons, the fortresses, and the convict settlements. At the same time in which all these things throughout a series of years are done in Russia, those chiefly guilty of these deeds, persons by whose command these things are done, the persons who could abolish it, are fully convinced that such kinds of deeds are useful, and are absolutely necessary, or are occupied with inventing schemes and making speeches about how not to permit the Finns to live in the way in which they want to live, and how to compel them to live in the way some important Russian personages wish them to do; or these people concern themselves with the publication of orders of this sort: "In the Hussar regiments the collars and the cuffs of the jacket must be of one and the same color with the collars of the soldiers' jackets; but the short fur cloaks must not have around the cuffs at their upper part bands of fur."

## II. THAT IS TERRIBLE.

Most terrible of all in these acts is this, that all this inhuman violence and killing, directed against evil done to other victims and their families, brings still vastly more evil to the entire nation; and spreads among all classes in Russia destruction like swift fire in dry straw. This corruption with especial swiftness spreads in the very midst of the common working people, because all that depravity by a hundred times exceeds what is done by thieves, robbers, murderers and revolutionists all taken together. All this depravity is carried on as being necessary and good. It is not only permissible, but supports the different institutions which are inseparably connected in the popular mind with morality, and even with holiness, such as the senate, the synod, the дума, the church and czar. This corruption spreads with remarkable swiftness.

Not long ago two executioners could not yet be found in Russia. In the eighties there was only one. I remember with what joy Vladimir Solovjov told me



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA by Ryan Walker.

**"AND THIS IS RUSSIA!"**



then that it was impossible to find in Russia an additional executioner, so it seemed needful to take that single one from one place to another. Now it is not so. A small tradesman of Moscow, as a work of pleasure, rendered his services to accomplish the killing prepared by the government at one hundred roubles for each strangled person. Soon he was so established in this new business that he no longer needed his former little gains. Now he is expanding his former business.

Last month at Ariol, as everywhere, there was need of an executioner. Immediately a fellow was found who agreed with this government of organized murder to undertake the work for fifty rubles per head. But this volunteer executioner, after doing his work, found out that in other cities the pay was greater. At the time of execution, throwing the face-cloth on the victim he does not lead the unfortunate to the scaffold, but, stopping and turning to the supervisor, he said, "Your eminent highness must give twenty-five rubles additional. Otherwise I will not do it." He got the addition and performed the crime. The next time five were to be hanged. The day before the execution a certain man came to the organizer of government murders, and asked a private conversation. The organizer went out to him and was addressed by the man in the following words: "Three days ago a certain party required of you seventy-five rubles per head. Assign to me the entire work for fifteen rubles per head, and you can be assured that I will perform it in the best scientific manner."

I do not know whether this proposition was accepted or not; but I know the work was done.

In such a way murders by law influence the very worst of characterless people. But those terrible actions must have a similar influence upon the great mass of the people of medium morals. Through constant reading and hearing of these most horrible actions of inhuman brutality, performed by the government, that is, by

the people which the nation is accustomed to honor as its best—most of the middle class, the younger generation, especially, occupied with their own actions instead of these, lest it should come to their thoughts that their actions are unworthy of esteem, unwillingly brings them to a wholly contrary conclusion. They judge that if the people high in honor perform such actions, which appear terrible to us, those things in reality are not so terrible as we represent. About executions, hangings, murders and bombs they now talk, and write, as once they used to speak and write about the weather. The children play at strangling. The young people of the higher schools, still almost children, take up with expropriation of lands, ready to kill in the same way as they would go hunting. Now very many think that the best conclusion about the land question would be to kill the small land-owners with the aim to get all their land.

In general, thanks to the actions of the government, permitting killing as a means for reaching their own aims, all the crimes—robbing, stealing, lying, drinking, murder—all this now is in the view of the unfortunate nation, corrupted by its government, regarded as most natural and seemly for the people to do.

Yes, terrible in themselves are those actions. But incomparably terrible is the invisible spiritual and moral evil which results.

### III.

You declare that you are perpetrating all these horrors to establish order and peace. You sustaining peace and order! By what means are you doing it? Is it not the fact that you, representing Christian government, leaders and teachers, consecrated and stimulated servants of the church, you destroy the last remnants of religion and morals in the people by means of your crimes of the highest order, falsehood, treachery, drinking, and finally, thanks to the very terribleness of all your crimes, the very last offense against hu-

manity not ending with perversion of the heart, not common murder, the single case, but unnumbered organized murders, which you think to justify with idiotic references to such, or such statutory enactments, written by your own selves in your senseless, lying books, which you sacrilegiously call laws.

You say that it is the only means for pacifying the nation and crushing revolution. But this is visibly false. Indeed, it is entirely clear that you cannot pacify the nation without satisfying the need for elementary honesty implanted in the whole Russian agricultural population, namely: the need of reducing private land-holding and reducing its burden, thus allaying the whole peasant irritation, and removing the disturbances among the enraged people, who began together with you the murderous riot. You cannot pacify the nation by inflicting tortures upon its tortures, griefs, exile, prisons, confinement, and inflicting strangulation upon women and children. However eagerly you strive to suppress in yourselves reason and love, and the natural feelings of humanity, you, nevertheless, carry them in yourselves, and it is necessary only for you to come to yourselves, and reflect, in order that you may see that, proceeding thus, as you are doing, namely—taking part in so many terrible crimes—you not merely fail to heal that disease, but you drive it inside, and make it still worse. This is clear as God's day.

The cause of this as it comes out, lies not in physical facts, but depends entirely upon the spiritual conditions of the nation, which are changed, and which under no power can turn back to its previous form, as there is no power which can change a grown-up man back to childhood. General irritation, or peacefulness, does not depend upon whether Peter is alive or hanged, or upon Ivan's being in Tambov, or in exile in Nerchinsk. General agitation or quiet does not depend upon how Peter and Ivan look on their own condition, but how the mass of the population looks upon it; how the mass regards the

government, and private land ownership, and their own religious obligations; upon what the mass thinks good or bad. The force of events is not controlled in any way by material conditions of life, but through the conditions of the nation's spiritual life. If you were to kill off and torture a tenth part of the entire Russian nation, even then, the state of mind resulting would not be such as you are endeavoring to get.

In that way all that you are now doing with all your searches, spyings, prisons, exilings and gallows, will not in the least bring the nation to the condition you wish. Quite the contrary, the irritation increases, grows stronger, and destroys all possibility of gaining peace.

But what is to be done, you are asking? What is to be done? How stop that injustice which has been accomplished?

The answer is very simple. You stop doing that which you are doing.

If nobody would know what is necessary to do to pacify the nation, the entire nation (very many well know that the most necessary thing to pacify the Russian nation—is to buy the land from the private owners—as, for example, fifty years ago, it was necessary to free the peasants from serfdom) even if nobody knew this, nevertheless, it would be evident that to pacify the nation, it is not required to do that which strengthens such irritation. But that, in fact, is the very thing which you are doing.

What you are doing is not for the nation, but for your own selves, for this, to maintain the position, which you occupy and which you mistakenly think is very useful, while in reality it is most pitiful and adverse. It would be better not to say you are doing it for the nation. That is not true. All that reptiliousness which you are carrying on, you are doing for your own aims, for your own vain-glorious, boastful, revengeful, personal self-seeking aims; you are doing it for this, in order to lengthen out a little further the lives of a few in that depravity in which you live and which suits you.

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However, you may say that all that which you are doing you do for the national welfare, the people more and more begin to understand all, and more and more to despise all, and see through all your measures of restriction and repression, seeing them not in the same light as you wish it, namely, as measures for the higher collective existence of the government, but as the personal, crafty actions of a few egoists.

## IV.

Further you say that not we, but the revolutionists, started all this; and that the terrible violence of the revolutionists can be suppressed only by severe measures (as you call your own violence) on the part of your own government.

You say that the brutalities, committed by the revolutionists, are very terrible. With that I do not quarrel. On the contrary, I add that they are not only terrible, but senseless. Like your own deeds; they lead to no results whatever. Nevertheless, however terrible or senseless their actions are, all these bombs, plots, these repulsive murders and expropriations—still, these depravities by no means approach the criminality and senseless depravities perpetrated by you.

They are acting precisely as you are, and from the same motives. They are in the same way (I would say comically, if the consequences were not so terrible), under the delusion that the people, deciding for themselves what plan is best, and, according to their idea, most useful and beneficial, for the general welfare and public order, have the right, and the power, to arrange other people's lives according to the needs of that plan. Self-deceit, in this way or in that way, is all one. The means for reaching this is violence of all kinds, even to the destruction of life. The corrupting justification of infamous crime, that it is committed for the good of many, ceases to be immoral, and therefore it is possible, without violating moral laws, to lie, to rob, to kill constantly, when this leads to the reaching

of the proposed good for others, which it seems to us we can understand, foresee and bring about.

You members of the government call all those actions of the revolutionists "brutalities and terrible crimes." But they have not done and are not doing anything of this sort which you are not doing, and on a greater scale. They are doing the same things you are doing. You maintain spies. You deceive, you spread printed falsehoods, and so do they. You seize upon the national property by the use of every kind of violence, and employ it as you please, and so do they. You execute those you deem dangerous, and so do they, also.

Since you employ for attaining your ends the same depraved means as they do, you certainly cannot then accuse the revolutionists. All which you can put out for your own justification, they, equally, can set forth for theirs—not to say anything of the fact that you are accomplishing much of such evil which they do not commit. For instance, squandering the national wealth, declaring wars, and preparing for wars, subduing and oppressing alien nationalities, and many other such things.

You say you must preserve the traditions, for instance, point out the actions of the great men in the past. They, the revolutionists, also have their traditions, coming down from past times, even earlier than the French Revolution. As concerns great men, characters for imitation, martyrs sacrificed for truth and freedom, they have such not less than you.

In such way, if, in general, between you there exists a difference, it is only in this, that you wish things to remain as they were and are, and they want a change. Taking into consideration that everything cannot remain as it was once, they are nearer right than you are, if they would not take from you that terrible and destructive self-deception, as if a certain circle of distinguished people could know the form of life which is for the best advantage of all future generations and that form could be brought in by force.

Lastly, they proceed just as you do, using the same means. They are entirely pupils of yours. They, as the proverb says, combined in themselves all your shortcomings. They are not only your pupils, but your product, your children. If you were not, they would not be. When you try to suppress them with force, you are like a person pressing all his weight against a door which opens towards him.

If there is any kind of difference between you and them it is, without doubt, not to your advantage, but to theirs. This is the first ground of leniency in their favor, that their crimes are performed under conditions more dangerous than those incurred by yourselves. Risk and danger justify very many things in the eyes of impressionable youth. Secondly, a great mass of them are young people, and under delusions natural to their age. You for the most part are people of mature years, old persons, for whom coolness of blood and mildness towards the deluded ought to be more natural. Thirdly, an alleviating condition to their advantage, whatever murders must be charged to them, they are not so cool, systematic and outrageous as your Schliselburgs, exilings, gallows and shootings. The fourth alleviation in favor of the revolutionists is this, that they, nearly all, belong to the category of those who cast aside all religious learning and lay down the proposition that the end justifies the means. They, therefore, as a result, kill one or more persons for the public interest; but you are members of the government, from the lowest executioners to the highest of those, who command them; you are all supporters of religion and Christianity, although it, to be sure, does not harmonize with the doing of your actions.

And it is you, old people, leaders of others, professing Christians, it is you, who, like quarreling children, say, "We did not start it, but they." The best that you can say you have taken on yourselves the duty of managing the nation. But permit us to know who you are. A

people, acknowledging as a God, one who not only forbade in the most positive way, either sentencing or punishing, but also even criticizing a brother; one who, in his own shining expressions, cast away all punishment whatever, and strenuously affirmed the necessity of perpetual pardon, however often the crime is perpetrated; one who commanded us to turn the other cheek to the striker, and not to repay evil with evil—one who, in the case of the woman who was sentenced to be stoned, clearly and plainly showed the impossibility of the sentencing and punishing of one man by another; and after acknowledging that teacher as a God, you can say nothing better for your justification than simply: "They started to kill, therefore let us kill them."

v.

An acquaintance of mine, an artist, wished to make a picture, "Punishment." He needed a model of an executioner. He heard that at that time the duty of executioner was performed at Moscow by a janitor. The artist went to him. It was Easter-time. The family of the janitor were sitting in their best clothes at the table, but the husband himself was not there. Afterwards, it appeared that, seeing a stranger, he hid himself. His wife, also, was in appearance troubled, and said that the husband was not home. But his little daughter exposed him, saying, "Papa is in the garret." She did not know what her father understood, that his acts were wrong, and that, therefore, he could not help fearing every one. The artist explained to the woman that he wanted to see her husband and to get him as a sitter for the picture; that his face precisely suited the intended picture. (The artist certainly did not say for what reason it was necessary to have for that picture the face of the janitor.)

Talking with the wife, the artist, to make her willing, offered to take her son as a pupil. This offer, apparently, tempted the woman. She went out, and in a few minutes her husband came in,

gloomy, restless, frightened, and turning his eyes in all directions. For a long time he tried to find out from the artist why, and for what purpose, he in particular was wanted. When the artist answered that he met the man once on the street, and that the latter's face appeared to resemble the proposed picture, the janitor started to inquire where and when the artist saw him, at what time, and how he was dressed. Naturally fearful, and suspicious that it was something bad, he was by no means willing to agree to the artist's proposal.

Certainly that executioner, at least, recognizes that he is an executioner; that he is doing wrong; that he is hated, and therefore he fears the people. And I think that this consciousness, and fear of his people, ought to redeem his guilt. But you all—from the court minister, chairman of the council, and adviser of the Czar—you indirect participants in causing the daily injustice, you apparently do not feel your guilt, your shame, which must attach to you from taking part in those terrors. True, you also, like that executioner, fear the people, and you fear more and more your answerableness for such crimes. The prosecutor fears more than the secretary; the president of the court more than the prosecutor; the governor-general more than the president of the court; and the president of the ministers' council still more; and most of all the Czar. You are all fearful, but, unlike the executioner, your fear does not come from the consciousness of your own bad actions, but because that other people are doing evil.

Therefore, I think that however far that unfortunate janitor has lowered himself, morally, he stands incomparably higher than you, the frequent participants in the guilt of those terrible crimes, you who judge others, instead of yourselves, and walk with high-lifted heads.

## VI.

I know that people—mere people—we are all weak, all liable to mistake, and not

one of us can judge another. I am greatly incensed with those persons who appeared to me to be the ones responsible for these terrible crimes. That feeling rises the stronger, the higher those persons stand in the social scale. I no more can, nor will resist that feeling. I cannot and will not. In the first place, for the convincing of those people who do not understand all the wickedness of their actions, which is indispensable for themselves and for the mass, which, under such impressions are showing such persons public honors and praise and looking approvingly upon their horrible actions; and also they try to imitate them. In the second place, I cannot and will not more resist this inclination, because that (as I publicly acknowledge) I hope that my convincing of these people will in some way or another have the effect, according to my wish, of my expulsion from this circle in which I now live in which I cannot help feeling myself a participant in the accomplishment around me of these crimes.

All that which is now done in Russia is done in the name of the general welfare, and in the name of peace and protection to the inhabitants. If this is so, then it is for me, for I live in Russia. For me it has come to pass that there exists such poverty in the nation, which is deprived of the original simplest natural human right, the right to use the land on which one was born. For me, half a million people torn away from their healthful peasant life, dressed in uniform and taught the art of killing; for me exists that false so-called clerical body, the sole duty of which consists in perverting and concealing the truth of Christianity; for me come forth all those exilings of people from one place to another; for me those hundreds of thousands of hungry workmen who tramp over Russia; for me those hundreds of thousands of unfortunates who die of typhus and scurvy in fortresses and prisons which are not spacious enough for such a multitude of captives; for me suffer the mothers, wives and fathers of the exiles, arrested and carried

away; for me all those spies and venality; for me the burial of those tens and hundreds of persons shot; for me came forth all that terrible work of the executioners so hard to find at first, but which now at length are no more concerned about avoiding that kind of work; for my sake arise those gallows with their well-soaped ropes on which they hang women, children and peasants; for my sake exists that terrible exasperation of one people against another. How strange such statements that all this is done for my sake, and that I am a participant in those savage actions. I cannot but feel that there is an undoubted mutual dependence between my roomy lodgings and my dinner, my clothes, my free time and those terrible crimes committed with the aim of getting rid of those who would desire to take away from me that which I enjoy; and although I know that all these homeless, wretched, criminalized, depraved people, who, despite the government's threat, would take away all those things I make use of—product of these very governmental crimes, nevertheless—I cannot but feel that in the present time my security actually rests upon those terrors now being wrought by the government.

Admitting this, I can no more bear it, but must free myself from this unbearable situation. To live so is impossible. I, at least, cannot and do not want to so live. Therefore, I write this: and with all the means at my command I am going to spread these things in Russia, as well as abroad. Let one thing or the other happen—either stop these inhuman actions, or stop my connection with them, and put me in prison where my conscience will be clear, that those terrors are not created for my sake; or still better—(that would be so good that I certainly would not dare to imagine such felicity)—let them put on me the face-cloth, as they did to those twenty peasants; and let me, also, be pushed from the scaffold, in order that my own weight may pull tight the well-soaped noose around my old neck.

In order to reach one or the other of

these aims, I appeal to all the participants in those terrible deeds, beginning with those who put on my brother men, on women, and on children, the face-cloth and the noose, from the gate-keepers of the prison, and ending with you, the head organizers and arrangers of those terrible crimes.

Brethren, people! bethink yourselves! Stop and think! Think over what you are doing. Remember who you are!

Before becoming executioners, generals, prosecutors, judges, prime ministers and czars, you are only mortals. To-day is given you to look upon God's world. To-morrow you will cease to exist (especially you executioners of all ranks, who are awakening against yourselves the general hatred. You must remember this). Is it possible that you would, taking even a slight look on God's world (because if you were not killed, death would surely be at each one's back), not see in the moment of your light that your calling in life is not to torture and to kill people? Do not you, yourselves, tremble from fear of being killed? Is it possible that you are clean before yourselves, to others, and to God, persuading yourselves and others that by your participation in those actions you are accomplishing a great work for the welfare of millions? Is it possible that you, intoxicated by those around you with flattery, and very common sophisms, you collectively, and each separately, did not know that all this, in few words, is a contrivance with this aim, that you, while bringing about the most terrible crimes, may call yourselves good people?

You cannot know that you, as well as each of us, have only one real duty including in itself all the rest: the duty to live the short time which is allotted to us in accordance with the purpose with which you were sent into this world, and to leave this world in accordance with the same purpose, and this purpose only requires one thing, that one man should love another.

But, nevertheless, what are you doing? To what do you devote your spiritual

power? Whom do you love? Who loves you? Your wife? Your child? But, in truth, that is not love. The love of wives and children is not the love of humanity. Animals in that way love even better than do men.

The love of humanity is love of one man for another, for every kind of man as a son of God, and therefore as a brother. Do you love anyone in that way? No, nobody. Does anyone love you in that way? No, nobody. They fear you, as they fear the executioner, like a wild animal. The people flatter you, while in their hearts

they despise and hate you; and, moreover, how they hate you; and you know this and fear the people.

Yes, think about all this, you participants in murdering, from highest to lowest. Think over who you are, and quit that which you are doing. Stop, not for your own sake, not for the sake of your own character, not for the sake of the people, not for this, in order to stop the cursing of you, but for the sake of your souls, and the sake of God who lives within you.

LEO H. TOLSTOI.

## WHY CHINA SLEEPS.

BY LIEUTENANT LYMAN A. COTTEN, U.S.N.

### I. THE REASON.

**T**HOUGH China is not looked upon as a first rate power in the family of nations, yet all questions of moment in the Celestial Empire are of more intimate concern to *all* of the first rate powers than are the questions of any other one country. The trade possibilities of an almost wholly unexploited nation of four hundred millions of people are alluring enough to quicken the desires of the most indifferent nation to whom a share of this trade may fall. Hence the jealousy with which each nation is wont to regard every other nation in its relation to China, and the desire of all of them for light on any question Chinese.

In reading the many interesting and valuable books by foreign scholars on China and things Chinese one seems to detect again and again, in more or less concrete form, the search for the answer to the question, What effect will the modernizing of China have upon the relations between China and foreigners? Poor, patient, long-suffering China! No one seems to be interested in assisting

*her* to answer the question, What effect will the modernizing of China have upon the relations between China and *Chinese*? The answer to the latter question must be found before the correct answer to the former can be given. In fact, the answer to the latter must form the very ground work upon which the answer to the former rests. That being so we may rest assured that a long lead will be gained towards bearing off the lion's share of the golden harvest of modernized China by that nation that soonest and best answers the question, What effect will the modernizing of China have upon the relations between China and her own people?

What characteristic stands out in the Chinese character that most markedly differentiates it from the character of other members of the human race? That the Chinese are a home-loving, honest, industrious people, is freely acknowledged. In morals probably no better nor worse than other people. As truthful according to their own standards as are others, no doubt. Wherein then do they materially differ from others? The great distinguishing characteristic

seems to be their utter indifference to everything that according to their own lights does not intimately, materially and immediately concern them. So complete is their indifference that even curiosity seems dormant, and interest in an abstract question is non-existent.

A party of tourists were being shown through one of the largest cities of China by a guide well versed in the English language. Upon reaching the public execution grounds he explained, with the fluency and vividness as to gruesome details of the usual guide, the different methods of execution in vogue, from simple beheading to slow strangulation and death by a thousand cuts. One of the ladies of the party, much impressed, and with horror in her voice, exclaimed: "But you don't do such things now?" "Oh no" replied the guide with slightly puzzled manner, "not now; four o'clock this afternoon." His attitude toward the suffering of one condemned was utter indifference, nor could he understand the attitude of horror of a stranger in anything not actually touching the sphere of his own life. While this characteristic of indifference is often noted by foreigners as of interest, as seeming to place the Chinese almost in a category of their own, it is usually dismissed with but little thought. Simply a *Chinese* characteristic, says one; the result of following precedent and resisting change for generations, or the result of an indigenous civilization different from our own, says another; or perhaps one thinks it plain stupidity. (It is remarkable how often a foreigner will think a Chinaman stupid because he does not speak the foreigner's language.) However, it is none of these. It is not a racial characteristic, nor the result of precept or teaching or indigenous growth, and a person that thinks the Chinese a stupid people but proclaims his own stupidity.

We often hear China compared to a sleeping giant that dreams not of his own dormant strength, nor knows how to use that strength were it realized.

True it is that China is a sleeping giant, and asleep on account of the *indifference of the individual Chinaman* to everything that does not loom large within his own personal horizon.

Let us then search for the cause of this individual indifference, and when this is found we will see why China sleeps. Ancestral worship has produced an unbalanced industrial condition in China, and this in turn has produced an indifference in individuals that acting through the millions has held China as a sleeping giant, while other nations less wealthy in natural resources and population have arisen to a greater and more powerful civilization.

Let us briefly trace these influences. Through ancestral worship the desire for posterity has become the overshadowing *motif* of every Chinaman's life. Without sons they pass into the nothingness of an unworshipped hereafter, and therefore sons are the *sine qua non* of this life. The children even of the very poorest, are forced to marry at an early age and to begin to bring up children of their own, who in turn are endowed with the same desire. Thus we see not only each generation encouraged to be prolific to the greatest degree, but also *the number of years between generations reduced to the minimum*. The resulting industrial condition is not hard to see, particularly in a country isolated as China has been. Population has increased much more rapidly than have the means and productive appliances for supplying the needs of the population, though, judged by foreign standards, China *in toto* is not alarmingly overpopulated. At the earliest age children are forced into the ranks of the producers, and henceforth the sum of their knowledge is the struggle for existence.

With remarkably clear insight and knowledge of the Chinese, Rev. Arthur H. Smith says in *Chinese Characteristics*, "Money and food are twin foci of the Chinese ellipse, and it is about



them as centers that the whole social life of the people revolves." The cry is always for food and more food. For generation after generation the struggle for a mere existence has been passed down from father to son as an only inheritance. Verily the motto of the poor Chinaman may be formulated, "For every hour ye remain idle, so many hours shall ye be hungry." Is it hard to see the result upon individual character of hundreds of years of such a struggle? Only one phase of character is developed, and that is the stern, hard, practical phase of earning daily bread. They literally have no time to think, and none to devote to an analytical study of cause and effect. Sufficient unto the day is the struggle thereof. The Chinaman in the interior sees for the first time a motor launch skimming along the canal of his fathers with perhaps a hunting party of foreigners. For a moment he stares in open-eyed amazement at this new devil of the barbarians, and then turning again to the oar of his cargo boat or handle of his ancient farming implement, straightway it passes from his mind. He seems not to ask himself whence comes this boat of speed and noise and offensive odor, and what manner of man produces it, or how it may be adapted to lighten his own burden or increase his productive capacity. His ever present problem, keeping his rice bowl filled, is too pressing for philosophical reflection.

What is the result upon the Anglo-Saxon character of even a few years of isolation and struggle? Take an isolated community of mountaineers, far from railways and modern appliances, wresting a scant living from the rocky soil. What characteristic seems to predominate? Indifference. Indifference to the whole outer world; indifference to the law, to danger, to education, to progress, to religion and morals. This indifference has the Chinaman multiplied a thousand fold, and inbred by generation after generation of soul-killing struggle for existence. Not an exist-

tence as you or I know it, but a pitiful keeping of body and soul together upon a daily handful of rice and a few shreds of fish and vegetables. It has even been asserted that the Chinese have no real religion and it seems to be true unless the worship of ancestors be considered religion. What care they in their hearts for Christianity, or Buddhism or any other form of religion, unless it effects the price of rice? The term "rice-Christian" is used by many Chinese to indicate those who have professed to embrace Christianity in order that in time of famine and distress they may draw rice from the mission compound. Who can deny that often much truth is embodied in the term? And who can deny that to the Chinese mind it seems perfectly logical and blameless?

The ever present, all important Chinese problem touches not the full dinner pail of our own working men, for they can neither see nor reason beyond the constant and appalling dread of the empty rice bowl. Alert to the greatest degree to this one problem, that over-shadows all others seen and unseen, there has been developed in the individual a colossal indifference to all other more remote problems. This indifference continuing for generations has produced a chronic condition of intellectual turbidity that holds China fast in soporific embrace. China sleeps not on account of race, nor creed, nor school of Oriental philosophy, but on account of hereditary intellectual turbidity.

## II. THE REMEDY.

Since China sleeps on account of the results of an industrial condition, if the preceding line of reasoning be good, to awaken her that condition must be changed. Perhaps nothing has contributed as much to the retardation of the means and productive appliances for supplying the needs of the people of China as has the lack of adequate transportation facilities. Communication is slow and expensive as a general

rule, as well between adjacent provinces as between neighboring towns. The beaten tracks are now the same as they have been for hundreds of years, barring the few railways and interior steamship lines. Means of transportation are neither better, more rapid nor cheaper now than they were a thousand years ago. Communities stand out in isolation each toward its neighbor almost as completely as do provinces. Each struggles along without mutual interests or business ties and stagnates in its own restricted struggle. China is a country of caravans and canals, adequate for its transportation needs hundreds of years ago, no doubt, but woefully inadequate in this twentieth century of business progress. The crying need of China is *railways, a veritable network of railways*, that alone will make it possible to develop and carry on successfully the enormous business of her people, and bring opportunity to millions that now ask only for the means of earning a pitiful daily bread, and are dragged down and still deeper down by their struggle for existence.

The few railways and interior steamship lines in China furnish an object lesson of the deepest interest. Prosperity, progressiveness and activity of intellect seem to vary directly as the distance from a modern line of transportation. Congestion of population is largely coincident with facilities for transportation, and even then opportunities for earning a living are greater in the congested regions than in more remote but equally productive districts. A short while ago I was told by a business man in Hankau, Hupeh Province, that the recent opening of the Pekin-Hankau railway meant, on an average, fifty cents per picul (133 lbs) more to the farmers in easy reach of the railway for all of their produce marketed. Can anyone fail to see what this means to the very life of the whole region? The Chinaman is preëminently practical, *if his intellect can be made to grasp the*

*situation*, and this additional fifty cents per picul for his produce startles his indifference as years of syllogistic reasoning would fail to do. In the beginning he may have been, through his ignorance, as bitterly opposed to the railway as the mandarin would have us believe, but practical results quickly make of him a convert, alive to his increased opportunities.

In regard to railways in China, Alexis Krausse says in *China in Decay*: "It (the railway) is held up to universal objugation for the reason that it is novel, practical and progressive, and on that account generally reprehensible." The history of the railway in China does not sustain this charge, but on the contrary shows that the Chinese people, apart from the numerically small mandarin class, have almost from the very opening of the first railway in China in 1876, realized its practical value. Again to quote Mr. Krausse in regard to this very railway, he says; "Contrary to expectation, the attitude assumed by the natives toward the railway, was one of friendly curiosity. They flocked to the railway in greater numbers than could be conveyed, the service had to be extended, and it became evident that the venture would prove a great success." This statement seems to stultify the other general statement quoted, and bears out the result of subsequent railways opened in China. I was recently informed by one intimately associated with the partially completed railway between Shanghai and Hankau that the part, then but a few months in operation, between Shanghai and Nanking was being so generously patronized by the natives that the passenger traffic alone would enable the company to declare a dividend. A trip over this line was all that one needed to convince him of the industrial awakening that was being engendered by the increased transportation facilities.

Our patient and hopeful missionaries tell us that the way to awaken China is

through education and the religion of the Son of Nazareth, and we know they speak from honest conviction, but where heretofore they have labored as pioneers in the rocky soil of indifference, they must now follow the path of industrial progress and sow the seeds of Christianity and education in a soil quickened by desire and made fertile by material prosperity. They must realize as no others can the difficulties in interesting anyone in the hereafter, when the present is filled to overflowing with the uncompromising struggle for bodily existence. Railways, bringing increased opportunities for temporal betterment, open the way to spiritual desires, and pave the road for teachers and education.

The obstacles, imaginary and real, in the way of railway construction in China are many, but none the less they are being constructed, and each one makes it easier for the next. Many of the main lines are fairly under way and branches will quickly follow. Other appliances of modern Western civilization will follow the railways apace, and it behoves all foreign nations to consider well the new conditions that will rapidly arise, and to assist to the utmost in the industrial development of China within itself, with every assurance that that assistance will be amply and substantially repaid.

### III. THE RESULT.

The result of these new conditions will be far reaching in their influences upon the relation between China and her own people and necessarily upon the relation between China and foreigners also. It is manifestly impossible to treat of the results of these new conditions *in extenso* in such limited space. Briefly, first will come a period of business prosperity and industrial activity such as China has never known. Mutual interests will be created between communities, between sections, between provinces. Indifference will give way

to alertness, a proper pride will replace servility, and turbidity of intellect will be shaken off as the fires of ambition are kindled. Life for the individual will broaden as opportunity enters, and the present desire for mere physical existence will grow into the future desire to live and do greater things.

Without doubt any indication of a desire on the part of the people for a change in conditions would instantly develop the united opposition of the mandarin class and their henchmen the literati. Selfish interest makes them resist change, as history shows us the governing class in all countries has done. The very factor of indifference in the people has allowed the mandarins to run their iniquitous course so long in indolence. Reaping in material prosperity where they have sown in blackmail and bribery, fattening where they have toiled not, and perverting the very means of justice to their own ends, they have selfishly pointed the way to their own private interests and considered the interests of the people as even beneath their contempt. As individual indifference passes away, history will again repeat itself, and the masses will lead the mandarins. The particular political results I leave to the student of political economy.

We may be sure that not alone in business will the changes be felt, for through the individual the very life of China will be changed. For centuries the provincial as well as the national government has been remote and inaccessible but as the facilities for communication increase, the isolation of the government will disappear. The people themselves will take an interest in their government, where now only indifference exists. The sight of one part of China at war with a foreign nation, while the other parts look supinely on, will have no place in the new régime. National pride will be welded into patriotism, and China will arise in her might as a real nation, with national

interests and national power, sustained by a unified people.

Think not this a Utopian dream, you who have visited the Chinaman in his home, and think perchance you know your China. Perhaps you were so blinded by your own interests that you failed to perceive the interest of China. In your desire to exact from China in the present everything possible, or with your energies all working toward one end, perhaps you overlooked her interest tending to work toward a change in the future in her own way. Abundant signs are not wanting that even now the transformation has begun. Fortunate will be that nation that soonest begins to work *with* China *for* China, for the friendship of new China will redound to that nations interest for ages to come.

When China fully aroused and powerful as a nation arraigns the other nations

at the bar of public opinion of her own people and demands to know who has been her real friend in deeds and assistance, who has led her along the path of her own interest when alone she was weak and tottering, who has worked *with* her and *for* her, the nation that cannot point to its own record in these particulars with pride and frankness will have but vain regret for the loss of golden opportunity for which late repentance will not atone.

The record of our own country, though not without blemish, looms clear by comparison with the narrow selfishness of many others, and year by year with increased momentum the consciousness is growing in China as to what nations are her real friends.

LYMAN ATKINSON COTTEN.

Newport, R. I.

## COMPETITION THE SOUL OF TRADE.

BY WILLIAM A. BOWEN.

"Business is civilization, think many of us; it creates and implies it. . . . Business and material well-being are signs of expansion and parts of it; but civilization, that great and complex force, includes much more than even that power of expansion of which they are parts. It includes also the power of conduct, the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of beauty, the power of social life and manners. To the building up of human life all these powers belong. If business is civilization, then business must manage to evolve all these powers; if a widely spread material, well-being is civilization, then that well-being must manage to evolve them all. It is written: 'MAN DOTH NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE.'—*Matthew Arnold.*"

**I**N THAT bewildering access of change which we, of the generation now passing, have seen with so much wonder and concern, the social order itself is deeply involved. Willingly or no, we find ourselves upon the threshold of new times, hinting of new ideals, and compelling new elections. It behoves us to stand

somewhat upon the order of our going, and to set forth though with courage yet without haste.

Business is civilisation, think many of us. A material well-being we have set up to be the single ideal to which our aspirations must conform; and we have elected, or at least consented, to live by bread alone.

To this end, seeing that business, as we now conceive it, implies a material well-being only at the expense of the defeated, and hence a partial material well-being only, we found our social order upon a universal contest. Civilization, we put upon its trial by ordeal of battle. Civilization, we say, is business; but business, in order to accomplish that partial material well-being, means competition; and competition is the flower of individualism.

Apart from the inability of business, thus conceived, to evolve conduct, intellect and knowledge, beauty, social life and manners, in a word, civilisation, what we need to know is, whether individualism, producing competition, in turn producing business as it now exists, conforms to the law of social progress, or does indeed effect even a general material well-being. It is idle to minimize the value of a general material well-being, or to dream that civilisation can ever exist without it. Until the struggle for existence ceases to obsess mankind, the humane life, with its elements of beauty, leisure, manners, culture, will not be realized. Though of itself a condition of general material well-being cannot evolve those elements, yet without it they are impossible. Therefore we ought first to know, whether in those principles of business from which we hope a general prosperity, we have laid our foundations well or ill. They cannot be well laid if the system itself opposes the law governing our social progress; nor if it becomes itself the single end of our desires, instead of a first step merely to the humane life; nor if it wars against those elements without which civilisation is but a mockery; nor if it fails of its own immediate end, and promotes no general prosperity at all. In each of these our system of individualism does plainly fail; and, looking toward that civilised life which is our hope, surely we have not laid our foundations well.

What is that law of social progress which our system thus opposes? A mere statement of it must command immediate assent. And it needs only to be understood, to make the opposition of a system of competition plainly evident.

The age of individualism was a pre-social age. Each man hunted his own food, fought his own battles, made his own clothes, fashioned his own weapons, built his own shelter. Conforming to the law of development which imposes on all things a progress from the simple to the complex, man's relations to man began

to become more involved, and society, gradually and unequally, began to form. Occupations became specialized, with a resulting dependence of each upon his fellows; the hunter exchanged his skins for fish caught by another; the warrior ceased to make his own weapons, and the maker of weapons to fight; the maker of clothes began to look to others for the materials of his art. Compelled by a law of progress of which he was all unconscious, each became, to the extent we now see, dependent for the means of existence on all the rest. Gregarious life thus came to be imposed, gradually and unequally, on all, and the pre-social individualistic life began, by the same compulsion, to vanish away. As surely as this change has gone on immemorably, and is going on now, so surely will it continue to go on, towards an infinitely complex interdependence, and an infinitely diminishing individualism. Such is the history of human progress, and its law: an increasing social interdependence, and a vanishing unsocial individualism.

Hitherto, man in society has thus developed without his own consent, under the compulsion of circumstances of which he has had no control: of the increase of his kind, the consequent contracting of his habitat, the growing variety of his needs, the increasing complexity of his relations, the multiplied difficulties of his existence. Whether he would or no, without aforethought, and unconscious of any change, each individual life has come to rest on all the others. Whether he would or no, individualism has long since commenced its flight, and in its place persists, whether he wishes it or not, an indestructible socialism.

Now, however, under the compulsion of circumstances equally beyond his control, there arises a tendency to make this hitherto spontaneous socialism conventional. That mutual reliance which has hitherto loosely prevailed without our will, we are now beginning to recognise and affirm, by deliberate combination in many of the relations of life. Escape

## Competition the Soul of Trade.



being impossible from an increasing cohesion, it is inevitable that the good sense of mankind should turn it to account. Conformity to an inescapable law is the part of a very ordinary prudence; and workers of all sorts, with their hands and with their wits, will all alike draw from necessity such advantage as they may. Thus, in our own time, we enter upon a new period of social life. It is founded in the eternal law of our progress; and its permanence is quite manifestly assured.

Never again can society be resolved into its parts; henceforth its members cohere inseparably; and the bonds that bind us all together can become only stronger and more complex, never weaker nor simpler. That the law of our progress will continue to operate by favor of our consent as heretofore without it, every one will concede. And no one need do more than open his eyes to realize that the period on which we now enter is a period of agreed cohesion; of deliberate combination; of a realized community of interest; of a conventionalized interdependence; in a word, of socialism as an accomplished, though as yet imperfectly accomplished, fact.

But though this is true, the tendency here manifest is but a tendency; and although it has gone so far already as to commit us irrevocably to a socialistic future, yet we are still in the midst of opposition, and the law of our progress meets constant denial at our hands. We are still living under a system of competition; we are still denouncing that tendency which moves us towards increased cohesion; and by the laws we have made, we have repudiated altogether the natural law of our social life. Increasing solidarity involves new evils with its benefits. The cause of progress suffers for the dishonesty of those who have profited by observing its natural law; but none the less must we defend that cause against popular opposition, and rescue the benefits of a socialised society from popular destruction.

"Our industrial organization," says

Herbert Spencer, "from its main outlines to its minutest details, has become what it is, not simply without legislative guidance, but to a considerable extent, in spite of legislative hindrances. It has arisen under the pressure of human wants and resulting activities."

Such a conflict we are now engaged in. In an age in which the social instinct is beginning consciously to appear, which is here and there visibly, though as yet feebly, seeking to conform to the law of its progress, it is decreed, under popular clamor, by those who make the rules of the social game, that under no circumstances, and for no purpose, however reasonable, innocent, or beneficial, shall any two of us join ourselves together in the course of trade. Against a natural law which compels cohesion, this decrees repulsion. Against a natural law which defends society from ever being resolved into its atoms, this law requires that it be at once dismembered. Against a natural law which makes a state of anarchy impossible, this law sets up a state of anarchy as meet and right. Ages ago, individualism began to vanish from the earth; but now that its vestiges are becoming rapidly more scarce, this law imposes on us a stupendous individualism. In a day when original animosities, surviving from an individualistic age, are slowly breaking down, it is decreed that every man's hand shall be against his neighbor, that the strong shall inherit the earth, and that the war of each against all, painfully moderating in the slow march of time, shall now, once for all, blaze forth for the glory of the fittest.

Meanwhile, "our industrial organization," as it has arisen so it proceeds, without haste and without pause, "under the pressure of human wants and resulting activities." It is as if Congress should repudiate the Binomial Theorem and the Law of the Inverse Squares. "I forgot to ask," says Carlyle, "whether they considered that different kinds of food could be made wholesome or unwholesome by State-decree."

No one need be reminded how far we have gone with this attempt to repudiate the laws of nature. "Congress," says the Supreme Court, "has in effect recognized the rule of *free competition* by declaring illegal every combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate and international commerce." We all know with what laws forbidding the association of persons for any business purpose whatever, our State legislatures have lately favored us. Their tenor may be inferred, and their general sanity measured, by the provisions of the statutes passed in Ohio and California, which dispense with the useless formality of evidence against one accused of the crime of forming a business alliance of any kind with any other, and provide for his conviction out of hand, by permitting that "the character of the trust or combination alleged may be established by proof of its general reputation as such." For the sake of our own general reputation for sanity, it ought to be widely known that the Supreme Court of Ohio has already declared this provision void.

It is not in the bearing of a doctrine of competition on local and transitory conditions that that doctrine concerns us. It is of very minor consequence whether railroads shall be forced to a destructive rate-war or not; and the future of the oil industry, though it touches our industrial life at so many points, concerns us, ultimately, very little. But it is of great consequence to know whether that principle itself, on which we have founded our social state, accords with the unchangeable law of our development; whether it tends to promote a high or a low order of civilisation; and what, for an immeasurable future, and for all classes of men, that civilization shall be: whether a true anarchism, or a true socialism.

No choice is possible, but between these two. Neither is there possible any compromise between them. To the extent that society exists, anarchy is so far an excluded condition. To the extent

that anarchy remains, society is so far an imperfect condition. Relics of the original state of anarchy do, it is quite true, still persist; for evolution, in the social organism as in every other, proceeds unequally, and is tenacious of the original type. Such a relic is that condition of competition, or anarchy, which has become suddenly so vital a matter to us all. It is a relic which remains by sufferance only; its function is long since extinct; and it involves a principle opposite to the law of human progress. That principle, with which society, if it is to exist, can tolerate no compromise, imposes on each social unit an unsocial existence, conceives for each a relation of universal antagonism in a body fast approaching universal cohesion, and devotes an inevitable integrity to an impossible dissolution.

That we have tolerated, and even encouraged, the persistence of so deadly an unsocial condition is due to our failure to realize our emergence from that state of looser cohesion which once prevailed. It must no longer be overlooked. "Though in their early, undeveloped states," says Herbert Spencer, whose testimony is the more valuable because it comes from an opponent, "there exists in them" (*i.e.*, in social organisms) "scarcely any mutual dependence of parts, their parts gradually acquire a mutual dependence; which becomes at last so great, that the activity and life of each part is made possible only by the activity and life of the rest." The times demand that this be taken into account. We are now brought to a condition of mutual dependence so complex, so pervasive, so striking, that it can no longer be neglected. But though the change is thus so obvious to us all, it has not yet begun to teach us any lesson. Formerly, and within our own memory, when communities were small, when communication was difficult, when trade was local and infinitesimally divided, and when business was conducted against only moderate odds, a condition of general competition might, and did, persist

without too destructive consequences. But, as every one knows, the state of trade is now far otherwise. We are no longer village communities; and the day of village policies is past. Deliverance from that antique régime lies only in our being made to mark the change and learn its lesson.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw calls us "a nation of villagers:" "a nation of eighty million villagers which is incapable of developing beyond the village stage." This we are; and it is well that we hear it often. His statement of the case deserves attention.

"When a country," he says, "has to be newly cleared and settled by casual ambitious colonists without any common industrial tradition or body of custom, and society is in the village stage, the anarchical plan of letting every man mind his own business and do the best he can for himself is the only practicable one. The guarantee, such as it is, against cheating, adulteration, and overcharge in the shops is the competition of the shopkeepers for custom; and to maintain this guarantee as against the inevitable final tendency of the shopkeepers to conspire against the customer instead of competing for his custom, attempts are soon made to set up a political theory that combination among producers acts in restraint of trade, and to enforce the competition of the rival shops in the village street as a permanent condition. At the same time, as the village shop keeper is largely himself a customer of the village farmer, a flatly contradictory political theory is also set up that the shopkeeper must buy his wares from the village farmer and not import them from cheaper sources. Thus you get an utter confusion of principle in industry, production being regulated ruthlessly by protection, and distribution delivered over to the anarchy of competition."

Unfortunately, we are as yet undisturbed by that confusion of principle. On the contrary, we are even now engaged in laying upon it the foundations

of our future. The Republican party, in its platform of 1908, expressly commits itself to the utter confusion of a system of village policies. Its intention is, it declares, "to preserve without excessive duties that security *against* competition to which American manufacturers, farmers, and producers are entitled." Such a pledge, by a party whose policy is, and has notably been, a policy of competition at all hazards, discloses the utter confusion of thought in which its practical economists go about their task. In one breath, competition is denounced; and in the next it is made the foundation of our industrial life. Security against competition we are entitled to enjoy only against those who dwell without the village bounds. Within bounds, we must take our chances in a general war, without security of any kind. Nor are American manufacturers, farmers, and producers alone entitled to be secured against competition and at the same time denied that security; American laborers receive the same protection and suffer the same exposure. Chinese laborers are able to defeat them on their own ground. At all hazards, therefore, to American laborers we must preserve that security against competition on the part of these outsiders to which they are entitled; but among themselves, among the Polish Jews and Italians and Greeks who are advancing on us by thousands, they have a sacred right to destroy each other, anywhere between the two oceans. Competition becomes a simple matter of geography. A coast line measures the validity of our social doctrine; and a determined provincialism sets the standard for our civilisation. For the salvation of society, we erect a system of universal competition; but at the same time, we must preserve, at any cost, "that security against competition to which we are all entitled."

The present leader of the Democratic party evades this situation by declaring quite frankly for what he calls "extermination;" that is, for the withdrawal of all securities against competition, from the



outside and from the inside; for the destruction of all advantages gained by past protection; for a principle of universal and unmitigated competition in trade. But even he cannot bring himself to extend this principle to labor; he will resist to the last the encroachments of the employer and the competitor, and he will defend to the last the sacred right of labor to the protection of combination. And, most wonderful of all, he will nullify his system of competition by creating state-monopolies.

It is time that thinking began to be coherent.

"The anarchical part of the mixture," as Mr. Shaw remarks, "will not work. Anarchy never does work." It has not as yet worked for us, as our present deplorable condition testifies; and it will not work hereafter. Even that system of partial and local anarchy which we trust so innocently is not a system, within its own limits, capable of operation. Even within those limits, we find it presents no uniform policy at all, but must be subject daily to exceptions and amendments, and be daily adapted to conditions as they arise. Several times, within the past two years, the present outgoing administration has recommended that the law compelling competition be so amended as to except such combinations of railroads, of laboring men, of farmers, of employers generally, of employees generally, as may be expedient. Such a proposal, under our scheme of partial anarchy, becomes of course necessary, and might have been predicted. But observe where it leads. As new destruction is worked by the law of competition, as the situation grows more and more intolerable, new amendments must from time to time be made, now in favor of building contractors, now in favor of lumbermen, now in favor of ice dealers, now in favor of ship-chandlers and so on *ad infinitum*. How it is possible, either by legislative enumeration or by departmental supervision, thus to provide separately for each relation entered into by the business world, whether it shall be

subject to the law or excepted from it, and at the same time permit business to go on, we are unable to conceive. A rule of conduct which is nullified by its exception is no rule at all.

How futile it is to attempt to enforce a program of business conduct which has to be adjusted and modified to suit each business relation as it arises, an illustration will make clear. In *principle*, the moving of my household goods from Philadelphia to San Francisco involves precisely the same considerations of trade policy as the removal of them from my residence in Philadelphia to a new residence in the *same city*. If in the latter case I obtain from the drayman a reduction of fifty cents below his usual rate, am I to be fined and imprisoned? And if I obtain a rebate of fifty dollars from the incorporated drayman who transports them to San Francisco, why am I to be fined and imprisoned in this case and not in the other? And why not in the other, if in this? The explanation is simple: the matter is one of degree, not principle; of expediency, not policy; it is governed, not by considerations of general application, but by local considerations, such as the amount of money involved, and the importance of the interests affected. How are we to determine, even if we could examine beforehand each transaction as it arises, which we cannot, the point of expediency where innocence ceases and guilt begins?

Paradoxical as it may seem, a system of enforced competition, even were it practicable at all, eventually defeats itself. It contains within itself the elements of that evil it seeks to annul. Apparently it precludes monopoly; but this it does only upon the assumption that it will guarantee its own continuance. More or less consciously, its friends are moved to its support by some such mental process as this: Monopoly is a great Evil; Competition precludes Monopoly; Good precludes Evil; therefore Competition is a great Good. The vice of this specious syllogism is sufficiently obvious. For what element of self-

perpetuation does competition contain? On the contrary, it contains the element of self-destruction. If war could persist without victory and without defeat, without victors and without vanquished, without gain and without loss, the end proposed thus to be served might no doubt be obtained. But war cannot be conducted without success to one and injury to another. Success to the strong is the condition of its being, and this also is bound at length to bring it to an end. Success in the war of competition implies the destruction of competition. The victor of necessity finds himself without competitors. The monopolist is nothing but the successful competitor. The end of competition is not, as we had fondly hoped, the destruction of monopoly, but the destruction of itself; for its fruits are pledged from the beginning to the strongest, and of these the strongest cannot be deprived. And when we see, as we do, such gifted competitors as the Standard Oil Company gathering the spoils of a battle to which we thus compel them, we ought not to be, as we are, disgusted and surprised.

But having formed our scheme of universal war, we are at once called on to determine its permissible weapons; and having chosen them, to enforce our limitation. Trade being what it is, no weapon is now available, in most cases, but the preferential rate: in the purchase price of materials, of labor, of transportation, of heat, of light, of space for the conduct of business. No difference in principle exists between preferential rates in any of these respects; but the strange fact is, that the procurement of lower rates for a greater volume of business is universally approved in the barter of every commodity and service known to trade, except in the single case of transportation. Except in that single case, the procurement of such lower rates constitutes, and is known to constitute, the chief factor in competition, without which it could not long persist. If I buy from the manufacturer twenty carloads

of paper per month, I expect to, and I do, without criticism, buy them cheaper than my neighbor who buys but one in the month. But if I buy the transportation of my twenty carloads cheaper than my neighbor can buy the transportation of his one, I am, in the present state of public sentiment, fit only for the penitentiary.

What difference in principle exists between the two? An advantage which I freely accept in the one case is the same advantage, with the same disastrous consequences to my neighbor, as that I may not accept in the other. But, strange to say, even he fully recognises my right to this advantage, and quite agrees that without it no competition would be possible. It is conceivable, however, that the paper business may some day attract as much public notice as the oil business attracts to-day; it is conceivable that conditions in the paper trade may in time be such that discriminations in the purchase price of that product in favor of large dealers, now universally approved, may then be as universally condemned. And so with every other article sold in the markets of the world.

Here again we are reduced to the standard of immediate expediency. As with the doctrine of competition itself, so with the question of its permissible weapons, the inquiry involves no principle of general range, but depends on special conditions as they daily arise in each of an infinite multitude of trade concerns. We are inevitably referred to the necessities of the particular case and to the vigor of the popular hue and cry. But indeed, if the bases of our commercial life are not to be quite crazy, we are entitled to ask, at this point, on what theory it is better or worse to buy transportation at preferential rates, in consideration of the magnitude of the purchase, than to buy, at preferential rates and on the same consideration, the raw material, the *sine quâ non*, of business itself. We are entitled to know in what way the discrimination in the one case is greater or less

than in the other. And if the difference cannot be pointed out, as surely it cannot, then the law singling out for condemnation preferential rates on transportation alone itself discriminates against the vast body of small dealers who suffer from, and are entitled to the same protection against, preferential rates in every other activity of trade. There is but one alternative, and indeed but one consistent course throughout: to condemn them all alike. And the result of such consistency would be to leave the world without a weapon in the war of competition, and competition would promptly cease.

It seems ungracious to lay the blame at the door of our noblest sentiment, the love of Liberty. Yet in that name, we, no less than others, have made some grave mistakes. It is strange, that a nation, undertaking before the world so interesting an experiment in Freedom, and on so grand a scale, should not yet have asked itself what Liberty is. As yet, it means to us just this, and nothing more: leave to cut each others' throats. But it includes much more. It means also, as we have need to learn, leave to declare a truce at least; and also, in the fulness of time, leave to effect a permanent peace. Strange to say, in our very zeal for the principle of *laissez faire*, we have thrown about our individual liberty protections which half annihilate it. That liberty which, in entire good faith, we have endeavored to make truly absolute, we have shorn of half its virtue, by limiting its activity to war. Peace, which hath her victories no less renowned than war, demands justly to be heard in the councils of freedom. Unless her claim is recognized, our boasted liberty is no better than oppression. To this we have as before the testimony of our opponents. John Stuart Mill himself, the arch-individualist, thus fortifies us: "From this liberty of the individual," he says, "follows the liberty, within the same limits, of combination among individuals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving

harm to others." So then we bespeak, not a limitation of personal liberty, but its fullest recognition, which a system of enforced competition denies.

How ruinous such restricted freedom is, the appalling records of our Bankruptcy Courts abundantly testify. Nor is this local nor modern only; each age has felt the heavy hand of that oppression, whose accumulated ills we now are bearing. Five hundred years ago, on a certain pilgrimage to Canterbury, it was related of a merchant of those days how he complained to his wife of hard times in these terms:

"Wyf," quod this man, "litle kanstow devyne  
The curious bisynesse that we have;  
For of us chapmen,—al—so God me save,  
And by that lord that clepid is Seint Yve,—  
Scarly amonges twelvé two shuln thryve."

Twelve to two; that, or worse, is the proportion of failure under a scheme of universal war; and the words of the ancient chapman might, almost without change, be uttered, and doubtless often are, to any wife by any husband in the enlightened and pacific age to which we have since advanced.

How fatuously, and how disastrously, the foundations of our national life were laid in anarchy, the story of these States too well discloses. We have paid dearly for our adventure in individualism. The compromise which, while seeking a more perfect union, also reserved the independence of its parts, was hopeless from the first. In political, as in social, economy, no compromise is possible between the anarchic and the social spirit. No nation may safely found itself, as we have learned with bitterness, on both. State's rights and National rights may co-exist only at the expense of constant conflict, and to the destruction of local and of national completeness alike. If in union there is strength, in union there is also peace, with promise of an otherwise impossible civilisation. What has the doctrine of State-individualism done, thus far, for the cause of civilisation and peace? It produced, in 1798-9, nullification by

Virginia and Kentucky; in 1809, threatened rebellion and secession by New England States on account of the Embargo; in 1812, practical rebellion by Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and that in time of foreign war, in refusing to furnish their quota of militia; in 1814, the Hartford Convention, threatening secession; in 1832, nullification by South Carolina; in 1850-1, attempted nullification, indirectly, by all the New England States, Michigan, and Wisconsin, of the Fugitive Slave law; in 1860, South Carolina's ordinance of secession; in 1861, Fort Sumter's guns, and the horrors of War. Nor has that severe arbitrament, achieved with so much anguish, alone determined, adversely, the issue of State-individualism. That issue fades of itself, under the law, which makes for union in all the affairs of men. So far as it yet survives, it persists in confusion alone. It has now ceased to divide political thought at all. The Republican party, pledged to federalism, announces the obliteration of State lines, and makes its declaration good in startling ways. The Democratic party, pledged to strict construction and States' rights, abandons these for the most radical centralisation, the most liberal national power yet known to American politics. Yet in the first case, the Republican party will not carry its traditional policy to its logical lengths, declining to go further than partial protection, regulation, and supervision; while the Democratic party, forsaking wholly its hereditary policy, will go to any length in its new federalistic career. In confusion, with inconsistency, yet steadily, State individualism succumbs to the law which withers every form of anarchy.

In all these things, we present to the world a strange spectacle. We do not know just what it is we want, except to see immediate abuses immediately destroyed; we make to-day a plan of destruction, and to-morrow find it destroys the good and bad alike; the evils of to-day we attack with ferocity, but take no thought of the ills of to-morrow; we can think of

no better way to check the abuses of a growing solidarity than to impose a state of universal anarchy; we surrender our politics into the hands of a mob whose only policy is anger, and tomorrow we look in vain for conciliation and repose; we fly from nostrum to nostrum, trying and discarding all; we beat the air with our hands.

This is the looked-for triumph of our scheme of material prosperity; thus our faith in Mammon is vindicated; thus we are justified of our worship of the practical. These have given us a body of law which will not work; a social order laboring in chaos; a civilisation which will not march. Our boast has always been, that we are able to get things done, and that quickly. It is appointed that we be rich by noon tomorrow; no meandering is permitted to us, no dalliance by the way, no philandering in the gardens of thought. For us, the speculations of a Synthetic Philosophy are as remote as those concerning the once disputed number of angels which can dance on the point of a needle. We scorn the maunderings of a mendicant Reason. Our national motto is simple: "Do it Now!" But what is it that we are to do now? It is better to put off until to-morrow what cannot be done well to-day. Seeing where our devotion to the practical, the immediate, has brought us, it is time the thoughtful, the theoretical, the academic, be heard to speak.

For the loss of a fitting ideal of civilisation, we have to thank, not so much a deliberate choice, for we are without deliberation, but an amazing complacency. In every schoolhouse in the land, on every Fourth of July platform, from every Thanksgiving pulpit, wherever our national greatness is discussed, we have been hearing, since childhood, the praise of Mammon and the glory of his people. To serve Mammon rather than God may not of itself be hopeless; conversion may still be looked for; but it is fatal to confuse the two, and to think that Mammon is God. This is what Matthew Arnold, to

whom we may so safely turn for light in all these matters, said of us some forty years ago: "It is not fatal to Americans to have no religious establishments and no effective centers of high culture; but it is fatal to them to be told by their flatterers, and to believe, that they are the most intelligent people in the whole world, when of intelligence, in the true and fruitful sense of the word, they even singularly, as we have seen, come short."

To a nation feeble, unformed, timorous, feeling its way, uncertain of its future, as once we were, encouragement is all but vital. But we have long since outgrown that need. Our excess is now upon the side of strength, not weakness; and we bear the faults of that quality. We are, if anything, too robust, too exuberant, too florid; we need no encouragement on that side; on the contrary, we need, more than anything else, restraint and repose. Criticism, so often gratuitous, is here the one thing indispensable. Could we, with its help, be once persuaded to renounce the flatteries with which we have been pampered from our youth up, to realize that we may be better than we are, to conceive for ourselves better pursuits than those with which we have contented ourselves so long, to confess our disposition to be shallow, aimless, earthy, to address ourselves soberly to the science of life,—we should be in a fair way to become the hope of the world. But not otherwise than on those conditions.

Whether we will or no, our present social state forces a choice. Either we shall approve a civilisation humane, dignified, flexible, solidary, symmetrical, providing place for all the elements of beauty, manners, culture, and conduct; or else we shall approve a civilisation brutal, stationary, confused, and anarchistic. If we are indeed to choose that which we all vaguely prefer, the first step must be to work in harmony, and not in conflict, with the law of our progress. If that law implicates us, as it does, in a growing socialism, conformity to a socialistic order will be

the first thing needful. If it commits us, as it does, to a program of peace and amity conformity to any other will defeat itself.

In that socialism with which, without our consent, we are all inextricably involved, no catastrophic redistribution of material things is implied. It does not imply, of itself, any extension of the functions of government; it does not imply, of itself, state ownership of a single railroad; nor a graduated inheritance tax, nor a restriction of private fortunes; nor an old age pension; it may warrant all these things in time, or it may not. It implies no more than what its gradual progress may develop. Considering the state's failure thus far as the instrument of progress, good reason exists for viewing with suspicion its pretensions to still greater power. But the state exists; and under the universal law, its functions must become not simpler, but more complex. No matter how grossly its decrees may seem to exceed their proper office, they are themselves elements of the social change. Its part in that change can never be negligible, nor can its part therein be negative. Its activities touch the social plexus in too many of its nerves. Much as we might wish to restrain it to its office of policeman, this cannot now be done. Its functions are not factitious nor conventional, though we have tried by written constitutions to make them so; they evolve in the face of all written constitutions whatever, "under the pressure of human wants and resulting activities."

Government exists within, not outside, the social body; and is involved in, and in turn reacts upon, each movement in that body's growth. Whether we will or no, as we progress towards a more complex social state, it will have more and more to say; and its apparent usurpations, like all other social developments, will, without our consent or with it, eventually justify or defeat themselves.

But it is possible to say, broadly, what state-activities will finally justify themselves. Only those will do so which conform to the social tendency. Those which

resist it ought ever to be opposed; and by such choice and no other, we play a conscious part in social evolution. The right of government to declare that the falling of a stone shall not be made an occasion of offense we could not now dispute if we would; but we do dispute, rightly and effectively, its power to repudiate the laws of physics by decreeing that a released stone shall no longer fall; and we do dispute its power to repudiate the laws of social development by decreeing that society shall no longer cohere.

What concerns us, therefore, is to found our policies upon a doctrine of affirmance, not negation; upon a principle of conformity, not resistance, and especially upon an ideal of temperance, not intemperance. Unfortunately, we have founded all our policies upon a mistaken faith in Prohibition, which is negation, resistance, and intemperance. Whenever we have seen a good thing abused, we have sought to abolish it out of hand. We have thought to go to the root of evils by destroying their fundamental good. We have seen alcoholic beverages abused, and we have not dealt at all with the abuse, but have prohibited their use entirely. Precisely the same reason exists for prohibiting the use of prussic acid; yet its temperate use, for the purposes to which it is adopted, is universally approved. The temperate use of alcoholic beverages, as of beef and cucumbers, foods and poisons of every kind, demands the same approval. Between the intemperance of Abuse, and the intemperance of prohibition, lies true temperance, which must eventually prevail. We see the privileges of a growing social solidarity grossly abused; and we prohibit at once the whole socialisation of society. This is intemperate, as it is surely futile. In industrial concerns, as in sumptuary, we need to learn that the intemperance of abuse cannot be rectified by the intemperance of prohibition.

Here, then, we have a serviceable light in the difficulties which now surround us. We see that of any proposed remedy we

need only ask: Does it tend to make society social, to strengthen its bonds, to promote true temperance, to bring peace out of war, to beat down anarchy under our feet? If not, no qualities of immediate expediency can make it otherwise than wrong.

Nor can any encouragement it may give to material prosperity make it otherwise than wrong. "Civilisation, after all," says one of the persons in a recent story by Mr. Hugh O'Neill, "is a state of mind, not a trolley-car." Neither is it a bank, nor a schoolhouse, nor a library, nor a church. It is a state of mind. Should we ever be brought to that condition of equal prosperity of which we like to cherish a dream, civilisation would still, without that state of mind, be infinitely distant. But that state of mind is not possible in the present madness for trolley-cars. A social state founded in anarchy, as ours, ineffectual as ours even to reduce the inequalities of life, does not yet speak a state of mind worthy to be called by the name of civilisation. To be worthy that august name, it must, at least, at whatever sacrifice to business, prefer peace to war; it must repudiate anarchy; it must forsake the traditions of an individualistic past; it must desire, and bring to pass in all the ways of life, unity, peace, and concord. It is written: "MAN DOETH NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE."

"Our whole industrial life," says the pastor of the City Temple in London, "to-day is based upon a principle which is fundamentally anti-Christian, and the church of Jesus ought to wage open war upon it until it is gone forever. *Co-operation must replace competition; brotherhood must replace individualism* the weakest (morally and physically) must be the objects of the tenderest care which the community can show; selfishness must be driven out by love. This is the whole Christian program."

A program so reasonable, so plainly addressed to the best ideals of civilisation, so obviously necessary to the bare preser-

vation of society—can it fail to commend itself to a people, whether Christian or not, who love their own security? Is it possible to say anything for the principle on which our whole industrial life today is based? Not the Church alone, but

the makers of our laws, the spinners of our theories, and the hard-headed builders of our daily business ought, all alike, to wage open war upon it until it is gone forever.

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## DIRECT PRIMARIES VERSUS BOSS RULE.

BY ISAAC M. BRICKNER.

**T**HE ONE question that is agitating the people of the Empire State today, more than any other, and upon which there is sure to be a realignment of political forces in the immediate future, is the question of Direct Primaries. People will line up, regardless of past political affiliations, as they favor or oppose this reform.

In a book published in 1906, that celebrated writer and vigorous thinker, Winston Churchill, has produced a work that has done and will continue to do a great work in purifying the political atmosphere. I refer to *Coniston*. It tells the story of a man of humble origin, who rose from a commonplace position to be the political boss of his state, to dictate its legislative policies, parcel out its executive and other offices and control absolutely its judiciary. He reigned as the undisputed boss of the State, until for love of the daughter of a woman who had spurned him, he voluntarily abdicated. His last act in connection with the affairs of State, was to win a victory for the common people against the entrenched forces of corruption, which sought legislative favor, only to throw it away in order to win the happiness of his ward, by her union with the son of his most unscrupulous and implacable foe.

Such in brief is the story of *Coniston* and its great central figure, Jethro Bass. While Winston Churchill spoke of and referred to New Hampshire especially, the situation which he depicts with a

master-hand, exists in many other States. It is not with the man Jethro, with his many tender human sympathies, his splendid qualities of head and heart that we are dealing, but with the boss Jethro, with his lust for and use of unrighteous power that we are concerned, because the system he represents is a potent factor for evil in the public life of the nation to-day.

Before proceeding further into this discussion, it may be well to ask what is a political boss, what are Direct Primaries, and in what way, if at all, will they relieve us of this evil. A boss, for the purposes of this paper may be defined as a man who makes politics a profession for purely personal ends, not for the purpose of holding office, but more frequently to control the actions of those who do.

He parcels out offices as if they were purely his gifts to bestow, and distributes his favors not for the public good, but for his own selfish purposes. He moves public officials, sworn to the faithful performance of their duty, like so many pawns on the chess-board, and to carry the chess analogy still further, he takes good care that none of the players whose destinies he holds in the hollow of his hands shall checkmate him in any of his schemes. It is a fact frequently commented upon by observers of our political institutions, that men who are candidates for office and also those who are our officials, follow blindly and devotedly the word of the master who created them politically rather than the dictates of

their own consciences. Their chief aim seems to be to please Jethro Bass.

What are Direct Primaries, and in what way will they relieve us of the evils of which I have spoken? Primaries are the bases upon which in the final analysis this governmental structure is reared. At the primaries we are now accustomed to elect delegates to different conventions, which in turn choose those who, if elected, will be our public servants for a period of years. The questions naturally arise:—Why have conventions at all? Why not at the primaries choose our own candidates for office? The answer to these questions answers the query. What is a Direct Primary? It is just exactly that. It is a primary at which the electors of a ward, city or state as the case may be, will name those for whom the people will vote at the ensuing election.

If the people voted directly for the men who are candidates for the various offices, would it not naturally lead to a discussion of the qualifications of the various names proposed? Would it not offer to the people the opportunity of voting for the better of two men or the best of three or more? Would there not be public meetings and perhaps public debates, at which the various candidates would present the reasons why they rather than some opponent should be chosen? Would not more people thus become interested and have a direct personal reason for going to the primary, and express their preference for one candidate or the other? Would this not naturally lead to a better class of public men in office? And would not the burden of choosing the right man for the right place be thus thrown directly where it belongs, upon the shoulders of the people themselves, rather than upon those of some political boss, whose sole aim is to preserve intact the party organization, and perpetuate in power himself and his friends? It seems to me that the answer to all these questions is in the affirmative, and explains why the politi-

cians are opposed to this method of choosing public officials.

Some may argue that all of these things can be done under the convention system. Perhaps so, but every man knows that except in rare instances, convention might more properly be called farces. They do not represent the people at all, but simply register the will of some boss. In other words, whatever good there might have been originally in the convention idea, it is a fact that the system has broken down. The causes to some extent, it must be admitted, are to be found in the carelessness and indifference of the people themselves and their sometime foolish habit of voting a party label, but the fact remains that we are face to face with a situation. It has been well said, by a writer on our institutions that "it profits little to know the legal rules and methods of government, unless one also knows something of the human beings who tend and direct this machinery, and who by the spirit in which they work it, render it the potent instrument for good or evil to the people." Yet the character and antecedents of candidates are often overlooked when they are the one real and vital concern of every good citizen.

I have stated above that under the Direct Primary system, more people would become interested and attend the primaries. Statistics on a matter of this kind are in the nature of the case hard to find, but there have been some attempts made to ascertain the truth along this line. The attorney General of Kansas says that while the law is a new one in that State from 60 to 75 percent of the voters attend the primaries. In Wisconsin the testimony is that 65 per cent of the voters attend. I have seen figures that indicate that in some parts of Minnesota, the attendance of voters at primaries under this system has risen as high as 90 per cent. And in Oregon at the last election for candidates, there was a very large turnout of voters, and I may add a very large turning out of discredited officials



as a result. What the percentage is in States where the Convention system still holds sway, I have no statistics to show, but I am strictly within the truth when I say that it seldom approaches the smallest percentage set forth above. There are many cases where it would be hard to find that ten per cent. of the voters attended the primary.

Another argument advanced by the opponents of Direct Primaries is that a poor man would have no chance of election, as the expense attendant upon that experience would make it prohibitive. I do not believe this is true. The experience of Kansas again comes to the rescue. The attorney-general states that in his opinion, from facts in his possession, the expenses under the system are not greater than under the convention plan, and perhaps in many instances much less. At all events, the expense can and should be regulated by law, and once the system is in vogue, the conscience of the people would see that this was done. The main thing now is to establish the principle. Besides under the old system, men with means have always had a decided advantage. In this State, the Late Governor Higgins' sworn statement showed an expense of \$22,000 for election to an office, the salary of which was only \$10,000 a year and the term two years. And, W. Hearst spent if reports are true, a fabulous sum in an unsuccessful attempt to be elected to the same office. What it cost him to secure the nomination from the State Convention at the hands of Murphy and Connors, if known, would probably stagger people, and end the argument so far as the question of expense is concerned. Some years ago, a republican candidate for Congress, in New York State, spent about \$35,000 for election to that office which carried a salary of but \$5,000 a year for a two year term. The expense question will not win a single convert to the side of the antis, among those who have studied the question in the slightest degree.

The third stock argument of the opposition, is that there would be no platform.

That is eliminated by the bill introduced at Albany which gives the party committees the power to frame the declaration of principles. But assuming that there would be no platform, what is the difference? Take the last campaign in New York state for example. The Democratic Convention which met at Rochester, adopted an elaborate declaration of principles which viewed with alarm all that the opposition was doing and pointed with pride to what the democrats had always done when in power. Among other things they opposed government by commission. They nominated a very respectable young gentleman, Mr. Chanler for governor, and as long as Governor Hughes was in the west, Chanler was safe. But once Hughes returned home and spoke to the people, and Chanler shifted his position from pillar to post, until there was not enough left of the anti-commission plank to even cause a ripple. In other words Hughes was his own platform. He stood for administrative reform of a high order, was an approved public servant in whom the people had confidence, and his opponent also was his own platform, because the people knew that every plank on which he stood was erected with the idea of winning converts to the standard to that political pair of Siamese twins, Connors and Murphy, who controlled the convention. Possibly Chanler had he been elected, would have been free from their baneful domination, but there was nothing in his campaign to justify people in so believing.

Take Bryan for further example. Mr. Bryan has many excellent qualities and even his opponents concede, that he is honest and high-minded. But in the minds of thousands of Democrats he is associated with what they believe a system of financial heresy, advocated by him in his first campaign, and partisans though they are they cannot bring themselves to vote for a man who represents in himself the theories for which he stood when first a candidate. In other words, he too is his own platform. A platform is con-

structed by the average politician to catch the votes of the malcontents and of those who are out of jobs and want to feed at the public crib. Besides not one voter in ten ever reads a platform, or knows from its contents for what a candidate stands. So much for the three stock arguments of the opposition.

Much respectability is lent to the opposition to Direct Primaries by the fact that President Schurman of Cornell is in its ranks. President Schurman certainly stands high in the estimation of the people, as a man of principle, intelligence, scholarly attainments, and good citizenship. His attitude on any public question, is entitled to most respectful consideration, and indeed it is fair to assume that there is no abler, fairer or more high minded man in the ranks of the opposition. It is equally fair to assume that his arguments, are the result of both study and conviction, and that they rank with the ablest arguments the other side can produce. Yet every point he made in his Utica speech seems easily answerable.

President Schurman started out by saying that he had agreed with Governor Hughes on the race-track question, and the public utilities bill because they were Constitutional and moral questions. He disagreed with him on the question of Direct Primaries, because that was a practical question and political men might honestly differ. Yet President Schurman certainly did not treat it practically. He says: "From the unanimous testimony, I have received, in Western States, I learned that the system of direct nominations, discourages self-respecting and independent men from entering the public service and encourages the demagogue, the self advertiser and the reckless and unscrupulous soldier of fortune."

Without attempting to dispute the assertions of Mr. Schurman, though there is ample testimony on the other side, let us carry that argument to its logical conclusion. The people are not to be trusted to select between the self-respecting man

and the demagogue, they cannot pick the wheat from the chaff. Yet they have for many years carried on popular government and are choosing annually between the various candidates at each election. By what process of reasoning does President Schurman assume to argue that what they can do at election they cannot do at a primary? And if he is correct, does it not mean that the people are not fit to govern themselves at all, and representative government is a failure? And if it is, it makes no difference whether we have direct primaries or not. Let us frankly admit that we cannot govern ourselves and put a king in power at Washington. But is it not a fact that the demagogue can control a convention, especially if he happens to be a rich demagogue, a great deal more easily than he can control the people.

President Schurman further says, "that men enroll and call themselves republicans or democrats, honestly to select a strong candidate for their own party or dishonestly to foist upon the opposing party a weak candidate, whom they intend to vote against at the election."

It must be admitted that no system can be devised that will prevent a trick like that. It is done under the present system; it would be done under any other. It is inherent to some extent in our system of government. But if it be true, that more people attend the primaries under the new system than under the old, and practically the unanimous testimony is to the effect that they do the influence of these men will count for less than it does now. So that this argument carries its own refutation.

On the same point President Schurman says: "The baser elements of a party thus control the destinies of a commonwealth. And so you have the anomaly of Oregon, a republican State with a republican legislature, just sending a democrat to the Senate of the U.S. Such a result is not only fatal to party organization, but dangerous to political morality."

It seems to me that President Schurman

was unfortunate, to say the least, in the example he cited to prove this contention. The situation in Oregon constitutes the best argument in favor of Direct Primaries that could be brought home to the people. The Republican candidate for the Senate was a man who in that body had been unfaithful to the interests of people and betrayed his trust. He was part of a system they wished to overthrow. How to accomplish it was the question. His democratic opponent was a man twice chosen Governor of Oregon, a man of approved public morals, faithful to the interests of the people, and close to their hearts. The people of the State were not ready to turn the State over to the democratic party, so they pledged the candidates to the legislature to vote for the man who received at the primaries the highest vote for Senator, regardless of party affiliations. In this way they chose a republican legislature and gave them definite, specific and binding instructions to vote for a democrat to the Senate. I have never known public opinion to express itself so strongly or work so promptly and efficiently. In spite of heavy pressure from high republican sources, the legislators were true to their pledges, many of them because they knew that any other course meant political death to them. It was the most stinging rebuke that could possibly have been administered to the republican derelict Senator, and the most potent argument in favor of the system which Mr. Schurman condemns.

President Schurman then delivers this very remarkable utterance; remarkable when we consider that he started with the assertion that we are dealing with a practical question:

"A convention gives opportunity for deliberation, for conference, for comparison, for weighing the merits and availability of candidates. The direct system of nominations gives the rein to the impulse of the moment, and makes deliberation difficult. It puts a premium on passing popularity. The man who trims his sails to catch the breeze of popular

favor will secure the nomination. It will almost infallibly put the destinies of the State in the hands of the City of New York, (in combination perhaps, with the City of Buffalo.) By segregating the other political units of the State, it nullifies their power and influence. A delegate convention brings together in one place representatives from every city and County in the State and consequently gives the representatives from the rural districts and smaller cities the same power in determining the final result as is enjoyed by representatives of an equal number of voters in New York City."

One would think that Mr. Schurman had never seen a convention. Deliberation and conference indeed, comparison and weighing of candidates, forsooth. The man wanted by those who control the convention, and who hold the delegates in the hollow of their hands, will win the prize, if prize it be, and no other candidates need apply. We are not concerned with what a convention might be; it is a practical question that confronts us. If conventions did what in theory it was believed they would do, the question of Direct Primaries would not be a burning issue. What does a convention actually do? That is the point. The committee on credentials throws out duly elected delegates because some ignorant and brutal boss tells them to. The Courts holds them to be a law unto themselves. There have been cases, one is reported at the Convention that nominated Hearst at Buffalo, where contests were put up by the boss when the defeated delegates at the primary never wanted to contest. And the duly elected delegates marched out of the Convention, one of Mr. Schurman's deliberative bodies and were not given the right to represent those whose votes had sent them there, because a boss needed a few more votes to carry his point.

New York and Buffalo, says Mr. Schurman would infallibly control the political destinies of the State. Did he ever see a convention run by Murphy and Connors

on one hand, or Little Tim and the Buffalo boss of the G. O. P. on the other. I have, and if anything can beat the combination of New York and Buffalo, in one of those conventions, it has escaped the attention of most observers.

No, a convention may not be influenced by prejudice or passion. But it is not responsive to intelligent public opinion, nor except in the rarest instances does it ever consider the comparative claims of either candidates or sections of the State. It registers the will of a boss; adopts a meaningless declaration of principles, and adjourns to repeat the farce another year.

President Schurman also says that corruption is rampant where there are direct Primaries. But it stands to reason that it is not easy to bribe or corrupt all the electorate as it is the bosses of those who are delegates to conventions. The larger the number of people who participate in any function of government, the smaller the prospect of a corrupted franchise. Any other theory than that is based upon the assumption that most men are inherently dishonest, and that theory is rejected by the testimony of history.

Finally Mr. Schurman says "The new movement when logical analysis traces it back to its origin or forward to its goal undoubtedly contravenes the principles which were adopted by the founders of the republic."

This too will be news to most students of history. The Convention system was never dreamed of in the inception of this government as the means of naming candidates. The first national convention was held in 1836.

But if it had been part of the original scheme, what difference would that make to us as practical men seeing a practical solution of a practical and pressing problem. If the conditions which obtained in 1800, do not work in 1900, is it not our duty to discard those conditions and surround ourselves with new ones?

It certainly was the scheme of the founders that the people conduct the government by taking an active part in

governmental affairs. They believed in the people. Mr. Shurman evidently does not. They thought the people could intelligently pick out their own candidates. Mr. Shurman does not agree with them. They held to the opinion that the people could be trusted to manage their own affairs and regulate their own machinery of government. Mr. Shurman differs from them in this respect.

Another argument that I have heard advanced by the opponents, of direct primaries, and they are resourceful in argument, is that instances are recorded where men defeated at the primaries offer themselves for election to defeat the primary choice. Has it never happened then that men defeated in convention have done the same thing and succeeded in defeating the convention's choice? Men of this kind, who will not abide by the rule of the majority exist in every community, and will come to the fore at times under any system. But it is no argument either way that these things have happened and will continue to happen. No machinery is perfect but we as sensible men should try to get the best. I believe the direct primaries offer the best available solution for many of our political evils at present.

There is nothing sacred about the convention plan. There is no special sanctity that surrounds it, not even that which sometimes comes with respect for age. It was a device adopted by the people for their own convenience, and for a time it worked well. Like other machinery that becomes worthless with use and rusty with decay, it has broken down and fails to properly perform its functions. Shall we be loyal and patriotic enough to adopt new mechanism to carry on the work the decrepit convention cannot and will not any longer do?

Shall we not be large enough to try on a new scale, the old town meeting? Shall we not in other words return to first principles?

The opposition tells us men may be named that do not represent a majority-

vote under the new system. A plan might be devised by which this would not be so. A second primary might be needed to name a candidate. This would entail trouble and expense. But if American citizenship is worth having, it is worth fighting and working for. If we can name ward officers by direct means, I have confidence enough in the people to believe we can successfully name city and state officials by the same method.

If the people have found that the convention system is wrong, who shall say them nay in their attempt to rectify it? If you point to me the example of Stephenson, in Wisconsin, as an argument against this new method, I point you to Platt and Depew in New York, as an argument against the old one.

We must not be too radical you tell us.

I say in reply, let us not be too Conservative when conservatism means danger. You say "let us be careful and cautious in political action lest haste shall lead us on to rocks that may wreck the ship of state." I reply, "let us get away from the rocks and shoals we have found near shore, and out onto the broad seas where the sailing is easier and where a harbor of safety at least is in full sight." You say "let us not change our methods because 'tis better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." I reply, "we have found by experience that this proposition is not a flight to regions unknown, but is a safe and substantial anchoring on the rock bottom principles of eternal justice and right."

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## TURGOT: STATESMAN, PHILOSOPHER AND MAN.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

**T**URGOT is one of the few men who belonged in an official way to the old *régime* in France, whose life and thought should be carefully studied by Americans, for he beheld the vision of better things with the prophetic insight of a true philosophic statesman. In a happier age he might have guided his nation to a lofty destiny and won a name among the immortals no less glorious than that of Washington; but fate willed it otherwise, and it is to his eternal credit that he refused to hold his position when to do so meant that he must become a sycophant, and sacrifice his country's weal and the cause of simple justice on the altar of personal ambition.

The France in which Turgot lived was ripe for revolution. After Richelieu, Mazarin, and after the long, nation-exhausting reign of the vain-glorious

lover of pleasure, pomp and show, Louis XIV., came his voluptuous successor, while all the time the vintage of hate, born of oppression, injustice and corruption, was purpling for the press.

When Louis XVI. ascended the throne, it needed but the inspiration of a powerful new hope to fascinate, aye, intoxicate the public mind; and that new hope came from over the sea. Our Declaration of Independence thrilled the manhood of the Old World and sounded the knell of absolutism in Western Europe.

The old *régime* had long tottered. Now it reeled blindly onward under the fatal spell of indecision. Weakness and frivolity were seated on the throne, and served to check those who might have averted the pending doom by showing how a nation, even though in the depths, could prove her essential greatness and wisdom by being just. But perhaps it could not be. Perhaps the storm

which for centuries had been gathering could not pass until it broke in fury on the order and *régime* which had given it birth. Certain it is that when Turgot became prime minister only such wise, just and far-sighted measures as he outlined, vigorously enforced by the government, could have saved the throne. Had Louis XVI. been more a statesman and less a locksmith he might have beheld in Turgot one who could have averted a revolution which horrified the world with its unreasoning ferocity. But here we come to one of those "ifs" of history which are ever rising before the contemplative mind when the cross-roads of destiny appear in retrospect.

## II.

Turgot was born in Paris, May 10, 1729. His paternal ancestors came from Scotland during the Crusades and settled in Normandy. His grandfather and father held important civil positions, and were known for their rectitude and the conscientious fulfilment of the duties entailed by their positions. The child early evinced a meditative disposition. He shunned society and seemed ill at ease in the presence of strangers. This greatly distressed his mother, who fondly desired her son to shine in the social world. She sought to overcome his native timidity by constantly reprimanding him, and in other ways emphasizing what she regarded as a serious weakness. The result which might naturally be expected followed. The lad became so self-conscious that he shrank more and more from society, ever fearful lest he might do or say something improper. The well-meaning mother, by making her son supersensitive and self-conscious, so accentuated his natural bashfulness that in all after life he was unable to mask his timidity,—something which proved extremely unfortunate when he was called to the court of the king, and which frequently led those not intimately acquainted with him to ascribe his timid-

ity to hauteur, though this weakness was entirely foreign to his nature.

During his early years he attended the College le Grand, College du Plessis, and the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and later, as his father desired him to enter the Clergy, he was sent to the Sorbonne. In school he made rapid progress, and early evinced those characteristics which ever after marked the man. He was a passionate lover of justice. He possessed a strong mind, with rare penetration and a marvelous memory. In one respect he greatly resembled Confucius. He disliked extremes and ever stood for the golden mean almost as earnestly as did the Eastern sage. True, when called to save his nation from perils which he fully appreciated, he found things so hopelessly wrong that he was compelled to demand a programme which the beneficiaries of injustice and special privileges regarded as revolutionary and extreme. Yet, in the light of the later demands of the Republicans, his programme might be said to occupy the golden mean between the two extremes. His mental excellencies were reinforced by moral greatness rare in his age and country. In him, as has been justly observed, was found simplicity, modesty, frankness, and cheerfulness. His generosity and kindness of heart were very beautiful in an age when the rich were very generally absorbed in selfish pleasure. When only a lad at school he was noted for being ever ready to share his ample allowance with his poorer classmates. Simple in his tastes, and spurning the low pleasures and base pastimes of many youths about him, he was able to smooth the pathway and brighten the heart of many a struggling classmate.

In 1750, while at the Sorbonne, Turgot composed and delivered two notable papers, one on "The Advantages which the Christian Religion Has Conferred on the Human Race," the other on "The Historical Progress of the Human Mind." In this second

discussion the author boldly advanced his belief in the perfectibility of the human race, a conviction which he firmly entertained and which was a guiding influence throughout his life.

His schooling in St. Sulpice and the Sorbonne failed to impress him favorably with the clergy. He saw much in thought and life which was repellent to his nature, and at the age of twenty-three he renounced all thought of taking holy orders. His teachers, friends and family sought to convince him that he was making a mistake. His true character, no less than his profound convictions, was expressed in his memorable reply to his friends: "It is impossible for me to go through life wearing a mask." From his religious studies he turned to law, not neglecting philosophy, science, mathematics, literature, and languages.

In 1758 a heated controversy arose in France, owing to the Archbishop of Paris refusing sacrament to the Jansenists. This called forth a masterly argument from Turgot, "On Toleration and Against the Interference of the Temporal Powers in Religious Disputes." This plea for religious liberty was so able and convincing that it attracted general attention, and brought the author into sympathetic relations with many of the brightest minds representing the broader impulses of the age. He soon became somewhat identified with the philosophic party, and contributed several papers of marked ability to the Encyclopedia. It must not be supposed, however, that he became in any real sense a partisan, as it was one of the rules of his life, to which he consistently held in a time of extreme partisanship, to avoid sectarianism, creedalism and all party shibboleths, holding that this narrow spirit served to make "enemies to useful truths." "As soon," he used to observe, "as servants in their pride give themselves to form a body, to say 'we,' to believe themselves able to impose laws upon public opinion, thoughtful public

opinion revolts against them, for it wishes to receive laws from truth only, and not from any authority."

In 1761 he was appointed superintendent of Limoges. Here he found an opportunity to put in practice some of the economic views he strongly believed in. The province over which he was placed was in a most deplorable condition. Ignorance, poverty and the brutalization which is ever present when people have long existed in a condition of seemingly hopeless want, were present on every hand. The soil was poor, the roads were wretched, and the people were sorely oppressed by the military system which then obtained and also by the few who were well circumstanced in life. One of the grievances of the poor was what was known as the "*corvee*," a system by which those least able to give their time were compelled to work on the roads without pay. Another grievance, still more bitter, was what was known as the "*taille*," an arbitrary and cruel tax collected from the agriculturists, amounting, it is said, to four-fifths of a peasant proprietor's revenue, while the superiors in rank and wealth were exempt from this tax.

His work along economic lines was untiring and very effective. It has been summed up in these words: "He suppressed the *corvee*, he opened new roads, he introduced the use of potatoes, and distributed the burdens of taxation more equitably." Dr. J. H. Ingraham, in his thoughtful sketch of the great economist prepared for the Encyclopedia Britannica, observes, in speaking of his work at Limoges:

"Turgot's administration of the district lasted thirteen years, and was marked by a steady pursuit of the public good and a firm resistance of inertia, perjury and corruption. In particular, he strongly maintained the cause of the industrious poor, and insisted upon a more equitable assessment of the public charges which pressed unduly upon them. With nobly disinterested spirit he refused to be

transferred to other *généralités* in which the salary was higher and the administration easier. Rising above the common prejudices of the *philosophes*, he sought the cooperation of the clergy, both to inform him of everything relating to the circumstances of the people which it was desirable for him to know, and to explain to their flocks the nature and the object of the measures he proposed to put in operation; and he acknowledges that he found in them earnest and active auxiliaries. But he was not seconded as he ought to have been by the central government, and had often to remonstrate with the Abbe Ternay, minister of finance. During the scarcity of 1770 and 1771, which was particularly severe in Limousin, he devoted himself with untiring assiduity to the relief of the distressed, and when he had exhausted such public funds as were available, incurred for the same object a personal debt of more than twenty thousand *livres*."

It was Turgot's fondest dream "to do something to relieve the misery of France and to help the world's general advancement," and his labors at Limoges amply proved that he was as practical in his methods as he was sound in his theories.

### III.

In the summer of 1774 he was summoned to the cabinet of Louis XVI., who had recently ascended the throne. His position as minister of marine was soon changed for the more responsible station of controller-general of finance. He found the finances of the realm in a deplorable condition,—a condition which would be grave at any time, but with universal discontent fomenting sedition throughout the kingdom, with the wolf-cry of hunger going up from tens of thousands of throats, with hatred in the social cellar and selfish indifference at the social zenith, and with a new born hope kindling the heart of the people, which spoke of a better day

beyond the cloud-burst of revolution, the new minister could not fail to appreciate the extreme gravity of the situation. He sought an audience with the king, unwilling to take the responsibility of the task upon his shoulders unless he could count upon the support of his sovereign, for well he knew that the only escape for the throne depended on the honest advocacy and early introduction of genuine and practical reforms which should frankly recognize the right and necessity of justice for the burdened ones, which the nobility and the court would be sure bitterly to oppose. Louis was deeply impressed with the picture drawn by his minister and the statesmanlike programme outlined to meet the critical situation. He pledged his support. The core of Turgot's demands was summed up in three phases: "No bankruptcy; no increase of taxes; no loans." In a letter to the king in which he outlined his plan, he said: "You must reduce expenditures below revenues to create a surplus to be applied to old debts." He urged wisdom, insisted upon economy, and refused to add to the already overburdened toilers' load of taxes. As he had foreseen, his sane proposals met with a storm of opposition from those who had long fattened off of the people's earnings while systematically evading their fair share of the burdens of government. They viewed with indignation and alarm the words "honesty" and "retrenchment" written over every department; and to these clamors was joined a strong opposition from the privileged classes which Turgot insisted must help bear the burden. The king was importuned, but for a little time remained faithful to his better self. "Fear nothing; I will sustain you," he said to his noble-minded minister, and doubtless he was absolutely sincere at the time. It was unfortunate for the throne and doubly unfortunate for Louis, that he was called to the head of government at a time when nature and man seemed leagued against the old order



which he represented. Louis XVI. was as ill suited to govern France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century as Hamlet was unsuited to execute the grim command of his spectral father. The one virtue above all others demanded of the throne of France in the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century was firmness, and Louis was the incarnation of indecision. His head was right; his heart was right; he had been touched by the new light, and in his breast there had flamed something of the moral enthusiasm which had been wafted over the seas from the land where Washington was already rising to colossal proportions in the public imagination of France. But with head and heart more right than wrong, through the irony of fate, this man was so stationed that almost every influence bore him away from his ideal and his heart's desire. There are few tragedies of life greater than those presented by men who, with heart touched and warmed by the divine light of justice and love, are remorselessly placed where station, custom, environment and all the subtle influences that surround them war against their better impulses; and such was the position of Louis XVI. He was sincere when he promised to stand by Turgot, for then he was under the spell of the lofty mind and high ideals of the great statesman, and the views advanced answered the natural promptings of his own heart. But his fatal defect was weakness. He had not counted on the overwhelming character of the opposition. It came from the horde of office-holders. It came from the court who fawned at the foot of the throne. It came from the jealous ministers and nobles who coveted Turgot's place. It came from a nobility which had not the wisdom to see what Turgot saw,—that it would be wiser to help bear the burden of taxation than to court a revolution which would sweep away all their possessions. It came from the clergy who no less than

the nobility insisted that the burden of taxation be borne by the industrial millions. And last, but not least, it came from the gay-hearted daughter of Austria's proud queen, who lent ready ear to the ever-increasing storm of opposition which was gathering around the serious statesman whom she could not understand and who was forever croaking about economy and retrenchment. Hence, as the months sped by and the clamor grew louder and louder, the king wavered. Turgot set his face to the plow and refused to look back. To him duty was clear. He would give no heed to those expedencies which at best could only defer the storm. He was there to avert a bloody revolution. No measures less heroic than those he proposed could save France from the cataclysm which threatened her. He believed in free trade, and one of his first acts was to issue "a decree establishing free commerce in corn." He was approached by men who sought to win his favor by princely bribes. This was nothing new. Ministers were in the habit of being thus "influenced." Turgot spurned the bribes and disclosed to the king the iniquity, thereby greatly increasing the number of his enemies. In the midst of his care and anxiety Turgot was stricken down by a painful illness, which confined him to his bed. This gave his enemies a distinct advantage. The critical situation was further aggravated by the corn riots which broke out in various places. The disturbances, however, were soon quelled.

The time approached for the consecration of the king at Rheims. Turgot knew that it was the custom for the ruler on such occasions to swear to exterminate heretics, and he vigorously opposed this, appealing to the king in an eloquent memorial on "Toleration," in which he said: "The church is not a temporal power. The prince who orders his subject to profess a religion he does not believe in commands a crime." This

brave stand greatly increased the bitter opposition he had before aroused from the clergy.

In January, 1776, he urged the king to issue six edicts which would compass positive reforms. This further intensified and augmented the opposition, but the king still sustained his minister and compelled an incensed parliament to register the just decrees. "Turgot had gained a victory, but had lost the ministry." His foes became a unit, from the queen down. They gave the king no peace when once it was seen that the monarch had grown cool toward his minister. Turgot cared little for himself; but he loved France with an overmastering love. He beheld with grave apprehension the fact that the king had ceased to confide in him, and was giving ear to designing and selfish men. He warned Louis of the ruin that confronted him if he yielded to the self-interested ones; but he was too late, and on May 12, 1776, Louis XVI. made an irreparable blunder. He dismissed his safest guide and counselor. The die was cast, and henceforth the government reeled headlong, with but few pauses, toward the ruin which had long threatened it. Carlyle in his terse and picturesque style thus characterized Turgot's part in the prelude to the supreme tragedy of the eighteenth century in the Old World:

"Turgot has faculties, honesty, insight, heroic volition. . . . On the very threshold of the business he proposes that the clergy and noblesse, the very parliaments, be subjected to taxes like the people. One shriek of indignation and astonishment reverberates through all the Chateau galleries. . . . The poor king who had written a few weeks ago, 'There is none but you and I who have the people's interests at heart,' must write now a dismissal and let the French Revolution accomplish itself pacifically or not, as it can."

A baleful fatality seemed to overshadow the ill-starred Louis XVI., but among all the grave errors he committed during his turbulent reign none were

more essentially fatal to the cause of peace with progress than his consenting to the dismissal of the wise, heroic and incorruptible statesman who was too great to compromise with injustice or to remain silent in the presence of wrong, and who chose rather to be dismissed from office than to swerve from the only course he believed could bring peace with justice and progress.

The official life of Turgot closed when he left the cabinet of the king, but much of the seed he had sown lived to germinate after the fury of the revolution had passed, while his masterly presentation of great fundamental truths in social science has been a help and an inspiration to many of the ablest statesmen and economists of our time.

#### IV.

In Turgot idealism and practicality were nicely balanced. All his dreams were noble and looked toward advancing civilization through justice. He was a stranger to fear, daring to arouse the fierce antagonism of the court, nobility and clergy rather than prove recreant to the demands of justice. He was equally "bold before the king, the people in riot, and official corruption," and yet he was no extremist. He knew the cause of freedom and progress was often more retarded by the ill-digested thought and rash acts of earnest and well-meaning men who became fanatics, or who allowed emotionalism to carry them to extremes which hindered instead of helped the cause of human advancement. He expressed no social theory or economic truth until he had made it the subject of profound reflection and deep research; and though, as was to be expected, he sometimes erred in his views, on the whole no statesman among those who actively sought to secure justice for the people and avert bloodshed was anything like so profoundly sane, broadly philosophical or far-seeing as Turgot.

He had great faith in manhood, and always sought to convince the reason of the people by a careful presentation

of the facts and conclusions which led to the demands he made or the propositions he advanced. His philosophic and economic writings were filled with that love which goes out to the oppressed and seeks to make life easier and manhood nobler and happier. The industrial millions were ever near to his heart. He was broad, tolerant and magnanimous. One of the grievances which the clergy had against him was the influence exerted over the king and the popular mind in favor of religious toleration.

His chief economic and social demands were: Free trade; one simple land tax; simple civil laws; humane and just criminal laws. He considered unjust laws the chief cause of immorality. Along the line of his luminous exposition of the principles of Free Trade, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Sir Robert Peel, and William E. Gladstone followed more than half a century later. As to whether a simple land tax or a tax on land values would best solve the difficult problem of taxation there is naturally much division of opinion among earnest and thoughtful men, but the most clear-sighted are coming to see the need of simple or direct taxation taking the place of crooked or indirect measures, by which those who are best able to bear the needed burden of government are able to evade their rightful proportion.

Even Turgot could not fail to appreciate the course of a multiplication of laws, a large proportion of which, while pretending to be framed for the people, were measures for the benefit or enrichment of some class or for the securing of further special privileges. The warning of the far-sighted statesman of the last quarter of the eighteenth century is doubly applicable to us more than a century after it was uttered.

## v.

On leaving the French ministry Turgot retired to the quiet of his home, where, with the serenity which comes only to those who are conscious of having lived up to their highest while bravely con-

fronting every obstacle in the path of duty, he pursued those studies which had always possessed a special fascination for his logical and analytic mind. Problems connected with economic freedom and the uninterrupted rise of civilization were dearer to his heart than anything else. He, however, devoted much time to philosophy, science and literature.

As we should naturally expect, he was early interested in the success of our struggle against the throne of Great Britain. He, in common with thousands of the most thoughtful of his countrymen, followed with deep concern the progress of the ragged regiments of the American Revolution, and after his retirement to private life he was able to discuss the question with a freedom which would have been impossible had he been officially connected with the government. His vision of liberty, however, was so broad that he felt compelled to request his correspondents to hold as confidential some of his bravest utterances, lest, as he expressed it, "I should be found guilty of being too great a friend of liberty for a minister, even for one who has been disgraced." He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin, with whom he corresponded for several years; but perhaps the most interesting and valuable of his communications on America are found in his notable letters to Dr. Richard Price, LL.D., a learned Englishman who, though living in London, did not hesitate boldly to champion the cause of the colonies. In a letter written by Turgot to this gentleman, on March 22, 1778, we see displayed the deep, sympathetic and intelligent interest he took in our infant republic and also the clear insight and wise and far-seeing statesmanship of its author. So suggestive and rich in important lessons and warnings are many of his prophetic words that I am impelled to make some extended extracts from this letter. In speaking of America, or more properly of the young nation still struggling against England, Turgot observes: "We see her irrevocably independent.

Will she be happy in her freedom? This new nation is situated so advantageously to give the world an example of a constitution where the individual enjoys all his rights, freely uses all his faculties, and is only to be governed by nature, right and justice; but will the people know how to form such a constitution? Will they know how to ground it upon eternal foundations, how to foresee all causes of division and of corruption which may gradually undermine and destroy it?"

"I believe," he asserted, "that the Americans are destined to become great, not by war, but by culture." And again, in discussing the true grandeur of nations that have the wisdom to cultivate the art of peace and who are so situated that it is possible for them to avoid the crushing burdens of great armaments, he makes this solemn and suggestive observation:

"The glory of war does not equal the happiness of living in peace. The glory of the arts and sciences belongs to whomsoever wishes to avail himself of them. There are harvests in these fields for everyone. The range of discoveries is inexhaustible, and the whole world profits by the discoveries of each individual. I imagine that the American people are far from realizing all these truths, and they must acknowledge them in order to secure the welfare of posterity. I do not blame their leaders. It was necessary to provide for the needs of the moment, in the face of an enemy powerful and to be feared; and the only expedient was such a union as has been formed. There was not time to think then of correcting the faults of the constitutions of the various states; but great care should be taken not to perpetuate these mistakes, and means should be sought to unite the different opinions and interests, and to bring them to some uniform principles in all the provinces."

He hoped to see the new republic the leader of the world's civilization. "It

is impossible," he declared, "not to formulate the wish that this people may attain the greatest prosperity of which it is capable. It is the hope of the human race; it may become its model. It should prove to the world by deeds that men can be free and peaceful, and are able to dispense with fetters of all kinds which the tyrants and various impostors have pretended to impose upon them under the pretext of public good. It should give the example of political liberty, religious liberty and commercial and industrial liberty. The refuge which the American people offer to the oppressed of all nations should be a source of comfort to the world. The facility of profiting by this, to escape the consequences of bad legislation, will force the government to be just and to become more and more enlightened. The remainder of the world will open its eyes little by little upon the nothingness of the delusions which have always been practiced in politics. But, in order that all these good results may be brought about, it will be necessary for America to keep itself from becoming an image of our Europe,—a fact often reiterated by your ministerial writers. It must take care not to become a collection of divided powers disputing for territory among themselves, and for the commercial profits continually cementing the bondage of the people with their own blood. All enlightened men, friends of humanity, should unite their knowledge at this time, and concur with thoughtful Americans in the great work of their legislation."

#### VI.

Turgot did not live to see the storm of revolution break over France. He died at Paris on March 18, 1781. From the day he left the cabinet the hopelessness of the political situation was only broken by brief breathing spells and hours when hope blossomed for a little time in the hearts of those who had not studied political events and the complex condition of the nation so profoundly as

this wise statesman. To Turgot all the hopes based on temporary expedients must have appeared, as they were, elusive. He also saw that, whenever anything radical enough to save the nation from fratricidal strife was proposed, it met with determined hostility from the classes which had wrought his own overthrow; and the king who had once yielded seemed powerless to make the firm stand necessary for his salvation.

July 14, 1789, the people made that great aggressive step which may be termed the passing of the Rubicon in the history of the French Revolution. On that date the Bastille, which for so long had been the symbol of royal injustice and oppression, fell, and the more thoughtful and profound thinkers knew that the die had been cast and the grave day of reckoning had come. Then was discovered the momentous fact which cannot be better described than by the following language in which Froude picturesquely depicts the overthrow of Wolsey's power:

"But the time for reckoning at length was arrived; slowly the hand had crawled along the dial-plate, slowly as if the event would never come; and wrong was heaped on wrong, and oppression cried and it seemed as if no ear heard its voice, till the measure of the circle was at length fulfilled,—the finger touched the hour, and, as the stroke of the great hammer rang out above the nation in an instant the great fabric of iniquity was shivered into ruins."

It was well for Turgot that he passed away before the storm which he had so clearly foreseen, and of which he had given the king such timely and solemn warning, broke in its blind and destructive power. But the student of history will ever regret that the throne of France had not the wisdom to realize the importance of the wise, reconstructive and progressive economic policy which the great statesman advanced as a practical and feasible plan for securing justice and progress with peace. Turgot

was constructive. He believed that the ends of justice, freedom, and progress could best be conserved through constructive channels and by practical measures. He knew full well to what extent revolutions are likely to go when once the storm is in motion. He knew how great the waste and how much of good must go with the bad. He knew what a waste of innocent life must be incurred if reason gave way to force and the animal gained ascendancy over the rational.

Had his council been followed, it is probable that peace with progress might have been secured, and that France might have started anew on a career of greatness, accompanied by growing freedom and a broader recognition of the rights of the people. Indeed, the nineteenth century afforded a striking example of peace with progress, secured at a time when a great nation seemed ripe for revolution. The signs of revolt in France were even less apparent when Turgot proposed his broad, wise and just economic programme than they were in England when Sir Robert Peel, who had so long defended the corn laws, appreciated the peril that threatened the realm and had foresight enough frankly to yield to the just demands of the vast majority of the nation. Happily for England, the great prime minister was firmly supported by the sovereigns, and thus, what Turgot doubtless would have accomplished had he been upheld, Sir Robert Peel was able to realize, and the storm not only subsided, but England started forward on such a career of real greatness and prosperity as was never known before, because, besides establishing a precedent of vital importance to liberty—the former recognition of the justice of the people's demands—a broad policy looking toward a wider meed of freedom and justice for the people was inaugurated, which, with the subsequent legislation, has served to make the England of the past sixty years the most progressively republican government of Eur-

ope. The right of franchise has been from time to time extended. Municipal government has made more rapid strides along true republican lines than elsewhere, while in many ways, when our own land has stood still or retrograded, England has pushed steadily forward, governed by what is more essentially the republican spirit or ideal than that which has prevailed in recent decades in the United States.

And this is precisely what Turgot sought to accomplish for France. The more we study his life and the principles he laid down, the more we appreciate the simple truth of Condorcet's estimate when he characterizes him as "altogether one of the most massive and imposing figures of the eighteenth century,—a character of austere grandeur and single-mindedness, absolutely unselfish. He lived for France, truth and duty."

We in America to-day are facing a crisis as momentous as that which confronted Turgot when with the clear vision of the true statesman he sought to secure freedom and justice by the introduction of a peaceable, progressive and practical programme.

In the elder day the struggle was between the apostles of freedom, fraternity and justice, representing the cause of the masses and the larger life of the age on the one hand, and on the other, a monarchy and a court not responsible to the masses, and an aristocracy and clergy almost as selfish and indifferent to the larger demands of the age and the happiness and prosperity of the masses as were the court and the royal ministers.

The crisis confronting the Republic to-day represents a struggle led by the representatives of a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," for the maintenance and bulwarking of a democratic republic such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence and the founders of our government on the one hand, and reactionary class interests on the other, which are seeking to substitute for a democratic

republic or a popular government, the rule of privileged classes acting through the creatures of corrupt political bosses and the money-controlled party machines.

The principle involved is the fundamental issue which differentiates a popular or democratic government from all forms of class rule. The fathers who founded this Republic, at a fearful price—but a cost which they regarded as none too great for the blessings secured—believed they had firmly established a government rooted and grounded in the idea that the people were the sovereigns and the necessary officials merely the servants to carry out the wishes of their principles in the administering of government. Here we have the distinguishing characteristic between a democratic republic or a popular representative government and all forms of class rule. On the one hand the people are the sovereigns, and the officials are the servants or representatives of the electorate; on the other hand, the people are the subjects and the officials or some class or classes to whom they are beholden are the principals or real governing power.

To check the tide of reaction and class rule which since the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth has become so sinister and aggressive an influence in the Republic, is the first duty of all thoughtful patriots. The changed conditions of the present necessitate practical measures to meet these deadly dangers that confront popular government; and in Direct-Legislation and kindred measures for the maintenance and bulwarking of a democratic or popular representative government we find measures that have proved eminently practical and that wherever introduced have restored the government to the people and largely overthrown the destructive, anti-republican class aggression so destructive to popular government, while diminishing to the minimum the danger of a forcible revolution to save republican institutions.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## THE NEED OF REMEDIAL LEGISLATION WHICH IS BASIC, PERMANENT AND PROGRESSIVE.

BY GEORGE H. LOCEY.

**WE** HAVE no interests in Wall Street or Downing Street, which would tend to warp our judgment or thwart our purpose. We have no alliances with the daily press, which would affect our income, be it large or small, and what we now present is based upon truth, thoroughly trustworthy, and upon facts, which challenge denial. It is significant that upon questions of economic merit which vitally affect the interests of much the largest proportion of our population, characterized as the masses, the daily press, subservient to the influence of gain, take their orders from the smallest proportion of our population, who from their position and surroundings in the financial world, can and do contribute to their material gain—and characterized as the classes. There is more than common danger to the Republic when we can flippantly talk of the existence of classes, hostile to the masses, and it is our purpose to suggest the introduction of a remedial agent that shall be both a check upon the classes and a stimulus upon the masses, to the end, that the interests of both shall be best subserved and dwell together in peace and concord. We may incur the enmity of entrenched capitalism, or the feudalism of privileged wealth, for a time, but the rightful attitude of economic truth cannot fail to impress the thoughtful reader of the wisdom of the remedy here suggested.

In the history of all nations there comes a time when the people are compelled to face a crisis; and the wisdom, the intelligence and the patriotism of the citizen are invoked to seek a solution of the conditions and, if possible, disclose and apply the remedy.

To-day the American people are face

to face with an important crisis—so important that it seriously disturbs their tranquility; and they are thinking, and thinking hard, to discover the reasons for this unrest.

On every hand are the evidences of a rapid centralization of wealth in the possession and control of the very few. This, it is feared, is the precursor of important changes in social conditions, which will reflect disastrously upon the labor and producing interests of the nation—and eventually overthrow the Republic. Whether the dread is well founded or a figment of the imagination only, it is well to take time by the forelock, diagnose conditions and seek the remedy.

Our increase in national wealth since 1860 has not exceeded four per cent. per annum. Our estimated wealth in 1905 was \$100,000,000,000. In 1911 it will reach the enormous sum of \$128,000,000,000—equal to the combined wealth of France and Great Britain.

As a world power, in wealth and resources, we rank the first among the family of nations; and we should be the first to recognize the economic fact that nations, like individuals, cannot expend more than they earn. To do so invites insolvency and the brood of evils in its wake.

There is a feeling in business circles that the legal limits on the compensation for the use of money is an ancient heresy, which has no place in our modern life, and that all interest laws ought to be repealed. There are those who affirm, and not without some appearance of plausibility, that a man with money should be at liberty to contract for the compensation for its use as freely as he is now at liberty to contract for the rent of his house.

Money is not only property in itself, but carries with it another and important function of representing, measuring and exchanging all other values and of accumulating value by way of interest for its use. The civilizations of all ages have recognized and enforced the right to limit by law the compensation for the use of money. This being true, it follows that in a nation where the interest and dividend-bearing indebtedness closely approximates the entire national wealth, which is the condition in our nation to-day, the excess over the national increment measures the forces of centralization. Every ten years we look for a financial panic—a readjustment of values and general liquidation.

These periodic revulsions known as financial panics could not follow with historic regularity if the interest and dividend-bearing burden was not greater than the annual national increment. The only solution is to reduce this annual burden to a point below the annual increment or submit to periodic disturbances.

For a time, as the nation grew from youth to manhood, the steady growth in values acted as a sedative. It was a set-off against the speculative tendency to employ capital at rates greatly in excess of actual earnings, and the people were not alarmed.

But the undeveloped acres are now occupied, and the wealth of mineral resources is now a matter of individual and corporate ownership. The community, in the aggregate, cannot now hope to reap an annual net increment of over four per cent. The limitations are inflexible, and the only solution of the problem is either to liquidate, at the risk of a merciless insolvency, or reduce the rates of interest upon loanable capital to a point below the national increment, for the producer is entitled to his equity in that increment.

This can be secured only by an amendment to the Constitution fixing the legal rate of interest at a point below the annual increase in wealth and compelling the legislatures of the several States to repeal existing laws and enact laws in conformity

with the Constitution so amended, with adequate penalties for violations, direct or indirect. This advance in national economics cannot be secured in any other way, for the State sovereignties, under the reserved rights, now control the matter, and it would be practically impossible to secure uniformity through state legislation—and uniformity at a rate below the national increment is essential.

Starting with our national wealth in 1860, our growth has been as follows:

1860 .....	\$16,000,000,000
1877 .....	32,000,000,000
1894 .....	64,000,000,000
1905 admitted to be .....	100,000,000,000
1911 will be .....	128,000,000,000

Our estimated wealth for 1905 proves that our growth in wealth in the most prosperous era of our history has not and does not exceed four per cent. per annum for money doubles every seventeen years at that rate, compounded.

If we were out of debt, or the debt were slight as compared with the volume of wealth, we could endure for a time the blight of usurious demands; but the day of reckoning would come.

The aggregate of the stocks and bonds of the railroads alone is \$20,000,000,000, or one-fifth our estimated national wealth. The aggregate of the debt of our cities, large and small, is \$10,000,000,000 more, and when to this you add the debt of other public and quasi-public corporations—state, county, township, co-partnership and individual indebtedness—the nation stands face to face with a condition both serious and appalling, for the average burden by way of interest and discounts in the states and territories is fully eight per cent. per annum, or two-fold greater than our annual increase in wealth. It is a grave question how long these forces of centralization can continue. In a republic the cardinal principle which underlies stability is *diffusion of wealth*. It is the hardpan of democracy. The remedy, if not already too late, lies in an amendment to the Constitution nationalizing the rate of interest upon money at a



point below the annual increase in wealth.

Until this is done periodic financial revulsions are inevitable. When this is done the producing interests, the burden-bearers of the nation, will begin to share in our boasted national prosperity, money will seek *investment* rather than *loans*, with the hope of greater reward; trusts and combinations would be replaced by the most active and persistent competition. The lack of needed income because of the lower interest rates would be *supplemented by investments in industrial enterprises*.

This would enlarge the area of competition, employ idle labor and bring into demand a condition that would be healthful to the community. It would stimulate the development of industries for the employment of labor, because of the promise of greater rewards for the money invested. Greed would become the stimulus to progress.

Our fictitious boasted prosperity has very largely come to us through a successfully manipulated market, entirely speculative, and which in the end immolates its victim.

The natural and healthy law of commerce is the law of supply and demand. The manipulated market has supplanted it and is to-day the whirling vortex which engulfs the votaries of a life devoted to wild speculation and the greed of accumulation—wholly artificial, abnormal and self-destructive. The angles of incidence and reflection are equal, and the true equilibrium in economics is to *nationalize the rates of interest at a point below the*

*annual increase in national wealth*—stimulate competition and enlarge and multiply the channels of individual opportunity.

It is only by the combination of wealth that large enterprises can be promoted, and made successful; and when the rate of interest on capital secured, to be employed in these enterprises, is less than the national increment, these combinations will multiply until competition so cheapens products that the labor and producing interests can supply their needs at relatively the smallest cost. President Taft, in his views expressed upon combinations of wealth, is to the point that as a means to an end, he approves; but he does not say that such combinations shall be permitted under the law, to close or control the channels of enterprise. As an economic question the reduction of the legal rates of interest to a point below, or not exceeding the national increment is a dominating issue, which appeals to the patriotism and love of justice of all our people and secures the perpetuity of a republican form of government. The tendency now is adverse. The *Cruz* of the proposition is this, "Can a nation annually pay more than it earns, without inviting insolvency, and thus become the prey of centralized wealth? Can the nation afford to hazard the perpetuity of the greatest Republic on earth, and lay the foundation for entailed estates and an aristocracy of nobles?" If not, wisdom dictates that you cannot too soon seek to apply the remedy.

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# WHY RACE SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION? A REPLY.

BY STUART OMER LANDRY.

**I**T SEEMS to me that the answers to this question hitherto submitted—including that of the propounder—are not satisfactory. These several answers have a more or less basis in truth, and at one time Mr. Joseph Lorrens comes very near to what I believe to be the real answer. Rabbi Schindler says the others shot far away from the mark, and suggests that the decrease in the birth rate in civilized countries is the first sign of the decline of present-day civilization. In other words, obeying the law of life, this stage of civilization is reaching its old age and will soon totter, fall, and go the way of those that have gone before.

But is this true? Is our civilization decadent? Is the Caucasian race becoming senile? The question we are discussing, in the form in which it is given, answers in the negative. I submit that we have no facts upon which to predicate an affirmative answer. On the contrary, it appears that we are becoming more civilized, that the world is getting better, and that we are just now entering into this civilization's "Age of Reason." All countries, nations, civilizations, like men, go through the stages of Infancy, Childhood, Youth, Manhood, Old Age, and then Death. So have they always done; so will they continue to do.

But who shall say that our civilization is not just entering its prime? Who will deny that we are just leaving the Age of Faith for that of reason; that we are leaving the dreams of youth to enter upon the duties of Manhood?

Rabbi Schindler asks for a cause, and in his answer states as a cause that which is an effect—the decay of a civilization or nation is an effect—it is caused by something else. I will not dispute that the decay of ancient nations was accompanied by a lowering of the birth rate, and the latter may partly account for the decay, but

what *caused* the lowering of the birth rate? That is the question.

I think that possibly the low birth rate in France may be accounted for by the fact that so many of her best citizens were killed in the Napoleonic wars, thus leaving only the weak, the lame, the old, the criminal classes—physical and moral defectives—to renew the population. In this connection see David Starr Jordan's able essay, "The Human Harvest."

But taking the Caucasian race as a whole, does it not seem that the so-called race-suicide is simply the operation of a natural law—the law which says that when the struggle for existence is very hard, plants produce more seed and animals reproduce in greater numbers in order to insure the continuance of the species; that when conditions become easier, the struggle for existence becomes less severe, which has the effect of checking propagation? Thus, in India and the East where conditions are severe and the struggle for existence is great, man is prolific. But in the West where civilization mitigates the severities of life and rescues many who would perish under more rigorous usage, the birth rate is naturally lower. So, I conclude that the alleged race-suicide is one of the results of civilization, which has brought about the working of a necessary and automatic law.

Furthermore, I am of the opinion that it is a right and proper law. It is not to the advantage of the race that the population increase too rapidly, because the supplies of food and fuel are limited. Quality, not quantity, is what we want. Hence the question of race-suicide is a mere "bugaboo," but, like Banquo's ghost, it will not be downed.

STUART OMER LANDRY.

*Notnac, La.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE PERFIDY OF A GREAT PARTY WHOSE TREACHERY SPELLS TREASON TO THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

### **A Victory Won under False Pretences.**

**S**ELDOM if ever in the history of our Republic has a political party given to the world such an exhibition of contempt for solemn pledges deliberately made to gain the support of the voters, and as cheerfully broken at the behest of privileged interests, as has been displayed by the Republican party during the past year,—an exhibition of triumphant materialism in which we have the arrogance of a Belshazzar, the moral obliquity of a Charles I., and the fatuousness of a Louis XVI.

This great party has demonstrated so clearly that the dullest intellect, if not wholly blinded by partizanship and prejudice, cannot fail to see that its contempt for the people and for its own moral integrity is only equalled by its faith in the gold of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt political bosses that operate the party machines and who receive place, power and emoluments for their betrayal of the people in the interests of monopolies and interested corporations. This is a severe arraignment, and we should hesitate to make it were it not that the facts that constitute the convicting evidence are so fresh in the minds of the people and so available to all that they cannot be disproved.

### **Why Those Who Carry Out the Wishes of the Trusts and Monopolies Dare to Betray the People.**

The enemies of popular government and those who seek to betray the people in the interests of privileged wealth, no less than the most brazen and corrupt political bosses, rely for victory on two things: the power of gold and the short memory of the people. It is believed that if the voters can be deceived into electing their supposed friends, who are in reality the servants of privileged interests, against whose corrupt influence and extortions the voters are in revolt, then they can be betrayed with impunity, because the time elapsing before the day of reckoning with the unfaithful stewards or misrepresentatives is so far re-

moved that by the time a new election comes the people will have largely forgotten the treachery, and if not, they can rely upon the astute masters of the machine and the "interests" to raise other issues or create diversions so that their betrayal by their representatives will be for the time being forgotten. Their faith is the faith of a di Medici in the corrupting and drugging effect of gold over the minds of the people, rather than the faith of a Savonarola in the invincibility of moral idealism as expressed in truth, justice and love.

The recent action of the Republican party and administration offers perhaps the most striking and melancholy example of the depths to which a once great party may fall when it turns from the lofty concepts of service, duty and popular rights to become the servant of class and privileged interests for the betrayal of the people and the virtual nullification of popular government.

From Lincoln, standing on the blood-baptized field of Gettysburg and summing up the crowning glory and differentiating characteristic of a democratic republic as a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," to Cannon, Aldrich, Lodge, Knox and their associates uniting to defeat the solemn pledge of the party and betray the people by contemptuously trampling upon the solemn ante-election pledges of their own presidential leader, and President Taft quietly acquiescing in this betrayal, we see the depths to which a political organization can fall when it turns from the compulsion of moral idealism to the service of the materialism of the market.

This betrayal is admirably summed up in the following extract from an editorial leader in the *Boston Post* of July 9th:

"The Payne bill was bad enough. The New York Congressman did his best to repudiate the pledges of his party and to bring contumely upon the declarations of its President. But he did not go far enough. This was left for Senator Aldrich. And the bill which Mr. Payne gets back from the Senate as a substitute for

his pettifoggish scheme is a rude and blatant repudiation of every concession to the people and a pronounced declaration in favor of monopoly and for the taxation of the poor.

**A Chapter in Political History that every American Should Remember.**

Let us call to mind a few salient facts involved in this great conspiracy against the producing and consuming millions and the betrayal of the people by their supposed representatives. For several years there has been a growing and increasingly insistent demand for a radical reduction in the tariff, in spite of the large sums of money spent by privileged interests and associations vitally concerned in preserving monopolies for the enrichment of the few. It was shown that certain trusts were making the American people pay untold millions more for articles of necessity than the same trusts sold the same articles for to aliens over the border in Canada or in Europe. Thus, for example, it was shown that that mighty supporter of the machine politicians, the water-logged steel trust, was selling its products at from six to eleven dollars a ton cheaper in London than to the American citizens; and what was true of this cruelly unjust discrimination against the wealth-creators and producers of the Republic by the tariff-fed steel trust was true of other iniquitous monopolies and trusts that were enriching the few by farming the people of millions of their earnings.

At length the demand for a revision of the tariff and for a more sensible recognition of the rights and interests of the people became so insistent that President McKinley voiced the general popular sentiment in his notable speech made on the eve of his assassination. President Roosevelt also in time recognized the fact that the party, if it wished to avoid defeat, must make a clear-cut pledge for revision; and in forcing Mr. Taft on the nation it was with the distinct understanding that the aggressive policies against criminal wealth which Mr. Roosevelt had avowed himself as favoring, and a substantial revision of the tariff in compliance with the growing demand of the people that it should be honestly and substantially revised downward, should be carried to a successful issue. The party pledged itself to revision. There could be but one meaning to the words of the platform if the masters of the party possessed a spark of honor, and that was revision as demanded by

the sovereign voter; a demand so great that the party leaders dared not court defeat by ignoring it,—a substantial revision downward.

When the Democratic opposition pointed out the intimate relation of the master spirits of the Republican party with the great corporations and monopolies that had become swollen to distortion on the hard-earned wealth of the people, and questioned the honesty of the platform, the nominee for the presidency was rushed forward to reassure the wavering voters by positive, outspoken, unequivocal declarations, not only for a substantial downward revision, but also for an income tax, which he declared was constitutional.

Messrs. LaFollette, Bristow, Cummins, Dolliver and other leaders of the Republican party who represented the interests of the overwhelming majority of the voters in the great Middle West, followed Mr. Taft's lead and entered the battle and carried the day.

Now, mark what followed. First, President Taft selected one of the most reactionary cabinets of recent decades, in which the progressive or conscience elements of the Republican party,—men like Senators LaFollette, Bristow and Cummins, were as conspicuous by their absence as the long-time servants of the corporations, trusts and monopolies, like Root and Wickersham, were conspicuous by their presence. This was the first indication that the people had that Wall Street and corporation interests, or the feudalism of privileged wealth, had not blindly contributed lavishly to the Republican campaign treasury for the election of the man who had pledged himself to wage warfare on lawless wealth and to secure for the people a substantial revision of the tariff.

Then came the spectacle in the national legislative halls—the tariff farce, or rather the tragedy, as the poor will find out. Mr. Taft sent a special message in which he advised an inheritance tax. This, like the income tax, however, was not satisfactory to the great trust and monopoly magnates who are fattening off of the sustenance of the people. Their motto is to grab as much and give as little as possible.

The House having always been nearer to the people than the Senate, and with the members fresh from the voters, was too independent for the complete control of Speaker Cannon and his reactionary lieutenants. A bill was prepared making real reductions on some articles and carrying an inheritance tax. The

chiefs of the feudalism of privileged wealth however, were not uneasy. In the selection of his cabinet Mr. Taft had shown his sympathy with an appreciation for the "interests," and his scant sympathy with the people; and they further knew that the Senate like the House of Lords stood ready to battle for privilege against the people.

True, if Mr. Taft had selected a cabinet that had reflected the views he was supposed to entertain when he made his appeal to the electorate; had placed in the cabinet men like LaFollette and Bristow, the Senate with the temper of the nation wrought up to the pitch which it had reached, would not have dared to have brazenly defied the electorate in the manner which the feudalism of privileged wealth had determined it should do. So no uneasiness was felt in the citadel of privilege because its masters were confident that the Senate would trample under foot the ante-election pledges of the President, betray the confidence of the voters and defy the sovereign electorate in as insolent a manner as Charles I. defied the Parliament of Great Britain. They counted on the Senate giving the world a practical illustration of how the new despotism of privileged wealth defies and sets at naught the fundamental principles of popular government such as the fathers strove to establish.

When the tariff bill reached the home of privilege and plutocracy, the master spirits of the dominant party, the Aldriches, the Lodges and their associates displayed a degree of brazen effrontery and moral turpitude rarely witnessed in any legislative body. The people were coolly informed that the party had pledged itself to revision; that that did not necessarily mean revision downward. None knew better than Messrs. Aldrich and Lodge that all the dissatisfaction had been with the trust-fattening high tariff. There was no cry for a raising of the tariff, but there was a mighty demand for its substantial reduction,—a demand so pronounced that the party, to avoid certain defeat, had been forced to pledge itself to revision. They had complacently viewed the rushing from city to city of their presidential nominee, repelling the intimations that the party might betray its trust and not revise downward by declaring for a substantial downward revision. And yet with unequalled effrontery they now coolly intimated that the revision should be in the interests of plutocracy and against the people.

Then if it was ever the duty of a president to send a dignified message to Congress calling attention to its moral obligation to the binding character of a pledge and voicing the demand of the people as he had done on the stump, such was clearly the duty of President Taft. But with the nation in its present temper, men so astute as Mr. Taft and his cabinet counsellors could not have failed to understand that such a message would have forced the dishonorable reactionaries to heed the interests of the people instead of carrying out the wishes of the monopolies seeking to levy even greater extortions upon the wealth-creators and consumers.

Furthermore, it was soon seen that the union of the friends of the income tax—a tax so strongly favored by President Taft before the assembling of Congress—in the Senate was sufficient to guarantee the passage of the measure, provided the President stood by his ante-election professions. Here again, however, when victory was in the reach of the people, the President defeated their hopes. His confidence that an income tax was constitutional, before election, suddenly gave way to the conviction of those who did not want to see another test made as to its constitutionality.

#### **A Prominent Republican Paper Gives a Concise Statement of the Betrayal of the People.**

The whole pitiful story of the betrayal of the people and the coup by which Mr. Taft was able to aid Aldrich in the defeat of the income tax is thus admirably given in the editorial leader in *LaFollette's Magazine* for June 26th. It is a concise and temperate statement by a Republican, that should be preserved for future use.

"At the beginning of the special session which President Taft called for the express purpose of considering a revision of the tariff in accordance with his pre-election promise, it would have been highly proper, and we believe it was expected that he would exercise his constitutional prerogative and send a message to Congress that would deal fully with the very important subject in hand, would enlighten Congress and the public as to his views, and as to the kind of bill he could approve. No greater opportunity for executive recommendation ever could come to a President. An expression of his views at that time respecting an income tax or a corporation tax would have carried great weight with Congress and with the public.

"That he did not send such a message can only be explained on the ground that he believed Congress well understood his attitude and that there was no danger of their framing a law that he could not approve either as to tariff schedules or as to an income tax.

"The bill that passed the house was severely criticised throughout the country. Some optimistic belief was expressed that it would be improved in the Senate. But it provided for an inheritance tax and for some reduction of duties on some of the necessities of life that have been rejected by Mr. Aldrich.

"When the Aldrich Bill was hurriedly thrust upon the Senate it was at first claimed by the Chairman and other members of the Committee that there had been great reductions in rates,—revision downward. After a thorough analysis of the bill and exposure of how increases in certain schedules were effected and after it was established in the course of the debate beyond dispute that the scheme was one of revision upward, Mr. Aldrich and his allies made the defense that the Republican platform had not promised downward revision; that the party was only pledged to "revision." This assumption caused the public statements of Mr. Taft on the subject of revision, when he was a candidate, to become an important part of the debate.

"It would have been a great help to the band of Progressives making a fight in behalf of the public interest and for the maintenance of party pledges, had Mr. Taft seen fit to send a special message stating whether the party pledges were in his judgment being fulfilled by increasing the tariff rates or by re-enacting existing rates. Because, be it remembered, the President is the one who has the final word. His approval or his veto decides whether the work of Congress shall stand.

"The progressive senators assumed that he would ultimately support their contention by such action as he deemed proper. They accepted his silence, not as evidence of want of sympathy with their course, but as based on a policy often attributed to him, of non-interference. The Progressives continued their attack on the bill, meeting defeat on each vote by about ten majority, over which Mr. Aldrich maintained almost perfect command.

"The amendment for an income tax was, however, in a different position from the schedules of the tariff bill. The income tax was an independent proposition, and some of the senators who were tied up in the schedules

refused to follow the Aldrich leadership against it. Senators Cummins and Bailey had co-operated and framed a bill for which enough votes were pledged to insure its passing the Senate by five majority. Thus there was absolute certainty of getting an amendment to the tariff bill that would lay the foundation for a more equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation. But Mr. Aldrich would not have this. When all his efforts to hold his forces against the income tax failed, in order to defeat it, he called on the President for help to support a "corporation tax." That the call was hurried, and that the message in response to it was hurried all the facts prove.

"If the matter was carefully considered, the President could not have assumed that except for the decision of the Supreme court the old law was still on the statute books when it would have, by its own terms, been inoperative for nine years. This error is unimportant except as indicating hasty action. That the President's message should surprise Senators Cummins, Borah, and other progressive supporters of the income tax provision, is a matter of serious import and just criticism. A fair and temperate determination, such as we would expect from President Taft, of so important a policy certainly would have caused him to consult these Republican senators before writing a message urged upon him by Senator Aldrich whose purpose was to defeat the income tax. The progressives were at least entitled to a hearing.

"Mr. Taft had said in his speech of acceptance: "The democratic platform demands two constitutional amendments, one providing for an income tax, and the other for the election of Senators by the people. In my judgment an amendment to the Constitution for an income tax is not necessary. I believe that an income tax, when the protective system of customs and the internal revenue tax shall not furnish income enough for governmental needs, can, and should be devised, which, under the decisions of the Supreme Court, will conform to the Constitution."

"In an address a year previous he had suggested that the Supreme Court, with its changed membership might take a new view of the income tax law. These statements alone were sufficient to warrant the belief that he desired and would approve an income tax. The President in his message states that he has changed his views, but he certainly should in justice to the men who had been working to

frame a law that should stand the constitutional test, have conferred with them and informed them as to his change of plan. There should have been no possible chance for the impression to go out over the country that the President's message left the insurgents 'in the air' or put them 'in a hole.'

"The President assumes that the corporation tax is constitutional, but with due regard for his learning and experience, it must be admitted that he might have to change his views on this question also. It certainly appears to raise some complex legal questions that can only be settled by the decision of the Supreme Court.

"One fact stands out high and plain above all else in the situation. This message came to Congress at a most opportune time to serve the fixed determination of Senator Aldrich to defeat the income tax, and to aid him in passing the tariff bill with its excessively high duties just as he wanted it."

#### **The Corporation Tax an Emergency Expedient to Defeat the Income Tax.**

That Wall Street was not for a moment deceived as to the real purpose of the hurriedly concocted corporation tax, regarding it as a crumb to be thrown to the people in lieu of the loaf of a substantial tariff revision and an income tax, is clearly in evidence. There are times when the representative spokesmen of Wall Street are brutally frank and a striking illustration of this nature was seen in the weekly financial letter of the well-known brokerage firm of Bache & Company, issued under date of June 19, 1909:

"It is useless," says this letter, "to discuss the practicability of this measure of taxing net earnings, as the question of what are real net earnings is one that would be practically impossible to establish in a manufacturing business. It must be regarded as a political move to shunt off the income tax advocates for the time being."

Here we have in a nutshell a brutally frank characterization of the act as viewed in Wall Street.

Mr. Taft first pretended to favor the income tax. He held that it was constitutional. He also sent a message to Congress for an inheritance tax, and his ante-election pledges were for a substantial reduction of the tariff. The Senate smothered the inheritance tax and made the call of a special session to reduce the oppressive tariff the occasion for levying

still greater extortions on the people. But it was unable to prevent the enactment of an income tax until it got the administration to come to its assistance.

In the emergency Mr. Taft was very complacent. He called in not Senators LaFollette, Cummins, Bristow or other Republicans whose support he was so eager to secure last fall, but Root, Wickersham, Knox, and men of their affiliations, and behold, we had the corporation tax substitute,—a measure so drawn as in all probability as to result in endless litigation.

The action of Congress in regard to the call for a constitutional amendment on the income tax need not and should not have prevented the enacting of such a tax, as the pushing forward of that provision could have been in order if the Supreme Court should again decide against the constitutionality of the income tax, and thus confirm its former reversal of its earlier position.

#### **Some Republican Papers on the Perfidy of the Party.**

Leading independent Republican papers are outspoken in denunciation of the shameless betrayal of the electorate by the reactionaries.

Thus the *Kansas City Star* of June 7th, says editorially: "The faith of Nelson Winmarth Aldrich in the perfidy and temerity of the Republican party and in the subserviency of the people to green goods politics has to be witnessed to be believed. The history of the American government furnishes no parallel to the insults which are now being heaped upon the doctrine of popular government by the senatorial boss from Rhode Island."

The *Chicago Record-Herald*, another strong Republican paper, has this to say of the party's perfidy: "Except for some of the New Englanders, there is probably not a republican candidate for the lower house, and certainly not a democrat, who would have dared go before the people on the stump last fall without committing himself for honest tariff revision. President Taft had declared that the "Dingley rates have become generally excessive" and given it as his judgment that republican tariff revision was to be "on the whole a substantial revision downward." Agreement with him on these points was what the candidates knew was expected of them and what they committed themselves to.

But now we hear it loudly said by many men in congressional circles at Washington that

the republican party merely promised "revision" and never promised "revision downward." The men that say this are the bunko men of congress. They have sold a gold brick and are now engaged in trying to look innocent.

Other members of congress admit the promise, but find it inexpedient to live up to it under conditions as they are. They are the welchers. They haven't the nerve to stand up and face the gaff.

Bunko men and welchers alike have this in common, that their existence ought to be reason enough for their constituents to undertake a thorough house-cleaning in the effort to put the political game "on the square" hereafter, at least so far as the tariff is concerned.

To sum up the whole situation: the people have grown restive and indignant at the extortion of the trusts and monopolies, the constant raise in the price of life's necessities, without any corresponding increase in the wages or returns for labor and service. They demanded relief from extortion. They insisted on honest tariff revision. The party in convention pledged itself to revision, and Mr. Taft at once set out to explain that the revision would be honest and marked by substantial reductions. Such was the situation before election.

After election, the party in power turns to its real masters, increases the burdens upon the people, and thus again enormously enriches the monopolies. It throws out the inheritance tax; it defeats the income tax, and thus displays at once its contempt for popular government, its heartless unconcern for the wealth-creators and consumers of the nation, and its fidelity to its real masters, the great corporation, trust and monopoly chiefs, or the master spirits in the feudalism of privileged wealth which is so busily at work nullifying popular rule and supplanting free institutions with the most odious form of class-rule.

Will the people forget by the next Congressional election this infamous betrayal? Will they allow the money-controlled organs and agencies of the plutocracy to throw dust into their eyes, to beat up new issues and to create diversions, until after they have had an oppor-

tunity to reckon with their unfaithful servants? Evidently the feudalism of privileged wealth and its servants in government entertain this conviction. They evidently believe that the inertia of the people is too profound to render likely a day of reckoning.

#### **Mr. Taft adopts Rooseveltian Tactics.**

In one respect the present administration reminds one of its predecessor, and that is in its aptitude for adopting Rooseveltian tactics. When a strong, dignified message to Congress would have saved the day for honest tariff revision, because Mr. Taft would have had behind him the press and the people and the loyal support of the insurgent Republicans, that message, as we have seen, was not forthcoming. It would have given mortal offence to the great privileged interests and would have seriously offended the masters of the money-controlled machine.

Later, when it became perfectly evident that the income tax was bound to pass, owing to the union of the conscience element of the Republican party with the Democrats, Mr. Taft, the erstwhile advocate of the income tax, summoned Root, Wickersham, and reactionaries from Congress, and a scheme for shunting the income tax was quickly devised. This action of President Taft reminds one most strikingly of President Roosevelt's sudden change of attitude on the railroad question, by which the hopes of the people were blasted.

After the passage of the Aldrich bill and the indignation of the nation was being generally voiced by the press, Washington dispatches published on July 10th bore the news that Mr. Taft had encouraged the band of insurgent Republicans to stand firm to the last against the Aldrich bill, in order to better the chances for compromise when the bill reached conference. Mr. Taft thus would save his face with the outraged public while in no way incurring the enmity of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

These tactics are not new, and though discouraging and disheartening to friends of pure, just and honest politics, they will not always prevail.



## THE THREE-FOLD CURSE THAT HAS FOLLOWED THE ASCENDENCY OF PRIVILEGE OVER POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.

### **The Ruiz-Vanderbilt Scandal as a Typical Object-Lesson and the Grave Facts it Suggests.**

**T**HE SENSATIONAL developments connected with the tragic death of Mrs. Ruiz, the friend of Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, and the seal of social displeasure set upon the young American multi-millionaire by King Edward, afforded the sensational press an opportunity to reap a rich harvest by catering to the morbid curiosity of a large element of society in regard to the scandals in which the license and immorality of well-known persons are points at issue.

The unsavory life of young Vanderbilt, which cannot appear other than profoundly tragic to serious-minded men and women, was treated in a light and at times flippant manner; but the fact that this God-given life dowered with exceptional possibilities for great good, has up to the present date been worse than wasted was but lightly emphasized, while the still larger and more fundamental facts suggested were so far as we have seen overlooked.

This tragedy with its wretched and loathsome revelations is but one of many similar consequences of a three-fold curse which has come on America and Americans as a result of a nation permitting itself to sleep in the presence of an insidious evil, and of the action of shrewd and unpatriotic men who are destined to stand out in the annals of the Republic in evil eminence as the arch-enemies of republican institutions. The most recent Vanderbilt scandal, as the Gould-Castellane scandal of some months ago and the more recent Gould scandal in relation to the divorce suit of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Gould, speaks to the patriotic American of one of the most essentially tragic chapters in the history of the Republic,—a chapter in which the materialism of the market opened its warfare against the idealism of the Declaration of Independence, and conscienceless greed of a triumphant egoism re-opened the age-long conflict of privilege against equality of opportunities and of rights.

### **The Corruption of Government through Privileged Wealth.**

• More than half a century has passed since

shrewd and in many instances intellectually brilliant men, beholding the vast wealth to be acquired by those who should gain monopoly of the great natural utilities, especially the means of transportation and the diffusion of information on which modern business life in general is so largely dependent, organized themselves into corporations for the reaping of an enormous harvest which would necessarily be rendered possible through the ability to levy an arbitrary tax that would place the producing and consuming millions at the mercy of transportation companies. These men were not slow to realize that the masters of transportation could levy a tax that would enable them to acquire millions upon millions of dollars above what would represent a fair rate for money invested. This arbitrary power, placed in the hands of irresponsible corporations controlled by men in whom the mania for wealth had blunted moral sensibility, could not fail to produce certain definite results: the impoverishment of the masses through the abnormal enrichment of the few who enjoyed this tax-gathering power; the corruption of government by those seeking privileges and desiring to be left free to increase their fortunes by stock-watering and the inevitable subsequent increase in tariff or taxes on the producers and consumers. While beyond this abnormal enrichment of the few at the expense of the millions and the demoralization of government by corrupt practices, the student of history could not fail to understand there would come still other evils, among which were the sapping of the hope and courage of the wealth-creators by finding the fruits of their toil eaten up by extortionate transportation charges; a systematic attempt to substitute for the old democratic ideals of equal rights for all and special privileges for none the reactionary class rights theory of the older order that preceded the democratic era; and lastly, the production of a generation of the daughters and sons of the "new-rich" or parvenue class, largely wanting in moral idealism or any adequate conception of the solemn responsibilities, duties and obligations which every man and woman owes to the nation, to society and to the higher self. All of these

evils have followed the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth in America.

Perhaps the most apparent and sinister of these evils has been the corruption of government by privilege in the interests of privilege. Take, for example, the case of the Vanderbilts and the New York Central Railroad. The Vanderbilts were the master spirits in the Central system, just as Jay Gould was the dominant power in the Erie Railroad. The story of the increase of the capitalization and the methods resorted to for exploiting the people and enriching the Vanderbilts and their aids, as shown in the history of the New York Central Railroad, though not perhaps exceptional, is a most amazing exhibition of the daring and effrontery of the men who set out to acquire millions by the arbitrary use of a great monopoly on which the people depend and which by rights should always have remained in the hands of the people, or at least the franchises should always have been retained by the people and their use been conditional on a service that should enrich instead of impoverish the millions.

Professor Parsons in his monumental work on *The Railways, The Trusts and the People*, showed how under the fostering care of Mr. Vanderbilt "about 200 per cent. of water was injected into the stock of the New York Central and 177 per cent. into the Hudson River Railway shares in a few years, although there was already what many would regard as a sufficient quantity of water in the roads." He further shows that Commodore Vanderbilt "trebled the stock of the two roads from 1867 to 1870, and the total capitalization shot up from \$54,000,000 of stock and indebtedness in 1866 to more than \$103,000,000 in 1870." And he continues: "Even this does not tell the whole story. The evidence is that the book value of the roads in 1870 was only \$60,000,000 and their real value less than \$40,000,000, while the actual amount paid into the treasuries of the companies for the whole mass of the stocks and bonds was probably below \$16,000,000, the rest of the construction value having been got out of the public, in addition to the interest and dividends, by means of excessive rates. So the bonds nearly covered the value paid in and the \$90,000,000 stock was practically all water."

The power to commit such abuses as the above was of course only rendered possible by the recreancy of the people's servants, and no sadder or more humiliating page is to be

found in the history of the Republic than that which indicates how the representatives of the people, through the influence of privileged wealth, became more and more misrepresentatives, betraying the interests of their principals at the behest of the privilege-seeking classes and thus destroying popular representative government, establishing in fact, though not in theory, class government instead of a government "of the people, by the people and for the people." While these sad facts are now so well established that they perhaps need no concrete illustrations, yet as definite cases often serve to fix facts in the mind of the general reader, we cite one instance of many that might be introduced, selecting this one because it relates to the New York Central Railroad.

The oppression of the people of the Empire State by the Erie and New York Central Railways, and their inability to get any relief from their representatives at Albany, led to special investigations, with startling revelations. One of these investigations was made by a committee appointed by the New York Constitutional Convention, over which the Hon. George Opdyke presided as chairman. The following extracts from the verbatim report of testimony given at that time throws a flood of light on the methods by which the railroad corporations have systematically defeated the people and have been enabled to practice extortion and unjust discriminations by which the producing and consuming public are annually plundered of millions of dollars.

Edwin D. Worchester, Sworn: I am treasurer of the New York Central Railroad Company, and have been for two years; was assistant treasurer for two years previous.

Question.—Do you know of the New York Central Railroad Company paying out considerable amounts of money during the sessions of legislature?

Answer.—Yes, considerable amounts of money.

Question.—I think you have succeeded in procuring legislation for two or three years past?

Answer.—Yes, we succeeded in getting the legislation.

Question.—Were the expenses attending the application paid by the president of the road?

Answer.—I can state the amount of money he had; the whole amount of money was \$205,000.

Question.—Did he ever state to you any purpose for which it was to be applied?

Answer.—Well, I don't remember that he did.

Question.—How are the items or entries made in your books with reference to the expenditure of this \$205,000?

Answer.—There were no entries made with regard to those disbursements.

Question.—Was the authorization given before or after the advances or disbursements were made?

Answer.—It was after that the Board confirmed the advance, but did not state what should be made of the item.

Question.—What is the condition of the item on your books?

Answer.—It is charged to the treasurer's office and remains there. The action of the treasurer in advancing the money was confirmed by the Board.

Question.—The year previous about what money was expended?

Answer.—I think it was something like \$60,000, that was charged to expenses pertaining to the legislature.

### **The Effort to Establish an Hereditary Moneyed Aristocracy.**

It will be remembered that it was one of the elder Vanderbilts who, when shown that the people were clamoring against the excessive taxation of the traffic rates, is said to have thus aptly expressed the dominant spirit of the modern feudalism of privileged wealth: "The people be damned!"—an historic phrase that reveals in a startling yet very accurate manner the absence of all keen sense of moral responsibility on the part of the modern public-service corporations and the great monopolies.

With the vast wealth the acquisition of which was only rendered possible by popular indifference, and which was at once the fruit of privilege and corruption, came the pampering of

the children of the "new-rich" and a manifestation of a deep-rooted desire to establish wealth-bulwarked families whose property interests should render them increasingly powerful. Jefferson had bravely and at last successfully fought against the old aristocratic laws and customs of Virginia, which provided for primogeniture and entail, because, as he clearly showed, such things were inimical and destructive to a truly popular or democratic government. But now the parvenue aristocracy, the great railway magnates, Wall Street manipulators and corporation chiefs, determined on the re-establishment of the undemocratic class-rule idea by making one son in a family the head of the house, with far greater wealth than the other children. In the case of Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, the father passed over the elder son who had offended him by marrying a woman whom he did not favor as his son's wife. Alfred was made the head of the house. The curse of wealth with no sense of moral responsibility is well illustrated in the life of this young man, the story of whose career is yet fresh in the mind of the public.

But this phase of the triple curse that has followed departure from the democratic ideal,—the moral degradation of the pampered children of acquired wealth,—is far less sinister and tragic than the two other great overshadowing evils resulting from giving arbitrary taxing power to irresponsible corporations or individuals, by which the masses are placed at the mercy of privileged classes. The corruption of the government, amounting in result to the overthrow of popular representative rule, and the impoverishment of honest industry by craft and indirection, together with the lowering of the moral ideals of the nation,—these are the supreme curses that have followed the advent and advance of the present-day commercial feudalism in its war to the death on the ideals of the Declaration of Independence or the fundamental principles of a democratic republic.

## **WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT?**

### **How the Modern Samson is being Overpowered.**

**P**ROFESSOR William Kittle's distinctly great paper in the July *ARENA* on "The Making of Public Opinion," together with Mr.

Richard Haste's extremely thoughtful article on "The Evolution of the Fourth Estate" in the June *ARENA*, constitutes a startling exposure of how the American people are being systematically drugged until they are falling

into a profound lethargy, which in turn is rendering it possible for the feudalism of privileged wealth, aided by the corrupt bosses and the money-controlled machine, to advance with uninterrupted progress upon the citadels of free government, overthrowing in practical working the old democratic ideals and replacing the same with the reactionaries theories of class-ruled despotisms.

It must not be supposed, however, that the control of daily, weekly and monthly periodicals or the direct and indirect bribery of church and college by princely gifts from the master spirits of great corporations and trusts that have been the fountain-heads of political corruption, the moral degeneracy of the nation and the exploitation and impoverishment of the people, are the only means that have been and are being systematically pushed forward for the drugging and poisoning of the American mind in order that the Samson of democracy shall be so lulled to sleep as to be helpless in the hands of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

Here, for example, is one of many subtle methods by which public opinion is influenced, —a method quite unlike many others employed by the feudalism of privileged wealth in that there is nothing criminal or glaringly immoral in the proceeding. The evil results of getting an *ex parte* report before the readers of the nation may be great, its influence may be far-reaching, and it may serve to mislead tens of thousands of voters; yet according to modern ethics the corporations in question cannot be arraigned for trying to place their brief before the people. The unfortunate phase of the whole matter lies in the fact that there is not a sufficient degree of lofty patriotism among those who pretend to be friends of democratic principles and popular rights to see that the other side of the question is also duly presented to the public. There are hundreds of American citizens of means who realize that the nation is in deadly peril through the systematic misleading of the public in regard to vital issues and theories relating both to government and to economic conditions. These are they who are morally responsible in such a case as that which Mr. Louis F. Post thus happily describes in an editorial in *The Public* of Chicago for July 2nd:

"It would be over-critical to complain of the Standard Oil Company for making a free gift, with "all charges paid," to the college libraries of the country, of a complete set, six volumes, of its lawyers' briefs on the law and the facts at

its trial for crime under the Sherman law. If the Standard Oil Company did nothing worse than this, it would be well within its rights. What it has to say for itself, we should all be glad to hear, and to have young men in colleges know. But where are the public-spirited men to see to it that the college libraries get also the people's side (with "all charges paid") of questions like that involved in the Standard Oil trust's career?"

**The Moral Responsibility that Rests on Men who see the Danger and yet will not Sacrifice to Save the Day for Pure and Efficient Government.**

The query asked by Mr. Post suggests a question that ought to ring like an alarm bell in the ears of all those men of financial means in the nation who know and admit that the Republic is being debauched and overthrown by the feudalism of privileged wealth, the corrupt boss and the money-controlled machine acting in unison, and who admit that either the complete destruction of a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" or a revolution of force will follow unless we can speedily secure such practical methods for reclaiming the government to the electorate as are found in Direct Legislation, the Right of Recall and other eminently feasible and thoroughly democratic means for bulwarking free institutions, and yet who will not put their hands in their pockets and invest even a few thousand dollars to support publications that are awakening the people and carrying on a systematic educational campaign for the restoration and maintenance of free institutions by peaceable methods.

There need be no risk in such an undertaking, for the reformers among the thinkers and authoritative writers the world over are ready to sacrifice and struggle for the success of the cause, just as Washington's ragged regiments were ready to sacrifice and struggle for the success of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. But these men of money everywhere plead poverty, though any one of several of them could easily place a magazine like *THE ARENA* beyond the risk of being crippled and where it would earn a legitimate income under energetic business management.

There never was a time when the people so needed, and I believe when there was such a widespread demand on the part of earnest-minded patriots for a thoroughly incorruptible, free, fearless, dignified and authoritative

review of opinion which could at all times be depended upon to champion the cause of justice and fundamental democracy as to-day. There never was a time when a few thousand dollars would so surely establish such a magazine. And yet these men whose wealth runs up from hundreds of thousands to millions, and who admit the dangers and needs of the hour, refuse to aid even to the extent of a fraction of their fortunes those who for years have sacrificed and struggled even for the bare necessities of life in order to be true to their trust and the cause represented by the fathers of the Republic, in the face of money offers that would have meant pecuniary ease and comfort had they been willing to strike their

colors. The need of the present hour is for more Robert Morrises, Benjamin Franklins and Thomas Jeffersons—men dominated by faith and moral idealism, and fewer of the children of modern materialistic commercialism who though perhaps deceiving themselves into believing that they are loyal to the principles of free institutions and faithful to the trust, care so much for their hoarded gold that they are not willing to spend a fraction of it to awaken a sleeping nation and save the great Republic by peaceable measures.

Gentlemen, the feudalism of privileged wealth is the aggressive foe of popular and free government, but are you quit of moral responsibility?

### AN IMPORTANT PRACTICAL PALLIATIVE REMEDY FOR FOSTERING SELF-RESPECTING MANHOOD.

#### **No Man Liveth unto Himself.**

**L**IFE IS interdependent. The individual is the cell in the social organism that has his function to perform. Every person, no matter how obscure, radiates an influence that makes for the healthy and normal growth or the decay and death of the social body. And what is more, the influence one exerts is often entirely out of proportion to the seeming immediate results; for life impinges on life. The future is the heir of to-day, and the contagion of health or disease is transmitted from one to another and from this to the oncoming generation. Here is a striking illustration of this truth:

“Several years ago, during a time of business depression and panic, the great American cities were thronged with out-of-works clamoring for the privilege of being able to earn a livelihood. In Detroit, Michigan, at that time, Mayor Hazen Pingree conceived a plan for assisting the work-seekers to raise a crop of potatoes by securing for them the use of vacant and idle land in the city and helping them to secure the means of cultivation and the potatoes for planting. The plan was widely ridiculed by many of the organs of a materialistic commercialism. The Mayor who thus sought to maintain that priceless asset of a free people—the self-respecting manhood of the voters—was dubbed a crank and referred to as “Potato Pingree.” The plan, however,

proved eminently successful. In other cities this practical measure was followed by public-minded citizens organizing into societies for the purpose of assisting the poor to help themselves. In Philadelphia perhaps the most extensive and successful plan for assisting the poor to utilize vacant lots for intensive gardening was carried out; though in New York City, Buffalo, Cleveland, Ohio, and other populous centers gratifying results followed the experiment.

#### **The Good Work is Carried Over to Great Britain.**

In London, the suffering of the poor beggar description, and high-minded statesmen, philosophers and humanitarians have vainly striven to meet the present emergencies while working for the establishment of a juster order that shall banish uninvited poverty from civilized lands.

Among the men who have taken a lead in this work is the well-known, public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia, Mr. Joseph Fels, who spends much of his time in London. Mr. Fels has accomplished a great work in conjunction with other public-spirited citizens, in helping the starving to get out into the country and onto the land, under circumstances that have enabled them to make a good living. Recently he has been a leading spirit in a concerted movement to utilize the vacant lots of

London, after the plan adopted in Philadelphia. In a letter published in the *London Times* last autumn, Mr. Fels referred at length to the successful experiments in America and described in detail the work which he and his associates had undertaken in London. From this extremely interesting communication we make the following extract:

"At Philadelphia in particular the results have been remarkable, and as the society has now a record extending over 12 years, the position is not only well assured, but the power for substantially good work is increasing every season. From the 11th annual report we learn that about 300 acres are under the cultivation of unemployed and partly employed men, thus providing some relief for about 1,000 families, comprising, say, 5,000 persons. In 1907 vegetables and other garden produce to the total value of \$67,500 (£13,500) were raised upon the area named, showing an average of \$225 (£45) per acre. The total cost to the society was £1,500, so that, for every £1 subscribed to the funds, £9 worth of produce was returned to the holders and cultivators of the land. Less than £2 per family was expended to ensure this result, and, as the superintendent rightly observes in the report, "Given so, this provides them with food the whole season, and makes them stronger. If given otherwise, it would help them for a week, and make them weaker." Well indeed might the association adopt the following verse as its motto, for it admirably expresses the idea which underlies the object of the undertaking:—

"I gave a beggar from my little store  
Of well-earned-gold. He spent the shining ore  
And came again, and yet again, still cold  
And hungry as before.

"I gave a thought, and through that thought of mine  
He found himself a man, supreme, divine,  
Bold, clothed, and crowned with blessings manifold,  
And now he begs no more.

#### London Vacant Land.

Knowing so well what has been accomplished in America, in which work I have taken a part, I am founding a similar organization in England. The start was made last spring, when, as the result of a meeting in Toynbee-hall, the London Vacant Land Cultivation Society came into existence, and is now extending its influence and its work in every available direction. With the support the scheme should command from all who have the means to help, and who are wishful to find the opportunity to afford real aid to self-helpful

men, this society will become a substantial power for good in this great metropolis. Its objects and methods must appeal to every thoughtful and reasonable member of the community, and the results already secured are satisfactory enough to convince the most skeptical.

#### Methods.

The method adopted is to obtain the loan of unoccupied land as near the centers of congested population as possible. This is marked out into plots of about one-eighth of an acre, say 20 square rods (that size being found convenient in many respects,) and these are allotted to suitable men who are in irregular and partial work which only brings in a small sum each week. It is felt that the benefit is greater to those so placed, because, if their small earnings are supplemented by the produce of such plots, it prevents the men drifting into the ranks of the absolutely unemployed, or becoming a charge upon the ratepayers. If there is any truth in the old adage, "Prevention is better than cure," it should apply here with double force.

When the first digging is completed to the satisfaction of the superintendent, a small sum is paid to each man as an encouragement, and this enables him to provide himself with the necessary tools, seeds, or plants.

Up to that stage, the society supplies what tools, manure, or seeds are needed, and at all times gifts of these essentials are distributed amongst the men without charge. The society also provides for superintendence and instruction free of cost to the men; in fact, it strives to help them and their families in every reasonable way to employ their many otherwise wasted hours to the best advantage in a healthful and pleasant occupation. How keenly these privileges are appreciated is proved by the statement that the applications for plots far exceed the number at the disposal of the society and, with effective financial support, it would be easy to find cultivators for a thousand acres of land.

At the present time the society has under its control land at Fulham, Balham, and Canning Town, providing for over 200 plot-holders, and, though some of this has only been in cultivation for a few months, it is astonishing what results energy, perseverance, and care have produced. A large proportion of the land was of a very difficult character, and much labour has been required to bring it into the

right condition. Fully 90 per cent. of the men have kept to the work extremely well, following directions with due attention, though it is a form of labour that few are familiar with. In the case of men who have been in defective health the improvement has been conspicuous, and they speak most thankfully of the benefits they have derived. The marginal 10 per cent. have either found the work too much for them, or they have secured other employment. In the latter respect some of the men have been very fortunate, and they refer to it as a curious coincidence that, since taking up these plots, they have had more casual work than they have had for a long period previously. We wish it applied to more of them, for many have a severe struggle to face all their responsibilities, and have found the few shillings they have realized by the sale of produce a most welcome addition to their poor resources.

#### **The Report of the London Vacant Land Cultivation Society.**

The first annual report of the London Vacant Land Cultivation Society, 1908-09, has recently appeared. It is a most vital and inspiring pamphlet. The London County Council and other public-spirited bodies as well as many individuals and some business corporations have materially aided the society in placing land at its service, as well as by contributing to the purchase of seeds, tools, etc. The results of the work have exceeded the anticipations of its friends. Space prevents our giving extended citations from the report, but the following typical illustrations of what has been accomplished cannot fail to prove of interest to earnest-minded men and women:

"Intensive cultivation is necessarily the basis of all allotment management, and the men soon learn to recognize the importance of cropping every square yard of ground fully and profitably. At first they are apt to go the extreme and crowd everything unduly, whether sowing or planting, but in time they learn that this is false economy. The idea possesses them to get the utmost possible beneficial return from the land, and this is true intensive cultivation. They learn, also, with regard to vegetables, how great is the difference between the value of the best grown produce and that in poor condition directly they try to sell their crops. This often means a substantial profit in favour of the former or a proportionate loss on the latter. The advantages derived from care in selection, in grading, and in presenting

the produce for sale are all soon appreciated and form useful lessons.

Calculated by the acre, the value of the produce consumed by the grower's family and sold to the public has, in many cases, ranged from £30 to £60, or from £4 to over £7 for a 20-rod plot with a full six months' cultivation. Numerous examples could be given, but a few will suffice, and here is one which has been duly verified by an independent authority:—

	£	s.	d.
Cabbages.....	1	3	8½
Lettuces.....	0	19	8½
Cauliflowers.....	0	14	4½
Carrots.....	0	12	2
Turnips and Tops.....	0	12	1
Onions.....	0	12	0
Scarlet Runners.....	0	11	9
Rhubarb.....	0	10	6
Brussels Sprouts.....	0	10	6
Potatoes.....	0	8	7
Peas.....	0	4	9
Radishes.....	0	2	3
Mint.....	0	1	1
Parsley.....	0	1	0
	<hr/>		
	£7	4	4½

This constitutes a gross return of £57 14s. 10d. per acre, nearly the whole of the produce being sold at retail prices.

Taking individual crops, some of the returns are enormously higher proportionately to the space they occupied. Thus a dozen bunches of Early Short Horn Carrots were sold from a little over one square rod of ground at 2s. 6d. per dozen; total, 15s.

Here is another interesting example. A small plot comprising 220 square yards (about 7 square rods) was not taken over by the plot-holder until May 1st, 1908, and he had then all the preparation, so that it was well towards the end of the month before it was completed. By August 15th, besides what he had used himself, he had sold the following as the result of three months' experience:—

	£	s.	d.
Cabbage Lettuces.....	0	9	2
Cos.....	0	2	9
Radishes.....	0	2	2½
Onions.....	0	2	7
Greens.....	0	0	7
Cabbages.....	0	2	6
Kidney Beans.....	0	2	1½
Scarlet Runners.....	0	0	6
Peas.....	0	1	3
Potatoes.....	0	2	4
Carrots.....	0	0	4
	<hr/>		
	£1	6	4

This was at the gross rate of £29 per acre for a quarter of the year, and, with the autumn crops, the total was nearly doubled. For instance, this plot-holder was very successful with tomatoes tied to sticks in the open. From three plants he had 107 good, even, medium-sized tomatoes, with a total weight of 13½ lbs., value 3d. per lb.

One full-sized plot was not commenced until June, 1908, and, as it required a great amount of labour to prepare it for crops, nearly two months elapsed before the first digging was completed. Yet the following were sold, in addition to what was used at home, before the end of the season, practically for about one-fourth of the space (*i.e.*, 5 square rods):—

Runner Beans .....	s.	d.
Peas .....	2	2½
Lettuces .....	2	8
Beetroot .....	1	4
	1	3

Brussels Sprouts .....	3	9
"    "    Tops .....	5	3
Radishes .....	0	6
Mustard and Cress .....	0	3
	17	2½

It is not, however, in the sale of the produce that the only good, or, indeed, the chief result is obtained. For men with large families the supply of fresh vegetables is not merely appreciated in the highest degree, but the improved health of the children has been remarkable in several instances. Both the men and their wives have frequently spoken upon this subject with earnestness, and, as regards the latter, often with emotion. It is a great factor in the work.

While vegetables constitute the main features, a small space is allowed for flowers, and some of these have been made a source of profit, notably early chrysanthemums.

## JUDGE GAYNOR'S BRAVE STAND FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

**S**UPREME Court Justice Gaynor of New York is entitled to the profound gratitude of all lovers of free institutions for his brave words in behalf of constitutional rights for the weak and unfortunate, which in recent years have time and again been most flagrantly violated,—violated in such a way as to seriously jeopardise rights vital to free government and liberty-loving manhood. While the police, by the arrogation of autocratic power, have been by no means the only offenders, they have been guilty in many instances of the most flagrant violations of the rights guaranteed the individual by our constitution, and Justice Gaynor's noble utterances called forth on the occasion of the decision of the Mayor of New York in favor of the Duffy boy, are so timely and important that we quote them at length:

"The great thing is that it has been established in the person of this uninfluential boy that there is no place under our system of government for an autocrat. It cannot be to often said, and it ought to be pasted in the hat of every official, and especially in that of every mayor and police commissioner, at ours is a government of laws and not of men.

"No official, however high, is above the law.

He has no right or lawful power to do anything except the laws permit him to do it, and then only in the manner and way which the law limits and prescribes to him. That is our government. The opposition is despotism. For an official to set himself above the law and do as he likes is despotism.

"This case is only the beginning of the restoration of free government to the great and intelligent city of New York. Its people have been so long cuffed about and outraged, and their rights and liberties trampled on by a succession of low, ignorant, and often corrupt police officials, wholly unchecked by any one above them, that they have in a large degree forgotten their individual rights, and were fast becoming debased. Things are done here constantly by the rulers of the police any one of which would create a revolution in England and endanger the throne if not apologized for and redressed.

"Think in this free government, the very corner-stone of which is free speech, of the police going into halls at the command of their rulers, and driving out the audience peaceably assembled! And yet how often it has occurred here. Tens of thousands of false arrests and imprisonments are committed here yearly. People are locked up over-night in cells and



taken to court next morning, and discharged because not even a charge can be made against them. This has become the daily routine, as every magistrate can testify.

"Our police force is not to blame, but the persons whom one puts in rulership over them, incompetent, corrupt, or mere buffoons. Without stopping to think, I can name at least five police rulers who have gone out of their office millionaires in the last 15 or 20 years. How can a police force be otherwise than demoralized with such rulers over them, one after another, and the mayors of the city suffering

them to run their courses unchecked?

"I say unto you that what has happened this day is only the beginning of the restoration of free government to the people of New York and the teaching of its police rulers that they are not above the law. You cannot rule a free people in a lawless way. First of all, it is for officials to keep the written law and not trample on and defy it, and set at naught the rights of others."

No more timely, solemn or important utterance has been given by a distinguished jurist in recent years than the above.

### THE THEATER AND THE LIFE OF THE RACE.

SOME years ago, at the time such plays as "Sappho," "The Girl from Maxims" and other plays that were being severely criticized in the name of decency were being performed in New York and other eastern cities, we were in conversation with a journalist very intimately connected with the stage. He was deploring the formation of the theatrical trust as being inimical to the best interests of the public, the stage and a dramatic profession.

"You notice," he observed, "a growing tendency on the part of certain managers to substitute spectacles, wholly wanting in literary merit of fine thought-stimulating influence, for great plays interpreted by competent actors. Such spectacles, with their clap-trap and tinsel, appeal to the unthinking but they not only lower the stage but tend to educate the people downward instead of upward, and accustom them to entertainments that have no intellectual worth and frequently are morally demoralizing. By controlling the majority of the theaters the trust can crowd out strong companies representing highly meritorious plays, especially when their power is as great as it is with the press and many of the dramatic critics."

At another time the same gentleman was referring to some decidedly risqué plays then being performed. "I am told," he observed, "that some of these managers have boasted that such plays were bound to succeed without any great expense for advertising; for the critics will denounce them in such a way as to excite the curiosity of the public, and then one or more preachers will supplement the critics' work by coming forward with scathing denun-

ciations. These things furnish the best possible advertisement and do not cost anything."

The stage in the hands of men who claim that the box office is all that counts is bound to degenerate unless there is a healthy moral sentiment in the community which, exerted by opinion-forming influences, shall ignore the base and give proper emphasis to that which is high and fine. The stage is one of the most powerful thought-moulders of modern civilization. It could and easily might be made one of the greatest educational factors of the day,—an agent for social, ethical and intellectual elevation second only to the public schools, the press and the church; while under the guidance of men dominated by a passion for gold, it can and often does become an engine for moral degeneration.

Recently fresh emphasis has been given to this fact by the production of a fresh crop of morally deleterious plays which happily have aroused a storm of opposition and criticism; but unhappily, this criticism, as is so frequently the case, has in several instances been altogether too sweeping, intemperate and indiscriminate in character. To denounce our stage to-day as being worse than in the days of paganism, as did Archbishop Farley recently, is the extreme of absurdity and recklessness, as all persons conversant with history and the present stage know full well. Even Rabbi Wise, who also arranged the drama, also displayed an amazing degree of ignorance in regard to the nature and character of the American stage, when he declared that "it made for degradation, for absolute moral rotteness." This is true only of a compara-

tively few productions. We think it is safe to say that at least eight out of ten of the plays that are put on the legitimate stage to-day are morally healthy. Certainly they are not demoralizing; while a proportion of these—certainly one-third—exert a positive moral influence on the imagination of the audience. The melodrama, so popular in stock work, while objectionable in some respects, and usually wanting in literary merit and the element of probability, is nevertheless almost invariably moral in its general trend, influence and teachings.

This indiscriminate and sweeping denunciation of the stage, born of inexcusable ignorance or blind prejudice, is extremely unfortunate because it does great wrong to the stage; it misleads hundreds of thousands of people and it prevents large numbers of persons who ought to support a strong, healthy moral drama from extending their patronage to the theater. It also gives aid and encouragement to those reactionaries who wish to abridge more and more that freedom of thought which is so largely responsible for the great intellectual, moral and religious development of western civilization. To denounce the theater because some plays are demoralizing is as absurd as it is easy. Plays like "The Servant in the House" are powerful sermons, pure exalting and ennobling,—sermons that are doing as much to take hold of the conscience of serious-minded people as the church once influenced them, before she became so largely the tongue-tied handmaid of privileged wealth. While, on the other hand, plays like several that have been produced in recent years, which cater to the sensual passions, though not nearly so coarse, low or immorally demoralizing as many of the plays of past epochs, are, like all immoral influences that play upon

the imagination, disintegrating in character.

While strongly dissenting from the sweeping criticism of Rabbi Wise, we heartily agree with much of the thought expressed in his recent address delivered in Clinton Hall, New York, as reported in the daily press.

"There is one thing to be done," said the Rabbi. "We've got to increase our moral assets. There is too much of penal law and too little of moral law. I want the moral principles applied. We honor not honor but success. We have but little honor for the man who is not rich. We've got to change our moral judgment of men. You can't prevent a man from buying an automobile or a dukelet for his daughter, but we can limit our respect for him, even for a man who has libraries to give away."

In the above the Rabbi utters some fundamental truths. If the church was true to her Master's teaching and addressed herself to the moral upbuilding of the individual, following the Nazarene in refusing to be silent at the behest of wealth, influence of power, and insisting on the great fundamental ethics of Christianity being made the rule of each life, there would be no public sentiment in the community that would countenance, much less lucratively support, immoral plays; while on the other hand, if the clergymen should manifest a conscientious regard for the truth and exhibit a just and judicial spirit instead of resorting to absurdly sweeping, uncritical and unjust denunciations of the stage as a whole, and would commend the plays that make for social righteousness and individual moral development, denouncing and criticizing the plays that are evil in character, the stage would soon become one of the most powerful engines of true civilization.

#### A CRITICISM OF MR. BOWEN'S "COMPETITION THE SOUL OF TRADE."

WE WISH to call the special attention of our readers to the finished and exceptionally able paper entitled "Competition the Soul of Trade," by Mr. William A. Bowen, which appears in this issue. We do this for two reasons: the paper emphasizes some great basic truths in a striking manner; yet in some respects it seems to us that Mr. Bowen, by strangely failing to accompany his broader statements with certain supplementary truths,

has left his argument open, measurably at least, to the criticism he so cogently urges against the position of the apostles of competition.

We fully agree with his major premise: that the sweep of civilization is toward union or co-operation rather than competition or war. Great epochs in the slow advance of life seem to carry with them certain dominating distinctive thoughts or ideas that may be

called the key-notes of the epochs during which they overmaster the imagination of civilization. Now the key-note of our age is undoubtedly union, combination or co-operation. Recognizing this fact, certain intellectually keen men whose moral sensibilities, however, have never been properly trained, have utilized the co-operative methods for egoistic or personal advancement, often in opposition to the interests of the many. Thus while intellectually and on the physical plane they have acted in accordance with the larger demands of the hour, they have brought the same competitive spirit into the struggle which has been the dominating and demoralizing influence that has marked the competitive age.

The union of all for all is a concrete expression of the spirit of civilization now pressing for recognition; but the union of the strong and the crafty or the combination of the shrewd few for the exploitation and oppression of the many, is an exhibition of the employment of the new dominant spirit of civilization as far as methods are concerned, with the soul-destroying animating spirit of war or competition as its guiding influence,—the same spirit which during the competitive age now drawing to its close created so much inharmony, injustice and misery.

The union of the strong, guided by the materialistic, egoistic or war spirit that is the life principle of competition, has made a still more deadly power at war against the truly social spirit of civilization.

Now the failure on the part of our author clearly to emphasize this basic difference between the animating spirit of the social forces that are working for the mutual happiness, prosperity and development of the units of society, and the spirit that animates the great corporations, trusts, monopolies or, in a word, the feudalism of privileged wealth, is liable to work confusion in the mind of the reader.

The attempts, many of them hasty, ill-digested and superficial and some of them

fundamentally vicious, to remedy the present evils, have been efforts to cope with and control this new reactionary and sinister power that utilizes the methods of co-operation for the abnormal enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, and while often philosophically and practically weak, because failing to recognize the sweep and current of civilization, are far less open to criticism than the reactionary and undemocratic influences against which they have waged war.

Here, it seems to us, is the weakest point in this highly thoughtful essay.

Again, our author's position in regard to the liquor question is, we think, open to question; and indeed the major argument he advances in favor of the social demand for the interests of society or all the people overshadowing the old idea of freedom for the individual, is ignored when he comes to consider this issue, provided he agrees with the generally accepted conclusions in regard to the relation of the liquor traffic to crime, poverty and moral disintegration. If those who indulged in liquor were the only sufferers from its use, or if this traffic were not one of the most fruitful sources of crime and thus a menace to the peace and harmonious development of society, and also an enormous burden to the community for the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, the case would be far different. But if we admit that a large proportion of those who are sufferers through the liquor traffic are innocent victims, such as the wives and children of the drunkards and the victims of their insanity; if we admit that the liquor traffic is responsible for a large proportion of the crime with which the state is compelled to deal, and, furthermore, that it is the right of society to protect itself from what it regards as a menace to the individual and the community, the claim that society has no right to prohibit the liquor traffic, when the people are convinced that it is a positive evil, falls to the ground.

#### DISTINGUISHED PHYSICIANS ON THE DRINK QUESTION.

**T**HE NATIONAL conference on the liquor question from a medical and scientific view-point, held in Washington, D. C., during the month of March under the auspices of the American Society for the Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics, was one of

the most important congresses of specialists and trained thinkers that has assembled in many years; and the positive views expressed by a number of leading members will appeal to the reason and conscience of thousands of people in such a way as to awaken them to a

new realization of the deadly peril to society and the individual of the drink curse.

Among the many strong and thought-stimulating words uttered at this conference, the following impress us as of special interest and significance. Dr. T. D. Crothers, Superintendent of the Walnut Lodge Hospital of Hartford, Connecticut, asserted that:

"Experience and laboratory research have shown alcohol to be a narcotic and its effects on the system produce a distinct disease both curable and preventable.

"This question is one of public health and sanitary science. The saloon for the promotion of the sale of spirits is a center for the promulgation of this disease, and is doomed to extinction from a larger and more exact knowledge.

"Science shows that alcohol as an anæsthetic has a value in medicine, but its real power is that of a fuel, light and force producer.

"That cheap alcohols can be made from a great variety of courses that will be active competitors to electricity, gasoline and steam.

"What is needed is the invention of boilers, lamps and means to utilize and make practical this great power of alcohol.

"Every distillery and brewery in the country will be required for the manufacture and distribution of cheap alcohols when the inventor supplies the missing links.

"Alcohol will become one of the great rivals of electricity to do the world's work, because it can be made from the waste and by-products in every section of the country.

"Beer, spirits and all other forms of alcohol as beverages will disappear when the inventor shows us how to harness and utilize this new latent power of civilization.

"The future of the alcoholic problem will be followed by a great revolution in commercial industry and will be a question of sanitary science and inventor's skill."

Dr. V. A. Ellsworth, Superintendent of the Washingtonian Home, Boston, stated that from fifteen to twenty per cent. of all cases of inebriety treated in properly organized hospitals were permanently cured, and at least eighty per cent. were temporarily improved and benefited. This statement he based on his own experience of over fifty years with the care and treatment of some thirty thousand patients in the Washingtonian Home. On the other hand, he held that the statistics of the legal treatment of drunkenness by fines and imprisonment showed that less than one

per cent. of all persons arrested are restored, while ninety-nine per cent. are permanently trained to careers of crime and pauperism and made worse by the efforts of the State to cure them. "What is needed," he declared, "are work-house hospitals and reformatories conducted along military lines, where restraint and occupation can be combined to permanently overcome the disease, and restore the patient to health again."

The position taken by this eminent Boston physician was strongly endorsed by Dr. L. D. Mason of Brooklyn, Vice-President of the American Society for the Study of Alcohol and Other Narcotics. He insisted that "hospitals for the inebriates must be built by the State. The present reckless neglect of the inebriate, until he has reached a terminal stage, is most expensive and dangerous to the community. Experience has proven that the inebriate is more degenerative and destructive in his influence than the criminal and pauper, and that he must be segregated in special hospitals and colony homes to be cured."

Dr. C. A. Rosenwasser of Newark, New Jersey, Chairman of the Dependency and Crime Commission of the State of New Jersey, said that:

"Many of our present methods, particularly of courts and jails, are practically training schools where armies of paupers and criminals are grown and cultivated.

"If it were not for the increased ratio of mortality our civilization would be overwhelmed with degenerates and defectives. This increase varies from thirty to sixty per cent. over the normal.

"There is a more urgent need for this than that of any other disease in the provision of farm colonies for the inebriate, for such treatment will restore men to become producers and active citizens taking them from the ranks of degenerates, and thus checking a great fountain head of loss and misery."

Dr. Arthur MacDonald of Washington, D. C., held that:

"No evil is greater in this country, because around it gathers and grows vast tides of pauperism and criminality which can be overcome by exact treatment of inebriates."

Never before, we think, has the scientific world been so aroused to the importance of an educational agitation which shall inform the people in regard to the evil nature of the continued use of alcohol upon the system as at the present time. And this important work

is happily being complemented by an educational agitation addressed to the reason of the thoughtful, on the part of numerous ethical and economic writers who are pointing out the important facts that the inebriate is not only a curse to himself, but that far more misery is frequently undergone by innocent wives, children and other members of society through his weakness than is suffered by the one who drinks; and furthermore, that the cost to the State or society of the machinery of justice is directly and indirectly largely due to the liquor

traffic. The vast expense necessary to maintain order, owing to the irresponsibility of those who drink, is but a fraction of the cost to the department of justice, law and order necessitated by the liquor traffic. While a still further valid argument is found in the fact that the drunkard is not only a curse to himself, his family and the society in which he lives, but in a large number of cases he transmits his curse to offspring who are destined in turn to be a curse to themselves and a burden to the society of to-morrow.

### THE FAMOUS ST. GOTTHARD RAILROAD BECOMES THE PROPERTY OF THE SWISS GOVERNMENT.

**T**HE GOVERNMENT of Switzerland has recently purchased the St. Gotthard Railroad. Speaking of this interesting event in the march of Public-Ownership, the *Christian Science Monitor* observes:

"The transfer of the St. Gotthard from private to government-ownership is an event in itself in the history of the nationalization of public-utilities, and forms the culmination of the story of its construction and its political, military and economic significance. While the Gotthard railway is only 170 miles in length,

its vast importance as a medium of international traffic completely overshadows the smallness of its mileage as compared with many of the giant systems of the United States. Its tunnel, until the completion of the Simplon, was the longest in the world, and still retains its prestige, for, at the time of its construction, the labor saving devices and the modern boring machine had not yet been invented. So difficult was the work that during its progress doubts were raised of its ultimate completion.

### EDMUND VANCE COOKE'S POEM COMMEMORATING THE ARRIVAL OF THE FLEET.

**P**OETS who are great enough to penetrate to the fundamental principles on which an enduring civilization must rest, who are just enough to demand for others what they ask for themselves, and who are broad-visioned enough to see in democracy the hope of humanity, are all too rare in an age like the present, in which money-madness and the worship of material things breeds artificiality and superficiality, because the deep springs of life are unstirred.

Since Whitman left us, Edwin Markham has been the unquestioned laureate of democracy—the greatest fundamental philosophical poet of social advance and ethical verity in the New World.

But from time to time other voices ring out clear and strong from the barren waste of

shallow versification and dilettante poetry which caters to conventionalism and the god of things as they are. The most notable of these recent poetic messages that voice fundamental ethical truth in the realm of national ideals is the following written by Edmund Vance Cooke and published in a recent issue of *The Independent*. It is entitled "The Fleet."

"This is the song of the thousand men, who are multiplied by twelve,  
Sorted and sifted, tested, tried, and muscled to dig and delve.  
They come from the hum of city and shop, they come from the farm and field,  
And they plow the acres of ocean now, but tell me! what is their yield?"

"This is the song of the sixteen ships to buffet the battle and gale,

And in every one we have thrown away a Harvard or a Yale.  
In them are the powers of Pittsburg, the mills of Lowell and Lynn,  
And the furnaces roar and the boilers seethe, but tell me! what do they spin?

"This is the song of the myriad miles from Hampton to the Horn,  
From the Horn away to that western bay, whence our guns were proudly borne;  
A royal fleet and a host of hands to carry these rounds of shot!  
And behold! they have girdled the globe itself, and what is the gain they have brought?"

"This is the song of the Wasters, well "Defenders," if you please,  
Defenders against our fellows, with their wasters, even as these,

For we will not learn the lesson known since ever the years were young,  
That the chief defense which a nation needs is to guard its own hand and tongue.

"This is the song of our folly, that we cry out a glad acclaim  
At these slaughtering ships in the shadow of which we should bow our heads in shame.  
That we clap applause, that we cry hurrahs, that we vent our unthinking breath,  
For oh, we are proud that we flaunt this flesh in the markets of dismal death.

"This is the song of our sinning (for the fault is not theirs, but ours),  
That we chain these slaves to our galley-ships, as the symbol of our powers;  
And we crown men brave, who on land and wave fear not to die; but still,  
Still first on the rolls of the world's great souls are the men who have feared to kill."

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### **The Rate Making Cases.**

No mention has been made in these columns of the Knoxville Water and New York Gas Cases in which the Supreme Court confirmed the right of states and cities to regulate the rates for public services. These cases were clearly reviewed in nearly every newspaper and in many journals. Both decisions are based on the monopoly nature of the services supplied. The action of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the Haverhill Gas Case in February was along the same lines. The Gas Company had been ordered by the city officials to supply gas to the public buildings at 80 cents per thousand. The gas company threatened to remove the meters and shut off the gas from these buildings, but was restrained by injunction. The Supreme Court ruled that the company must obey the order for cheaper gas.

### **Holyoke, Mass.**

A young man from a nearby college came to me the other day for material for an argument he was writing. Under the terms of the exercise he was supposed to be a member of a Council Committee speaking to the Committee in favor of a private lighting plant instead of the existing municipal plant.

"I think I'll take Holyoke," he said. "I just read an article by Blank (mentioning a prominent manufacture of patented failures) about it."

I agreed that Holyoke would do, and gave him the reports of the Holyoke lighting plants for the last three or four years. He studied one carefully, and looked disturbed.

"Why," he exclaimed, "this seems to show a profit."

Then he read the others, and his face grew longer and longer.

"I guess Holyoke won't help me any, from this," he admitted, "but Blank said it was a failure."

"Blank sometimes makes mistakes," I told him. "Here, for instance, are some comments on Blank's list. You see the managers of nearly every plant Blank mentions prove Blank's figures to be wrong. Besides, here are some more references to the Holyoke plants, and you see they agree with the reports."

"Yes," he said after going through the articles I gave him. "I guess I'll have to take some other town."

But next time, if he has his choice, he'll take the other side.

The report for 1908 of the Holyoke lighting plant gives us these figures:

<b>GAS PLANT—</b>	
Receipts .....	\$177,285.15
Expenses .....	127,194.54
Interest, Depreciation, and Bad Debts (\$1,000) ...	31,228.17
Total .....	\$158,422.71
Profit .....	\$18,862.44
<b>ELECTRIC PLANT—</b>	
Receipts from Current .....	\$146,329.43
Expenses .....	99,656.33
Interest, Depreciation, and Bad Debts (\$300) .....	34,539.97
Total .....	\$134,226.30
Profit .....	\$12,103.13
Total Profit .....	\$30,965.57

Interest is figured at 3 per cent., Depreciation at 3½ per cent. The total profit is 5 per cent. on the total investment.

**Ruston, La.**

RUSTON, LA., the county seat of Lincoln Parish, and one of the smaller live cities of North Central Louisiana, combines its water-works and electric light plant, housing the two in one building and giving one superintendent charge of both. During the day the engines operate the pumps for the water system; at night they run the generators for the lighting. Twenty arcs of 1200 candlepower each light the streets. In addition to these, the plant furnishes current for 2,400 incandescent lamps in stores and residences. All the electric lighting is done by the city, commercial as well as street service being furnished.

The municipal plant was established in 1902; the first well went dry, and another one was drilled in 1904. Bonds were issued for \$30,000, payable in ten years and less. They have been promptly met, and there is now less than \$20,000 remaining. A special tax each year is levied when necessary; but the plant ordinarily makes between \$400 and \$500 a month profit—above operating expenses, with no allowance for interest or depreciation.

The water works supplies about 300 consumers, about half of whose services are metered. There are four large consumers—two railroads, a cotton-seed oil mill, and an Industrial School, and, in the summer time, the ice factory. The well, about 800 feet deep, supplies about 250,000 gallons a day.

The water rates are 10 cents per 1000 gallons; special contract for large users; minimum rates, \$1.00 a month.

For lighting, the rates are as follows (flat) per month:

- Business houses, hotels and boarding houses:
- Single light, \$1.00.

- First two lights (each) 75 cents.
- Next ten lights (each) 60 cents.
- All over twelve lights (each), 50 cents.
- Residences:
- First two lights (each), 60 cents.
- Next three lights (each), 50 cents.
- All over five lights (each), 30 cents.

Meter rates, however, are in force in the case of about half of the 200 customers of the Lighting Department, and an effort is being made to extend the meter system to all. The rates are:

- First 20 kilowatts, 12 cents per kilowatt.
- All over 20 kilowatts, 10 cents per kilowatt.

All the wiring is done by the superintendent, or under his direction, and charged for at cost, according to material and time used. All bills are due monthly, and are payable at the Mayor's office.—*Municipal Journal & Engineer.*

**Ashtabula, Ohio.**

The lighting plant of Ashtabula had a revenue for the last year of \$35,285.42, which was \$7,741.26 in excess of expenses. The plant furnished the city with free lighting valued, for the year, at \$10,000. The bonds still outstanding against the plant amount to \$22,000 but the plant has to its credit a bank account of \$32,327.79.

**Bellefontaine, Ohio.**

In comparison with prices paid by similar towns in its neighborhood Bellefontaine last year saved by its municipal lighting plant over \$14,000. The entire cost for the year was \$10,000 and the income from commercial lighting alone was \$12,000. The gas plant, against which there are outstanding \$27,000 worth of bonds paid \$6,500 into the sinking fund, and the water works also had a successful year.

**Pasadena, Cal.**

At the election in February the citizens of Pasadena voted seven to one in favor of a \$150,000 bond issue to increase the municipal lighting station. All the arguments used by the Edison Company before the election point to prove that the private plant should now sell out to the city.

**Progress in Canada.**

The following clipping has recently appeared in many papers. Canada likes to spring these little surprises on us. How long

will it take before we learn the lesson?

VANCOUVER, B. C., Jan. 9.—A special dispatch from Winnipeg says:

An amazing wave of public-ownership is sweeping over the prairie provinces. It is announced that Alberta is selling \$2,000,000 worth of bonds in London to construct a public telephone system. The Premiers of three provinces are seriously discussing a plan of public-ownership of great grain elevators throughout the West.

The Winnipeg Council has awarded contracts for more than \$1,000,000 on a civic power plant to cost \$5,000,000, with all equipment.

Edmonton is investigating a plan to develop a great power scheme for Alberta towns at Athabasca Falls, 150 miles away.

A striking feature of these schemes is that New York, Montreal and London capitalists are purchasing the bonds.

**Boston Garbage Situation.**

In partial accordance with one of the recommendations of the Special Garbage Commission's indefinite report (a perfect example of amateur government) the Boston Superintendent of Streets advertised for bids for a three years' contract for an experimental incineration plant, to be built by the contractor. No bids were received on the first advertisement, two on the second. One of these was for \$5,000 a year, the other \$105,000. At least one and possibly both of these bids were dummies. To date no action has been taken on the matter, and the old company whose contract expired three months ago keeps quietly on and shows no signs of expected change. Boston is now paying an inefficiency tax on waste disposal of upwards a dollar and a half per ton. As the Garbage Commission was more interested in its great(?) discovery (sic) that waste could be burned without the use of further fuel—one would think that at least they would have pretended that they knew that much when they were appointed—than it was in suggesting a possible remedy for a serious situation, it is quite natural that the ordinary citizen should show very little interest in the whole affair. Besides, certain unordinary citizens, including a former Superintendent and a former Mayor, are said to have little garbage schemes of their own. I tried recently to get a local paper to take up the matter, whereat I got the surprising answer that there were entirely too many woodpiles—

and there's a nigger in each one'. I am going to use this for one of the scenes of a comic opera I'm considering. I shall call it "Almost, Maybe, but Perhaps Not."

**The Brookline Report.**

A special (citizens) committee appointed by the town of Brookline, Mass., has turned in an adverse report that is worthy of some consideration. As the report remarks the lighting problem of Brookline is peculiar because the town is a purely residential district. The town gets both its gas and electric lighting from the Boston Consolidated Gas Company, although it lies in the heart of the district covered by the Edison Electric Company. At the time the committee was appointed the rates for electricity, which presumably were considered too high, were as follows:

Flat-rate Lighting—	
Price per Kw. Hr. ....	\$0.18
Maximum Demand—	
Price per Kw. Hr.:	
Primary .....	\$0.20
Secondary .....	0.08
Tertiary .....	0.05
Arc Lights on Street—	
Price per Lamp per year .....	124.10

After the organization of the Committee the Company reduced its rates to .16, .18, .08, .05, 124.10. The committee's expert, working on the basis of eight per cent. profit, decided that reasonable rates were .14, .16, .075, .05, 110.00. The Company issued a flat refusal to any further reduction of rates.

Now the sequence of events becomes confused, not so much as to fact as to facts, but in their arrangement in the report. This may or may not be significant, but it certainly is unfortunate. The Committee, we must remember, was appointed to consider the advisability of establishing a municipal plant. It therefore investigated the cost of acquiring and operating such a plant and found that the city could sell its own current for 8.8 cents per Kw. Hr. (The price includes interest and depreciation). The Committee also found that it could contract for light with the Edison Company at 12 cents per Kw. Hr., minimum \$1.00 per month, with reductions for large consumers. As the law of the Commonwealth would not allow the Edison Company to enter the field of the Gas Company, however, the committee started negotiations between the two Companies whereby the Edison Company were to take over the Brookline System in exchange for some of the Electric Company's gas holdings, and this was put through, subject



to the permission of the State Lighting Commissioners.

While these negotiations were pending the Gas Company—well, the Committee—had a meeting with the representative of the Gas Company. "At this meeting," says the report, "we proposed a schedule of prices which if accepted by the Gas Company would in the opinion of your committee make it *inexpedient for the town to establish a Municipal Lighting Plant*, even in the event of the pending negotiations between the Edison Company and the Gas Company coming to nothing." (The italics are mine.)

NOTE.—At this stage the Company "suggested" that it would not sell the city its electric system without the gas plant, which the city in no way desired.

The proposed rates were:

To go into effect July 1, 1909: .14, .16, .075, .05, 110.00

To go into effect July 1, 1910: .13, .16, .075, .05, 110.00.

The Company accepted these rates upon the condition that the town accept the report of the Committee favoring them. Wherefore the Committee "felt that the time had arrived to make a definite report to the town"—and did so. Just why the possibility of an annual saving, under the Edison arrangement, of \$45,000 a year is a reason for not saving more the report does not make clear. But these things are evident:

1. That the town by exerting itself could procure much better lighting rates than it previously enjoyed.

2. That the two corporations, by the very simple process of juggling a name-plate prevented the town from having a plant of its own.

3. That however hazy the Committee may have been about the purport of its own figures it was quite sure that it didn't want a municipal plant.

4. That no matter what your pet moral is, it's here somewhere.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

### The Annual Conventions of the Farmers' Co-operative Associations.

IN THE last number of the ARENA the report of the Bureau of Agriculture on the spread of co-operation in the United States and the scope of the work which the Bureau is doing for the farmer were discussed. Just at this time one can gain a very good insight into the work accomplished by the farmers themselves through their state associations, for the reports coming from the annual conventions which meet in February and March, tell of the immense amount being accomplished in making better conditions for themselves and so quite inadvertently making of themselves the citizens who will some day be needed to save our government from the aristocratic republicanism with which we are now threatened.

#### Iowa.

One of the largest of the state associations, the Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of Iowa held its fifth annual convention at Sioux

City on the third and fourth of February. There were present delegates from 210 co-operative grain companies in the State of Iowa alone, and the delegates sent from Illinois, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Nebraska increased the number of companies represented to 650, which means that fully half a million grain growers were represented there. Besides the 850 delegates there were over 1200 people, largely drawn from the membership of the elevator companies, who attended the convention. The incoming crowds were met at the station by reception committees drawn from the most progressive men of the city; they were officially welcomed at the opening of the convention by the mayor, and received a warm greeting from the president of the Commercial club in behalf of the business interests of the city. In responding to the welcome of Mayor Sears, Mr. G. C. White of Des Moines spoke of the marvelous way in which the associations have spread in the Iowa Association. "From a single company, organized at Rockwell in 1892, co-operation

has advanced by leaps and bounds until to-day in Iowa alone we have over 250 co-operative grain companies with a membership of over 50,000 farmers. In Illinois, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas the progress in this plan of handling the farmers' product is nearly as rapid as it is in Iowa. . . . To defend ourselves against the opposition and encroachment of the regular grain dealers' and coal dealers' associations it has been necessary to form state associations for mutual protections. Before these state associations were formed it was difficult for the farmer or farmer-company to find a commission man in the city to sell his grain or for him to secure cars in which to make the shipment. It was also difficult to purchase coal.

"The Iowa association has been instrumental in having investigations instituted by the Interstate Commerce Commission, concerning rebates and the fixing of prices by elevators in conjunction with carriers, in the fixing of prices by grain dealers' associations. It has started investigations and appeared before legislative committees on the question of car service, with profit to the shipper, and among other things is now urging federal supervision in the inspection of grain."

A number of resolutions were passed by the Association regarding matters connected with the conduct of their business, and in addition, the following relating to matters of government were adopted:

"Resolved, that we urge the agricultural department at Washington to establish a division in charge of a Commissioner of Co-operation to gather and disseminate among the people useful and practical information that will aid and promote education in co-operation and co-operative methods.

"That we favor a revision of the tariff that will be fair to the manufacturer, the producer, and the consumer, but we must respectfully request our senators and congressmen to use their influence and their votes to secure the removal of the tariff on lumber, as this product is a vital necessity which a few men are able to "corner" and we are unalterably opposed to paying the tribute demanded by these commercial bandits.

"That we demand of congress a law giving the United States government the right of appeal in criminal cases so that the opinion of a few wavering jurists in a lower court may not block the way to the punishment of crimi-

nals in high places and allow the wrong doer to continue violating the law.

"That we most emphatically condemn the practice of gambling in the products of the farm, which now seems to constitute a large percentage of the business transacted on many of the leading boards of trade, and we respectfully ask the legislature of Iowa, now in session, to enact a law which will prohibit in Iowa this system of gambling now being carried on through a network of private wires connecting cities in Iowa with the speculative interests of the different terminal markets.

"That the present railroad commission of Iowa has constituted itself a court to hear and adjust claims rather than an agency to guard the welfare of the public, leaving no one to take the initiative in proceedings looking to the public weal, and that we endorse house bill No. 88 by Representative Meredith, creating the office of commerce consul and ask the members of the Iowa legislature to use all honorable means to secure its enactment into law."

Also they expressed themselves as being in favor of federal inspection and grading of grain, the reciprocal demurrage bill, the "Allen car service" bill, providing for the just distribution of cars among the shippers, a larger appropriation for the short course extension work in connection with the state university, commended the action of President Roosevelt in calling the conference to discuss the conservation of the nations' resources, requested Taft to retain James Wilson as secretary of agriculture, and declared themselves as an Association opposed to party politics believing "that the greatest good can only come to this organization when we vote for the man who holds the principles and ideals for which we are contending before his own or others' selfish interests."

The convention adjourned after voting to hold their next meeting in Des Moines, in 1910.

#### Nebraska.

The sixth annual convention of the Farmers' Co-operative Grain and Live Stock Association of Nebraska was called to order at 1.30 p. m., on January the eighteenth. Over three hundred delegates were present. This Association passed resolutions similar to those passed by the Iowa association and in addition resolved, that "we instruct our legislative committee to take vigorous action towards the

enactment of a law providing for uniform prices all over the state, similar to the law now in "force in Kansas, regulating the oil prices."

There are now 160 co-operative elevator companies in Nebraska, most of which are located in the southern half of the state, but they are said to be rapidly spreading out over the entire state. The association is in much better shape than it ever was before, financially and otherwise and it is confidently expected that by the next annual meeting nearly every company in the state will belong to the association. The next convention is to be held in Lincoln.

#### Illinois.

The largest number ever in attendance at the annual meeting of the Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of Illinois, assembled at the sixth annual convention which was held on the third and fourth of March at Decatur. Farmers were there from all parts of the state of Illinois and several adjoining states. There were about 2000, the greater part of whom remained in attendance throughout the entire session of two days. Thomas Lamb of Beament was re-elected president of the Association. Mr. Chas. Adkins, one of the staunch stand-bys of the co-operative movement in that state and a candidate for United States senator, is quoted as saying in an address before the convention, "The farmers' grain-buying associations are the liveliest organizations extant and mean more to the country than any organizations known. In Illinois alone during the year 1908, the farmers' co-operative associations have marketed 60,000,000 bushels of corn. On each bushel that means an added profit to the farmers of two cents. This is not much for the man with a load of corn, but in the aggregate it means \$1,200,000 added revenue to the farmers who have sold their corn through those associations."

Among the resolutions passed by this Association was one declaring themselves in favor of reciprocal treaties with foreign countries when such action should prove advantageous to the agricultural interests of the United States. They also endorsed the candidacy of Charles Adkins for United States Senator.

The Illinois and Iowa associations are planning to form a mutual insurance company to furnish insurance to the co-operative elevators of the two states.

Mr. S. H. Greeley of Chicago in an address

before this convention is quoted as saying: "As a factor in relieving farmers of the oppression of terminal market monopoly, prostituted inspection, warehouse debauchery, and commercial tyranny, Deneen has proven an absolute failure, Yates sails under the same banner. Stevenson is as bad, if not worse, and the attitude of the Hearst papers show the Independent League no better than the others. There is absolutely no success for Illinois farmers in securing large results without independent political co-operation, but such unity will guarantee almost anything within reason which your association may demand." Mr. Greeley advised also that the associations carry at least \$10,000 on hand in the treasury for the purpose of carrying on campaigns. "A system of approval of candidates for office, lobbies for the passage of certain bills, meetings of an educational character and publication of interesting information are illustrations of the necessity of a respectable treasury."

#### South Dakota.

At Watertown, South Dakota, the Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of that state held their second annual convention on the seventeenth and eighteenth of February. This convention was also well attended, there being between 1600 and 1700 people present. Fifty-two co-operative elevators were represented. There are other co-operative elevators in the state which are not members of the federated organization, but these are slowly joining the big association as they realize the advantages to be derived from concerted action. The treasurer reported the receipts of the Association as being \$590, expenditures \$504.06, leaving a balance of \$85.94 in the treasury. Officers were elected, the president of the Association being G. M. Bower, of Mount Vernon, South Dakota.

In an address before the Association, Mr. I. S. Henjum of Hartford, S. D., earnestly advocated the branching out of the elevators into those lines which would result in a double saving to the farmers, as for instance the handling of coal, twine, machinery, and eventually the necessaries of life. The possibilities of these associations are beginning to appeal with especial force to the farmers who have tried co-operation on a small scale, and the increased scope of service open to them through the co-operative movement is largely appreciated by them.

# "PEACE, POWER AND PLENTY."\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

WHILE many readers will find it impossible to accept all the views expressed in this extremely optimistic work, and many will doubtless at times become impatient at the author's insistence upon assuming mental attitudes which they have doubtless long striven to assume with but indifferent success, yet, this is a volume that cannot fail to prove extremely helpful to many men and women who read it with open minds.

We are living in an age when materialistic concepts in many guises are invading the mind of Christian civilization. This is true in a far greater degree than is realized by most people; for superficially with us it is much as it was with ancient Greece and Rome, when conventional religion was on the wane. The exterior observances of religious rites and practices were most imposing and apparently religion was exerting imperial sway over the people long after the real vital faith had gone from the old beliefs, never to be restored.

Now in ages in which materialism is strong in its hold on the real life of a people, there is always found side by side with aggressive selfish egoism a profound unrest and a tendency to pessimism on the part of multitudes of people. Injustice is regnant. The harmony that comes only when society seriously seeks to conform to the great spiritual verities is wanting. Faith wanes, hope gives place to uncertainty, and the fountains of love and good-fellowship dry up in the presence of the fierce spirit of competition. Pessimism advances as idealism gives place to materialism. At such a time it is above all else important that a strong optimistic spirit be infused into society; that the devils of pessimism and doubt be routed by the angels of courage, faith and love; and that man's belief in himself as a son of the Infinite Father be reawakened. We are beginning to see and know as never before the marvelous source of power within ourselves, when we recognize our relationship to the Cosmic Mind and place ourselves in harmony with the forces that make

for life and progress instead of weakly despairing before the seeming powers that make for discord and moral death. Now for the purpose of bringing one to recognize his hidden powers, his relation to the Source of Infinite Life, and awakening faith, courage and moral enthusiasm, the present book will be of great value to many readers.

In expressing his purpose in preparing the volume, Mr. Marden observes:

"The book teaches that man need not be the victim of his environment, but can be the master of it; that there is no fate outside of him which determines his life, his aims; that each person can shape his own environment, create his own condition; that the cure for poverty, ill-health and unhappiness lies in bringing one's self through scientific thinking into conscious union with the great Source of Infinite Life, the Source of opulence, of health, and harmony. This conscious union with the Creator, this getting in tune with the Infinite, is the secret of all peace, power and prosperity.

"It emphasizes man's oneness with Infinite Life, and the truth that when he comes into the full realization of his inseparable connection with the creative energy of the universe, he shall never know lack or want again.

"This volume shows how man can stand porter at the door of his mind, admitting only his friend thoughts, only those suggestions that will produce joy, prosperity; and excluding all his enemy thoughts which would bring discord, suffering or failure.

"It teaches that 'your ideal is a prophecy of what you shall at last unveil,' that 'thought is another name for fate,' that we can think ourselves out of discord into harmony, out of disease into health, out of darkness into light, out of hatred into love, out of poverty and failure into prosperity and success.

"Before a man can lift himself, he must lift his thought. When we shall have learned to master our thought habits, to keep our minds open to the great divine inflow of life-force, we shall have learned the secret of human blessedness."

Each of the eighteen chapters that constitute

\*"Peace, Power and Plenty." By Orison Swett Marden. Cloth. Pp. 323. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

the work bristles with helpful and suggestive truths. Among the discussions which impress us as of special value are "The Power of the Mind to Compel the Body," "Health Through Right Thinking," "Imagination and Health," "Good Cheer—God's Medicine," "The Miracle of Self-Confidence," "Fear, the Curse of the Race," and "Worry the Disease of the Age."

In considering "The Power of the Mind to Compel the Body," Mr. Marden says:

"What does the world not owe to that imperious 'must'—that strenuous effort which we make when driven to desperation, when all outside help has been cut off and we are forced to call upon all that is within us to extricate ourselves from an unfortunate situation?"

"Many of the greatest things in the world have been accomplished under the stress of this impelling 'must'—merciless in its lashings and proddings to accomplishment.

"Necessity has been a priceless spur which has helped men to perform miracles against incredible odds. Every person who amounts to anything feels within himself a power which is ever pushing him on and urging him to perpetual improvement. Whether he feels like it or not, this inward monitor holds him to his task.

"It is this little insistent 'must' that dogs our steps; that drives and bestirs us; that makes us willing to suffer privations and endure hardships, inconveniences, and discomforts; to work slavishly, in fact, when inclination tempts us to take life easy."

In a highly suggestive chapter dealing with "Poverty a Mental Disability," our author thus graphically and truthfully pictures the blight and curse of poverty:

"No man can do his best work—bring out the best thing in him—while he feels want tugging at his heels; while he is hampered, restricted, forever at the mercy of pinching circumstances.

"The very poor, those struggling to keep the wolf at bay, cannot be independent. They cannot order their lives. Often they cannot afford to express their opinions, or to have individual views. They cannot always afford to live in decent locations or in healthful houses.

"Praise it who will, poverty in its extreme form is narrowing, belittling, contracting, ambition-killing—an unmitigated curse. There is little hope in it, little prospect in it, little joy in it. It often develops the worst in

man and kills love between those who would otherwise live happily together.

"It is difficult for the average human being to be a real man or real woman in extreme poverty. When worried, embarrassed, entangled with debts, forced to make a dime perform the proper work of a dollar, it is almost impossible to preserve that dignity and self-respect which enable a man to hold up his head and look the world squarely in the face. Some rare and beautiful souls have done this, and in dire poverty have given us examples of noble living that the world will never forget; but on the other hand, how many has its lash driven to the lowest depths!

"Everywhere we see the marks of pinching, grinding, blighting poverty. The hideous evidences of want stare us in the face every day. We see it in prematurely old, depressed faces, and in children who have had no childhood and who have borne the mark of the poverty curse ever since their birth. We see it shadowing bright young faces, and often blighting the highest ambition and dwarfing the most brilliant ability.

"Poverty is more often a curse than a blessing, and those who praise its virtues would be the last to accept its hard conditions."

In this chapter and its companion discussion, "The Law of Opulence," there are many things that are richly worth careful consideration, and many observations will be as a vitalizing draught to those who are wise enough to heed the advice given.

"When a man loses confidence," says our author, "every other success quality gradually leaves him, and life becomes a grind. He loses ambition and energy, is not so careful about his personal appearance, is not so painstaking, does not use the same system and order in his work, grows slack and slovenly and slipshod in every way, and becomes less and less capable of conquering poverty.

"Poverty itself is not so bad as the poverty thought. It is the conviction that we are poor and must remain so that is fatal. It is the attitude of mind that is destructive, the facing toward poverty, and feeling so reconciled to it that one does not turn about face and struggle to get away from it with a determination which knows no retreat.

"It is facing the wrong way, toward the black, depressing, hopeless outlook that kills effort and demoralizes ambition. So long as you carry around a poverty atmosphere and

radiate the poverty thought, you will be limited.

"The magnet must be true to itself, it must attract things like itself. The only instrument by which man has ever attracted anything in this world is his mind, and his mind is like his thought; if it is saturated with the fear thought, the poverty thought, no matter how hard he works, he will attract poverty.

"If we can conquer inward poverty, we can soon conquer poverty of outward things, for, when we change the mental attitude, the physical changes to correspond.

"The Creator has bidden every man to look up, not down, has made him to climb, not to grovel. There is no providence which keeps a man in poverty, or in painful or distressing circumstances.

"It is the hopeful, buoyant, cheerful attitude of mind that wins. Optimism is a success-builder; pessimism an achievement-killer.

"Optimism is the great producer. It is hope, life. It contains everything which enters into the mental attitude which produces and enjoys.

"Pessimism is the great destroyer. It is despair, death. No matter if you have lost your property, your health, your reputation even, there is always hope for the man who keeps a firm faith in himself and looks up.

"Erase all the shadows, all the doubts and fears, and the suggestions of poverty and failure from your mind. When you have become master of your thought, when you have once learned to dominate your mind, you will find that things will begin to come your way. Discouragement, fear, doubt, lack of self-confidence, are the germs which have killed the prosperity and happiness of tens of thousands of people.

"Stoutly deny the power of adversity or poverty to keep you down. Constantly assert your superiority to your environment. Believe that you are to dominate your surroundings, that you are the master and not the slave of circumstances.

"Resolve with all the vigor you can muster that, since there are plenty of good things in the world for everybody, you are going to have your share, without injuring anybody else or

keeping others back. It was intended that you should have a competence, an abundance. It is your birthright. You are success organized, and constructed for happiness, and you should resolve to reach your divine destiny.

"Thousands of people in this country have thought themselves away from a life of poverty, by getting a glimpse of that great principle, that we tend to realize in the life what we persistently hold in the thought and vigorously struggle toward.

"I have known people who have longed all their lives to be happy, and yet they have concentrated their minds on their loneliness, their friendlessness, their misfortunes. They are always pitying themselves for the lack of the good things of the world. The whole trend of their habitual concentration has been upon things which could not possibly produce what they longed for. They have been longing for one thing, and expecting and working for something else.

"It is a great thing to learn to live in the All-Life, to keep close to infinite supply. Many of us imprison ourselves in the narrow, limited poverty thought, and then, like caged eagles trying in vain to get free, we beat out our wings against the bars we have ourselves put up.

"A stream of plenty will not flow toward the stingy, parsimonious, doubting thought; there must be a corresponding current of generosity, open-mindedness, going out from us. One current creates the other. A little rivulet of stingy-mindedness, a weak, poverty current going out from ourselves, can never set up a counter-current toward us of abundance, generosity and plenty. In other words, our mental attitude determines the counter-current which comes to us."

The chapters entitled "Character Building During Sleep" and "Health Through Right Thinking" merit careful consideration.

"Physiologists tell us that the mental processes which are active on retiring, continue far into the night. These mental impressions on retiring, just before going to sleep, the thoughts that dominate the mind, continue to exercise influence long after we become unconscious.

"We are told, too, that wrinkles and other evidences of age are formed as readily during sleep as when awake, indicating that the way

the mind is set when falling asleep has a powerful influence on the body.

"Many people cut off the best years of their lives by the continuation in their sleep of the wearing, tearing, rasping influences that have been operating upon them during the day.

"Thousands of business and professional men and women are so active during the day, live such strenuous, unnatural lives, that they cannot stop thinking after they retire, and sleep is driven away, or only induced after complete mental exhaustion. These people are so absorbed in the problems of their business or vocations that they do not know how to relax, to rest; so they lie down to sleep with all their cares, just as a tired camel lies down in the desert with its great burden still on its back.

"The result is that, instead of being benefited by refreshing, rejuvenating sleep, they get up in the morning weary, much older than when they retired; when they ought to get up full of vigor, with a great surplus of energy and bounding vitality, strong and ambitious for the day's work before them.

"The corroding, exhausting, discord-producing operations which are going on when they fall asleep and which continue into the night, counteract the good they would otherwise get from their limited amount of sleep. All this shows the importance of preparing the mind to exercise a healthful, uplifting influence during sleep.

"It is more important to prepare the mind for sleep than the body. The mental bath is even more necessary than the physical one.

"The first thing to do is to get rid of the rasping, worrying, racking influences which have been operating upon us during the day—to clean the mental house—to tear down all the dingy, discouraging, discordant pictures that have disfigured it, and hang up bright, cheerful, encouraging ones for the night.

"If you have difficulty in banishing unpleasant or torturing thoughts, force yourself to read some good, inspiring book; something that will take out your wrinkles and put you in a happy mood, and will reveal to you the real grandeur and beauty of life; that will make you feel ashamed of your petty meannesses and narrow, uncharitable thoughts.

"Professor William James, of Harvard University, says 'We are just now witnessing a

very copious unlocking of new ideas through the converts to metaphysical healing, or other forms of spiritual philosophy. The ideas are healthy-minded and optimistic. The power, small or great, comes in various shapes to the individual; power not to "mind" things that used to vex one; power to concentrate one's mind; good cheer, good temper, a firmer and more elastic tone. The most saintly person I have ever known is a friend now suffering from cancer of the breast. I do not assume to judge of the wisdom or unwisdom of her disobedience to the doctors, but cite her case here solely as an example of what an idea can do. Her ideas have kept her practically a well woman for months after she would otherwise have given up and gone to bed. They have annulled pain and weakness and given her a cheerful, active life: a life unusually beneficent to those around her.'

"Many people not only cripple their efficiency, but keep themselves sick, or in a condition of semi-invalidism or diminished power, by holding constantly in their minds negative suggestions as indicated by such expressions as: 'Oh, I do not feel well to-day'; 'I feel miserable'; 'I am weak'; 'I am half-sick'; 'My food does not agree with me'; 'I did not sleep well last night, and I know I shall not be good for much to-day.'

"If you are constantly saying to yourself, 'I am wretched, weak and sick,' 'I am running down all the time,' how can you expect to become strong and well? 'According to thy word be it unto thee.'

"Health and vigor will never come to you if you perpetually harp upon your weakness and pity yourself because of your poor health. Health is integrity. Health is wholeness, completeness. If you talk anything else, you will get it, for 'According to thy word be it unto thee.'"

Mr. Marden appears to be eclectic in his methods. He culls from all fields and sips from many cups. At one time he relies on physicians and physical scientists; again, the great psychologists are summoned, and the masters of hypnotic suggestion; then again, we find him taking radical Christian Science ground, as, for example, when he says:

"If it was possible to have the mind in us which was in Christ, we should not have disease. Disease could not attack us any more than impurity or sin could find lodgment in

His mind. The time will come when right thinking will be the great preventive medicine for all mankind.

"Man is Mind. That is the great reality of life. The way to establish health is to think hourly that you 'live and move and have your being' in the great God principle. That is the underlying truth in all harmony. Like Paul, believe that no power can separate you from this divine love principle, this omnipotent power. Love and truth are always working for you. Carry the conviction constantly that the God principle is the only power in the universe. All creation, all life, have their origin in this."

In the consideration of the question, "Why Grow Old?" the author has many admirable things to say:

"Nothing else," he observes, "more effectually retards age than the keeping in mind the bright, cheerful, optimistic, hopeful, buoyant picture of youth, in all its splendor, magnificence; the picture of the glories which belong to youth—youthful dreams, ideals, hopes, and all the qualities which belong to young life.

"One great trouble with us is that our imaginations age prematurely. The hard, exacting conditions of our modern, strenuous life tend to harden and dry up the brain and nerve cells, and thus seriously injure the power of the imagination, which should be kept fresh, buoyant, elastic. The average routine habit of modern business life tends to destroy the flexibility, the delicacy, the sensitiveness, the exquisite fineness of the perceptive faculties.

"The arbitrary, domineering, overbearing mind also tends to age the body prematurely, because the thinking is hard, strained, abnormal.

"People who live on the sunny and beautiful side of life, who cultivate serenity, do not age nearly so rapidly as do those who live on the shady, the dark side.

"Another reason why so many people age prematurely is because they cease to grow. It is a lamentable fact that multitudes of men seem incapable of receiving or accepting new ideas after they have reached middle age. Many of them, after they have reached the age of forty or fifty, come to a standstill in their mental reaching out.

"Let us put beauty into our lives by thinking beautiful thoughts, building beautiful ideals, and picturing beautiful things in our imagination.

"I know of no remedy for old-age conditions so powerful as love—love for our work, love for our fellow-men, love for everything.

"It is the most powerful life-renewer, refreshener, re-creator known. Love awakens the noblest sentiments, the finest sensibilities, the most exquisite qualities in man."

The lack of self-confidence is naturally deplored by this writer. In it he finds the master reason for the failure of thousands who never realize the promise of their youth or the heights that their natural ability indicated they might attain.

"Man's confidence," he says, "measures the height of his possibilities. A stream cannot rise higher than its fountain-head.

"Power is largely a question of strong, vigorous, perpetual thinking along the line of the ambition, parallel with the aim—the great life purpose. Here is where power originates.

"The deed must first live in the thought or it will never be a reality; and a strong, vigorous concept of the thing we want to do is a tremendous initial step. A thought that is timidly born will be timidly executed. There must be vigor of conception or an indifferent execution."

The chapter on "Good Cheer" is one of the capital essays of the work. Every page bristles with good advice and timely observations presented in a charming manner. Here are a few thoughts worthy of the reader's attention:

"In a corner of his desk Lincoln kept a copy of the latest humorous work, and it was his habit when fatigued, annoyed, or depressed, to take this up and read a chapter for relief. Humor, whether clean, sensible wit or sheer nonsense—whatever provokes mirth and makes a man jollier—is a gift from heaven.

"Laughter is a very important element in a successful career. Many a man who could have been a success sleeps in a failure's grave to-day because he took life too seriously. He poisoned the atmosphere about him, so that it became unhealthy, and paralyzed his own powers.

"We often hear people, especially delicate women who have nervous dyspepsia, say they do not understand how it is that they can go



out to late suppers or banquets and eat heartily all sorts of incongruous food without feeling any inconvenience afterward.

"They do not realize that it is due to the change in the mental attitude. They have had a good time; they have enjoyed themselves. The lively conversation, the jokes which caused them to laugh heartily, the bright, cheerful environment, completely changed their mental attitude, and, of course, these conditions were reflected in the digestion and every other part of the system, for laughter and good cheer are enemies of dyspepsia. Anything which will divert the dyspeptic's mind from his ailments will improve his digestion. When they are at home worrying over their health, swallowing a little dyspepsia with every mouthful of food, of course these women could not assimilate what they ate. But when they were having a jolly good time they forgot their ailments, and were surprised afterward to find that they had enjoyed their food and that it did not hurt them. The whole process is mental.

"Cheerfulness is one of the great miracle-

workers of the world. It reinforces the whole man, doubles and trebles his power, and gives new meaning to his life. No man is a failure until he has lost his cheerfulness, his optimistic outlook. The man who does his best and carries a smiling face and keeps cheerful in the midst of discouragements, when things go wrong and the way is dark and doubtful, is sure to win."

Though it is probable that few readers will find it possible at all times to go as far as does this author in his optimistic claims, and while it is certain that though easy for the well, strong and prosperous writer to give excellent advice, it is oftentimes almost impossible for persons struggling under weights placed upon them by injustice and evil practices of the strong, or for those who are harassed and sick, to put into practice the admirable rules and suggestions of the author. Nevertheless the book as a whole cannot fail to be helpful to the general reader, especially to young men and women and those who are becoming discouraged after long grappling with the grave perplexities of present-day life.

B. O. FLOWER.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*Who Answers Prayer?* A brochure edited by Florence Huntley. Cloth. Pp. 64. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Indo-American Book Company.

THIS is a lucid and thought-inspiring work embodying the ideas of prayer as taught by a certain school of Indian occultists whose philosophy in some respects seems to agree far more closely with the teachings of modern spiritualism than that of the Brahmanistic or Buddhistic masters. The work purports to be a message from a master, presumably one who has passed from the earth sphere of life. In it are discussed "What is Prayer?" "For What Should We Pray?" "To Whom Should We Pray?" and "Who Answers Prayer?"

Something of the spirit of this little book may be gained from the following, which appears under the heading of "Men Must Pray":

"The misuse and abuse of the privilege and purpose of prayer are largely responsible for that minority of intelligent 'Infidels.' These

have been mainly nothing worse than reasoning and honest Souls seeking a consistent and an honest God. Such as these refuse to believe that the Maker of the Universe can be propitiated with servility, cajoled by repetitions or flattered by 'prostrations and flagellations.'

"But men must pray, and whether they pray rightly or wrongly, whether they pray intelligently or ignorantly or selfishly, the Impulse to Pray must be gratified.

"The appeal to a Higher Power is as natural, as inevitable and as necessary as food for the physical body. The Soul of man is as insistent for its natural sustenance as is the body. No matter under what guise, no matter how foolishly or how selfishly that appeal is made, nor with what superstitions or mummeries, the simple fact remains, that men must pray."

And also from the little creed with which the volume opens and which is as follows:

"Who asks not, the chambers are darkened,  
Where his Soul sits in silence alone.

Who gives not, his Soul never hearkened  
 To the love-call of zone unto zone.  
 Who prays not, exists, but he lives not;  
 A blot and a discord is he.  
 Who asks not, receives not and gives not  
 Were better drowned in the sea.  
 Ah, the asking, receiving and giving,  
 Is the soul of the life that we live.  
 All the beauty and sweetness of living  
 Is to Ask, to Receive and to Give."

*Home Problems From a New Standpoint.* By  
 Caroline L. Hunt. Cloth. Pp. 145. Price,  
 \$1.00 net. Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows.

THIS is an earnest book written by a woman whose study of the thing she speaks of has been so thorough that she has earned a hearing. The new standpoint is that the home has become a great factor in the Social Problem. Thus the home "has brought to itself new problems and to women and to men new responsibilities, new opportunities, and new privileges." This is not a burst of vague optimism. The author sees the difficulties, courageously faces them, and seeks to overcome them. The eleven short chapters that follow are her justification of the claim that these difficulties are not insurmountable. More life for women is to be gotten, not through the sacrifice of motherhood and home-making, but by the addition of the pleasures in satisfactory cultivation of special talents to the privilege of service. More life for men is to be gotten by men becoming more thoughtful and helpful about the house and more careful in their demands. This is a good chapter that should be helpful to some men.

"More Life for the Employé" is another attempt to solve the servant problem—by doing away with the servant. This solution is a long way off, even for the well-to-do classes whom the author seems to have in mind; nevertheless there are some most excellent hints that make for an immediate improvement in this matter. The author is certainly right in her endeavor to remove "the three difficulties from the employé and the three inconveniences from the employer," in placing the burden of the reform at the door of the employer. Her remedy is to raise the relationship of mistress and servant to that of employer and employé.

The remaining chapters are full of timely discussion and suggestions such as we have quoted from the above. The book has the virtue of brevity, and has more thought-provoking suggestions than many, much

larger volumes. Nowhere have we seen the power for good or ill of the home in relation to the social problems of the day better revealed than in this little book.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*Priests of Progress.* By G. Colmore. Cloth.  
 Pp. 384. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W.  
 Dodge & Company.

THIS novel will possess a double interest for serious-minded men and women with whom idealism is more compelling than the popular shibboleths and theories of highly-lauded materialistic medical experimenters who advocate vivisection and think that in sera is to be found the hope of all that man has to hope for—namely, the prolongation of this material life.

The story is, we think, handicapped by its sub-title, "An Arraignment of Vivisection"; for as a rule novels which confessedly are vehicles for some writer's moral message or the exposition of some favorite theory, are dismal failures when considered as fiction. This fact is so generally recognized that we fear the sub-title will repel many readers who are primarily in search of a good romance. And *Priests of Progress* is a capital story, considered quite apart from the author's message. Its characters are well drawn and very typical. The action is sustained and the interest, which deepens as the story unfolds, is maintained to the close, in spite of the ample space given to the presentation and discussion of rival theories and the ethical aspects of vivisection.

Considered as a romance of present-day life, *Priests of Progress* is richly worth the reading. The heroine is a strong, brilliant and attractive modern English girl, bearing the masterly name of David. She is the daughter of one of the great apostles of vivisection—a man whose interest in his scientific experiments has become the overruling passion of his life. The hero, Sidney Gale, is a finely-drawn character, a type of the modern idealist who finds himself at war with the materialistic medical spirit of the time, which in the name of science justifies needless cruelty and frequently indulges in reckless experimentation both on humans who are poor and defenseless, and on lower animals. Young Gale at the opening of the story finds himself at war between his desire to excel in the medical profession and the revulsion of his higher nature at the brutalities and cruelties practiced in the name of science by the great surgeons and experimenters. Later

he for a time follows in the wake of the army of young medical students and others who yield to the compulsion of powerful influences that environ them, and becomes a champion of vivisection, only at length to find himself brought to the pass where he has to choose between the dictates of his higher nature and the repudiation of the creed he has accepted. His evolution and development afford an interesting study of the triumph of the higher, finer and diviner side of life in an atmosphere and environment that tend to stifle the moral idealism under the specious claim that science demands the wholesale suffering imposed.

Early in the story, David has a rude awakening. She has been strongly attracted to Sidney Gale, but he is found in a compromising situation, for which, however, he is in no wise blamable; but David and her family, judging from appearances, refuses to hear his explanation. The young woman, smarting under humiliation and disappointment at discovering what she imagines to be the unworthiness of her lover, determines to embrace an artistic career—something which her father forbids. The latter, an arrogant and rather overbearing Englishman, is desirous that his daughter shall make a suitable match. A brilliant professor who ranks among the first vivisectionists and apostles of the serum theory, Cranley-Chance by name, though much older than David, is the suitor whom the father most desires his daughter to marry. The professor conceives the idea of utilizing the father's opposition to his daughter's studies in art as a means of winning the girl. As his affianced wife she shall pursue her art studies, going abroad and later having her studio in his palatial home. David, though greatly admiring the scholarship and scientific attainments of Professor Cranley-Chance, is not in love with him. She, however, falls in with the suggested plan, goes to France and studies art, where she becomes intimately acquainted with Judith Home, a brilliant humanitarian woman who is bitterly opposed to vivisection. After David's marriage a little child is born who becomes the victim of an accident. Professor Cranley-Chance hopes through a serum to restore her, and the mother becomes for a time a passionate advocate of all her husband's theories. The two are drawn very close together through the bond of the invalid daughter, but their hopes are blasted. Accidentally David witnesses a frightful scientific operation in her husband's laboratory,

against which her whole being revolts. While she is under the influence of this moral and mental revulsion her husband departs to deliver a course of lectures in Scotland. Prior to this he has been bitten by a dog and has been treated by the Pasteur serum—something that a fellow experimenter refused to submit to. The serum poisons his system and results in hydrophobia, leading to a horrible death.

After her husband and little child have both passed away, David travels extensively on the Continent, comes again *en rapport* with Judith Home, and becomes an avowed anti-vivisectionist. She joins her friend in carrying forward the humane warfare against the vivisectionists and those who are under the spell of the serum mania. To the great joy of the girl, her early lover, Dr. Sidney Gale, though not knowing of her change in convictions, comes out boldly in opposition to vivisection. Soon these two persons, whose high moral idealism or true spiritual perception has rendered it impossible for them to remain longer in the camp of the materialistic vivisectionists, are brought together. They pay the penalty which the world loves to impose upon the priests and prophets of progress; but in return they are rewarded by love and joy they have never known before.

Considered from an ethical view-point, the book is richly worth the serious consideration of men and women of conscience and conviction. It deals specifically with one important phase of the world-wide battle between moral idealism and egoistic materialism. Here are presented very fairly, clearly and succinctly the theories and convictions of the high priests of the materialistic cell theory, the apostles of sera, and the vivisectionists; the great investigators whose labors for the advancement of knowledge are tireless on the intellectual plane, but who, accepting the materialistic theory that this life is all the existence that man will ever know, devote their energies to experimentation whose master object is the extension of the physical life of man, and in so doing become infected with a fanatical passion for surgical experimentation on humans and animals, even though it entails unnecessary operations and frightful tortures on their weak victims.

On the other hand, here is presented in a strong and interesting manner the moral idealism that actuates the opposing camp. The reader is made to see what life means to those

who believe that love is the greatest thing in the world and that man is essentially a spiritual being, and that cruelty and torture are not and cannot be heaven-ordained weapons of progress.

Considered more specifically, it is the most powerful arraignment of vivisection we have seen. Much that relates to this important subject is far from pleasant reading. Indeed, many of the incidents cited will hurt the reader's sensibilities, but they hurt for a redemptive purpose—the purpose of awakening the higher and finer side of his life. And more than this, the citations woven into the web and woof of the story are not the impossible or improbable imaginings of the reckless partisan. Far from it. They are in almost every instance taken from citations in the leading medical and scientific journals or the reports of actual and well-authenticated cases. An extensive appendix gives the various authorities and where the citations may be found. The author has been at great pains to make an absolutely reliable arraignment of vivisection.

*Priests of Progress* is one of the strongest and best novels of the year. It is more than a powerful and compelling romance: it is a volume instinct with moral idealism which will make for higher morality.

*Fifty-four Forty or Fight.* By Emerson Hough. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 402. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is Mr. Hough's best romance. Its easy, flowing style and excellent English will please the lover of good writing, even though he may have scant sympathy with the author's method of handling a great passage in our history after the manner of Stanley Weyman's pen-pictures of Richelieu and his times.

The story deals with the stormy days when Texas was annexed to the Republic, when we acquired the rest of the Spanish domain north of the Rio Grande, and the Oregon district up to the forty-ninth parallel. In the romance Calhoun is made the great dominating character in the field of statesmanship. Indeed, all other statesmen and politicians who are introduced dwarf into insignificance before the brilliant but physically-broken statesman from South Carolina.

The method of presenting Mr. Calhoun and the other statesmen introduced is very similar to that employed by the elder Dumas, by

Stanley Weyman and other of the romantic school of novelists who have produced so many works of fiction dealing with the transition period during which feudalism went down before the rise of centralized government.

Though we are gratified to see a writer thus seeking to give a due meed of praise to the great ability, patriotism and statesmanship of John C. Calhoun, we cannot but regret that the author had not confined himself to a faithful, photographic or realistic portrayal of the wonderful events that marked the years approaching the meridian period of the last century. Instead, he has given us a story of intrigue and secret diplomacy wonderfully suggestive of one of Stanley Weyman's novels, but certainly not in harmony with the political atmosphere and life of the Washington he describes.

The novel has the historical flavor, and, indeed, it touches upon historical facts, as it necessarily must, but fiction is so blended with the facts that the story will necessarily be very confusing to the young and to those little versed in the history of the period with which it deals. The hero, Nicholas Trist, is, of course, a historical character, best known on account of his service as a commissioner of peace during our war with Mexico. In this story, however, he is represented as a secret agent employed by Calhoun. His first mission is to make a midnight visit to the secret home of a beautiful Hungarian woman, the Baroness von Ritz, the secret agent of England, and bring her to the lodgings of John C. Calhoun. Nothing in the D'Artagnan romances surpasses in improbability the episode here described, nor the one following, in which the hero is sent to Montreal to find out what is to be done in a secret conclave of English, Canadian and Mexican statesmen. The happenings in Montreal are even more surprising and improbable than those in Washington. They culminate in the sudden disappearance of the Baroness von Ritz, who takes passage in a British warship for the Oregon district, and the return to Washington of Calhoun's secret agent, accompanied by a German entomologist, who later turns out to be the father of the baroness.

Next the hero heads a caravan of a thousand persons who push the trail across the plains for Oregon. This portion of the story is the most vivid, life-like and interesting part of the volume. There is nothing here that taxes the reader's credulity, and the atmosphere is neither foreign nor unreal. We have read few better descriptions of the marches across the

plains of the caravans of the settlers than is found in the following:

"They marched with flocks and herds and implements of husbandry. In their faces shone a light not less fierce than that which animated the dwellers of the old Teutonic forests, but a light clearer and more intelligent. Here was the determined spirit of progress, here was the agreed insistence upon an *equal opportunity!* Ah! it was a great and splendid canvas which might have been painted there on our plains—the caravans westbound with the greening grass of spring—that hegira of Americans whose unheard command was but the voice of democracy itself.

"We carried with us all the elements of society, as has the Anglo-Saxon ever. Did any man offend against the unwritten creed of fair play, did he shirk duty when that meant danger to the common good, then he was brought before a council of our leaders, men of wisdom and fairness, chosen by the vote of all; and so he was judged and he was punished. . . . We had leaders chosen because they were fit to lead, and leaders who felt full sense of responsibility to those who chose them. We had with us great wealth in flocks and herds—five thousand head of cattle went West with our caravan, hundreds of horses; yet each knew his own and asked not that of his neighbor. With us there were women and little children and the gray-haired elders bent with years. Along our road we left graves here and there, for death went with us. In our train also were many births, life coming to renew the cycle. At times, too, there were rejoicings of the newly-wed in our train. Our young couples found society awheel valid as that abiding under permanent roof.

"At the head of our column, we bore the flag of our Republic. On our flanks were skirmishers, like those guarding the flanks of an army. It was an army—an army of our people. With us marched women. With us marched home. *That* was the difference between our cavalcade and that slower and more selfish one, made up of men alone, which that same year was faring westward along the upper reaches of the Canadian Plains. *That* was why we won. It was because women and plows were with us.

"Our great column, made up of more than one hundred wagons, was divided into platoons of four, each platoon leading for a day, then falling behind to take the bitter dust of

those in advance. At noon we parted our wagons in platoons, and at night we drew them invariably into a great barricade, circular in form, the leading wagon marking out the circle, the others dropping in behind, the tongue of each against the tail-gate of the wagon ahead, and the last wagon closing up the gap. Our circle completed, the animals were unyoked and the tongues were chained fast to the wagons next ahead, so that each night we had a sturdy barricade, incapable of being stampeded by savages, whom more than once we fought and defeated. Each night we set out a guard, our men taking turns, and the night watches in turn rotating, so that each man got his share of the entire night during the progress of his journey. Each morn we rose to the notes of a bugle, and each day we marched in order, under command, under a certain schedule. Loosely connected, independent, individual, none the less already we were establishing a government. We took the American Republic with us across the Plains!

"At night we met in little social circles around the camp-fires. Young folk made love; old folk made plans here as they had at home. A church marched with us as well as the law and courts; and, what was more, the schools went also; for by the faint flicker of the firelight many parents taught their children each day as they moved westward to their new homes. History shows these children were well taught. There were persons of education and culture with us.

"Music we had, and of a night-time, even while the coyotes were calling and the wind whispering in the short grasses of the Plains, violin and flute would sometimes blend their voices, and I have thus heard songs which I would not exchange in memory for others which I have heard in surroundings far more ambitious. Sometimes dances were held on the greensward of our camps. Regularly the Sabbath day was observed by at least the most part of our pilgrims. Upon all our party there seemed to sit an air of content and certitude.

"So we marched, mingled, and, as some might have said, motley in our personnel—sons of some of the best families in the South, men from the Carolinas and Virginia, Georgia and Louisiana, men from Pennsylvania and Ohio; Roundhead and Cavalier, Easterner and Westerner, Germans, Yankees, Scotch-

Irish—all Americans. We marched, I say, under a form of government; yet each took his original marching orders from his own soul. We marched across an America not yet won. Below us lay the Spanish civilization—Mexico, possibly soon to be led by Britain, as some thought. North of us was Canada, now fully alarmed and surely led by Britain. West of us, all around us, lay the Indian tribes. Behind, never again to be seen by most of us who marched, lay the homes of an earlier generation. But we marched, each obeying the orders of his own soul. Some day the song of this may be sung; some day, perhaps, its canvas may be painted."

After arriving in Oregon, the hero beats the Baroness von Ritz, who later sets out overland for Washington, followed by Calhoun's secret agent. The war with Mexico and the acquisition of the Oregon district are touched upon after the manner of the romantic novelist rather than that of the faithful historian, the whole making a romantic novel that strongly suggests the romances of Stanley Weyman and which cannot, we think, but impress the reader as being as unconvincing, because unreal and out of place in a novel supposed to deal with republican conditions of a little over half a century ago in the New World, as is Meredith Nicholson's *Port of Missing Men* wanting in convincing power.

*The Missioner.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 312. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

NOT SINCE Mr. Oppenheim wrote *A Prince of Sinners* have we read so excellent a story from his pen. True, *The Missioner* is inferior to the earlier work, but the hero is a character much stronger and more convincing than have been most of his predecessors who have walked through the pages of Mr. Oppenheim's exciting but rather improbable tales of mystery and adventure. This "missioner" is a young man of great wealth, who has become touched by the spirit of the new social consciousness and is seeking to awaken his fellow-men on the spiritual side of life. One of his earliest attempts is made in the model little village of Thorpe, where all the people are prosperous, law-abiding, contented, and where, apparently, there would be little need of his services. But the young man holds that those who are most favorably situated are often the very ones whose spiritual need is the greatest. They are moral and law-abiding because

they have never been tempted. As proof of this he cites instances of young people from this same model village who when they have gone out into the world have been unable to withstand temptation and have fallen to the lowest depths of sin and degradation. He begs permission to use a large barn in the village for the purpose of holding meetings, but is refused by the mistress of Thorpe, who happens to be staying at her country house. Her attention is attracted, however, by this earnest young Missioner, who is so different from all other men she has ever known, and she takes pains not to lose sight of him after he goes back to London. He in turn has been strangely fascinated by this society queen and her image fills his mind almost to the exclusion of his chosen work. In his effort to forget her he plunges into a round of feverish gayety, and this affords Mr. Oppenheim the opportunity for those intimate and interesting descriptions of fashionable London life and of the underworld of Paris which his readers have come almost unconsciously to expect in any romance from his pen.

The story ends well and is absorbingly interesting from cover to cover.

AMY C. RICH.

*In the Valley of the Shadows.* By Thomas Lee Woolwine. Illustrated in color by C. M. Relyea. Cloth. Pp. 115. Price \$1.00. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THIS story deals with one of the terrible feuds that have darkened the history of many communities in the mountain regions of Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky during recent generations—feuds marked by the blind, implacable hate that destroys reason and dries up the well-springs of the soul, making its votaries mere automatons, subject only to the sway of deadly impulses.

The scene of the story is in a valley in the mountains of East Tennessee. At its opening it is discovered that the long feud between the Gentrys and the Taylors has resulted in destroying all male members of these families that have remained in the region, save Tom Gentry and his son Nath, and Mace Taylor and his son Andy. Besides the wives of the two elder men, there is Betty, the beautiful daughter of Mace Taylor, who has fallen in love with Nath Gentry. The sturdy youth returns her affection with the purity and intensity of a great and simple nature. Perhaps the love of these children who dwell in

the shadow of generation-long hate and murder is all the sweeter because of the grim specter that broods over the fated homes. Certain it is, their love is strong, firm, pure and true, forming a beautiful foreground to a somber picture. The tragic death of the fathers, who kill each other in a desperate struggle, leads for a time to the separation of the lovers, but does not quench their affection, which at the close forms the beautiful sunburst to the cloud-darkened day.

The story is written in a simple, direct and pleasing style. The descriptions of nature are admirable and the delineation of the characters, in so far as they are delineated, is excellent.

The author, who is at the present time the district-attorney of Los Angeles, California, will, we believe, make for himself a permanent place among the writers of the New World, should he elect to follow literature as a profession.

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*More's Millennium.* Rendered into modern English by Valerian Paget. Cloth. Pp. 258. Price, \$1.50. New York: The John McBride Company.

WE ARE extremely glad to see this most thought-stimulating social romance presented in modern phraseology. *Utopia* has unquestionably exerted an immense influence directly and indirectly upon the minds of a great number of the leading fundamental democrats and friends of social justice, since the day of its publication. It was a work far in advance of its age, embodying the most enlightened twentieth-century spirit far more than the dominant spirit of its day or the materialistic concepts of any age. But owing to the great changes that have taken place in the English language since the days of Henry VIII., *Utopia* failed to appeal in an interesting manner to a great majority of readers, even among those who heartily approved of the social message which it so luminously sets forth. The present volume merits wide circulation.

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*A Motley Jest.* By Oscar Fay Adams. Cloth. Pp. 64. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: Sherman, French & Company.

THE NEW firm of Sherman, French & Company is bringing out a number of important works covering a wide range of thought. One

of their latest volumes is a little work by Oscar Fay Adams, entitled *A Motley Jest*. It is a literary gem that will delight lovers of good things in dramatic form.

The volume contains "A Shakespearean Fantasy" and "The Merchant of Venice: Act Sixth." The first composition is a thoroughly charming light dramatic conceit, written after the style and form of Shakespeare's lighter creations. In it Ferdinand and Miranda are transported from Naples to the island in the Middle Seas which is the scene of "The Tempest," where they experience the delights they knew when love first threw its witchery over them. Here the reader not only meets the old acquaintances, Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano, but for the diversion of Miranda and her lord, Prospero summons from the land of dreams a number of the characters who appear in Shakespeare's serious dramas. Here for the nonce they live, think and dream, much as when they left the thought-world of their creator. The author has written not only an exceedingly clever fantasy, but has made his Shakespearean characters so realistic that one feels he is again meeting old and well-known acquaintances.

In the extension of "The Merchant of Venice" by the addition of a sixth act, the author has preserved the atmosphere and reproduced the characters of the play in a truly remarkable manner. This composition was originally written for an evening's entertainment for the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Association, where it was produced and heartily enjoyed.

The book ends with an interesting note by Professor William J. Rolfe.

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*Out of the Depths.* By George A. Parker. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, \$1.50. Boston: The Reid Publishing Company.

THIS is a Christian Science novel in which a child performs a remarkable cure on a sick guinea pig and thus greatly impresses his grandparents, who had been bitterly opposed to the new faith. Later he becomes instrumental in the cure of a young man afflicted to the boy's aunt, after he had been given up with cancer by eminent physicians.

The story is fairly well written, but is incomparably inferior as literature and as romance to *Paul Anthony, Christian*, which, in our judgment, is the best Christian Science novel

that has appeared. Quite beyond the author's limitations as a writer of fiction, this volume contains elements of weakness for propagandist purposes that will make it, we think, of doubtful value. This weakness is found in the author's loose treatment of matters about which he should have been painstakingly accurate. His ignorance of the effect on the general physical organism of the disease he describes, and of the regular medical treatment as practically universally employed in the treatment of cancer when it attacks a limb or when it is so situated that the surgeon's knife may be easily employed, will naturally impress all persons acquainted with these subjects. The hero is said to have a cancer on the hand, the immediate cause of which was an injury received while rescuing an animal from a well. His mother had died of cancer and he is in constant dread of the disease. The young man goes to the University of Michigan before the wound heals and has to undergo an operation which leaves a scar, but apparently has been successful. Later the cancer again develops in the old place and he is compelled to go to a sanatorium for treatment, and after a time is brought to Philadelphia, near the home of his grandmother and his affianced. Here he is placed under the care of an eminent physician in a well-known hospital, but the ravages of the disease prostrate the patient so that he is confined to his bed and cannot see even his nearest of kin. The doctor passes the death sentence on him, when Christian Science steps in and heals him.

All persons familiar with the progress of cancer on the extremities or remote from vital organs, know that no such prostration or symptomatic phenomena as are here described in detailed manner are characteristic of cancer on the hand, especially when the patient is a young man. Again, all persons familiar with the regular treatment of cancer on the hand or arm know perfectly well that before a physician would think of giving up the case or before any such physical symptoms as here described as indicating approaching dissolution would be present, the hand would have been amputated, and, if necessary, the arm also.

Now when a writer assumes to describe a cure he should be thoroughly familiar with the symptoms of the disease and the regular medical treatment that would be at least insisted upon by the physicians as affording the hope of a cure. The great volume of well-attested cures of various so-called fatal diseases that

have been wrought by Christian Science, when the patients were in such condition that physicians no longer held out hope of recovery, should afford an author ample opportunity to follow the exact history of certain cases, making that part of his story historically accurate, without drawing on his imagination in a way that would necessarily impair the value of the story for those acquainted with the disease he is supposed to deal with or the regular medical treatment of that disease.

This defect, in such a book, is, in our judgment, fatal to its usefulness.

*The Maison de Shine.* By Helen Green. Cloth. Pp. 298. Price, \$1.50. New York: B. W. Dodge & Company.

THIS volume contains fifteen chapters, each dealing with some humorous or semi-humorous episode or happening connected with Maggie de Shine's boarding-house for vaudeville and specialty actors and actresses. The sketches are very clever and humorous, but the subjects being the shrewd and rather ignorant boarding-house mistress, her slavey, Susie, and an aggregation of the kind of vaudeville and specialty artists here represented, will hardly appeal to the interest of the general reader as would characters of a more inviting kind. Like so many distinctly humorous books, the volume should be read in installments; otherwise it will pall on the reader.

*Cupid the Surgeon.* By Herman Lee Meader. Cloth. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

IT WOULD be hard to decide which is the more clever, the author's text or the artist's admirable drawings which adorn every page of this little work. The book is written to amuse. It is very bright and not its least merit is found in the apt satirical truths that are found on almost every page and which reveal an intimate knowledge of human nature, its weaknesses and foibles, its penchant for bluffing, and its artfulness. The book has been characterized as original as Adam and as up-to-date as an air-ship. It is certainly bright, and if daring and ultra-flippant at times, the reader will remember that the master purpose is to amuse rather than to elevate or inform.

*Parsimony in Nutrition.* By Sir James Crichton-Browne, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. Cloth. Pp. 111. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.



THIS is an interesting and able treatment in which the distinguished scientific physician and author combats the position taken by Professor Chittenden of Yale. The latter gentleman some time since conducted a series of exhaustive experiments with foods, proving apparently conclusively that the old idea in regard to the amount of proteid foods required by the system was erroneous. Dr. Chittenden's experiments bore out the claim of Horace Fletcher and the practical experience of a number of others who have found that their systems did not require anything like the nitrogenous nutrition which orthodox medical practice held to be requisite. Professor Chittenden furthermore holds that the excess of proteid foods taken by most persons overtaxes the liver and kidneys and clogs the alimentary tract, leading to auto-infection. Some of the results of his extended experiments were given in our review of Upton Sinclair's and Michael Williams' work on *Good Health and How We Won It*.

The author of the present work not only strongly dissents from the conclusions of Dr. Chittenden and the followers of Horace Fletcher, but in the course of his work undertakes to disprove the claims advanced.

The book contains six chapters, devoted to "The Up-Keep of the Body," "Proteid Foods," "Prison Experiences," "Public Health," "The Study of Animal Functions," and "The Voice of Nature."

The author believes that grave danger menaces the people from the dissemination of literature calculated to give the impression that the system does not require the amount of proteid heretofore deemed necessary. It is the old, old battle between eminent men in the medical profession, relating to what is necessary for man's health and life. Mr. Fletcher, Upton Sinclair, Michael Williams and many others who have come up from invalidism and apparently dying condition to the enjoyment of excellent health, through eating slowly and discarding a diet rich in proteids, naturally enough incline to Professor Chittenden's theory, especially since the Yale professor's position was confirmed by exhaustive experiments on students, soldiers, athletes and others.

But, on the other hand, Dr. Crichton-Browne advances a formidable array of evidence to prove the fallacy of the opposition and

the peril to public health arising from what he believes to be the erroneous teachings of Professor Chittenden and his followers.

The present work is closely reasoned, and though some points are open to criticism, the major contention, if certain basic claims are admitted, seems to be sound.

*The Wild Geese.* By Stanley J. Weyman. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 325. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THE VAST number of imitators of Mr. Weyman who have sprung up in recent years testify to the popularity with the general fiction-reading public of romantic novels in which the element of probability is subordinated to swift action, exciting adventures and tempestuous wooing. But just as Mr. Weyman's novels have been inferior to those of the great master of romantic fiction, the elder Dumas, so the work of the present-day writers of this school has fallen in most instances far below the standard set by the author of *The Long Night* and *My Lady Rotha*.

The present volume, which is announced by the publishers as the last novel which Mr. Weyman will write, deals with life along the Irish coast in the turbulent days of the latter part of the eighteenth century. The heroine is a wayward, impulsive Irish girl, passionately devoted to her people and to the hope of freeing Ireland from the hated English rule. She is interested in one of those pathetic and hopeless uprisings, so numerous in those days, undertaken by the ignorant Irish peasantry, who hoped thereby to overthrow the power of Britain and reestablish once more their loved religion. The hero is a peculiar and rather unattractive middle-aged soldier of fortune, a Protestant, although a cousin of the heroine. He sees the futility of the uprising which has been planned, and endeavors to frustrate it, thereby arousing the violent antagonism of his fair cousin. How this hate is finally turned to love is charmingly told. The heroine, like many of Mr. Weyman's female characters, seems to us rather unconvincing, and the hero is far from attractive; but the book abounds in exciting adventures, and the action is swift. Those who enjoy romantic novels of this kind will seek far before they find a better romance than *The Wild Geese*.

AMY C. RICH.

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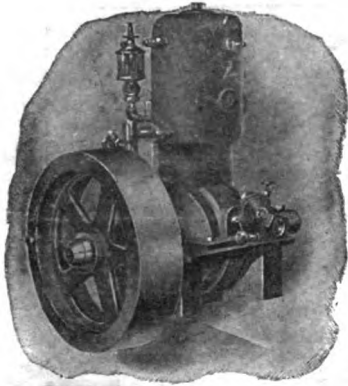
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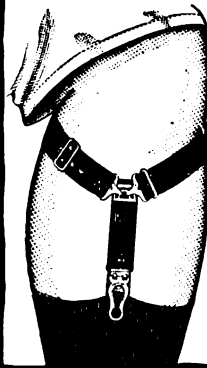
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